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A STUDY OF THE ORIGINS OF SENTIMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS

BY

ROBERT BRIFFAULT

WITHDRAWN

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CONTENTS

Chapter XIII

PROMISCUITY AND INDIVIDUAL MARRIAGE

Individual marriage regarded as an economic relation, and not originally associated with claims to exclusive sexual possession, pp. 1 sq.; retrospective extension of the claims a late development, p. 2; freedom as regards sexual relations unrestricted before marriage in most uncultured societies, p. 2 and note, pp. 2–13; theory of innate sentiments of regard for chastity, pp. 3–16.

Alleged instances of the observance of chastity before marriage among primitive peoples, pp. 16–64.—Irrelevant examples adduced by Dr. Westermarck, pp. 16–29; chastity often observed by married women after availing themselves of pre-nuptial freedom, pp. 17–19; unmarried girls guarded against intercourse with Europeans or with alien tribes, pp. 19–21; protection of unmarried women against rape, pp. 21–23; pre-nuptial freedom not inconsistent with a reserved and modest demeanour, pp. 23 sq.; absence of pre-nuptial children no evidence of pre-nuptial chastity; prevalence of infanticide and of abortion, pp. 25–29; examination of instances adduced by Dr. Westermarck in illustration of the observance of chastity before marriage, pp. 29–64; Aleuts, pp. 29 sq.; Eskimo and tribes of Alaska, p. 30; North American Indians, pp. 30–36; South American tribes, pp. 36 sq.; Africa, pp. 38–42; Guanches, pp. 42 sq.; Asia, pp. 43–48; tribes of the Malay Peninsula, pp. 48 sq.; Micronesia and the Philippines, pp. 49–51; New Guinea, pp. 51–53; Melanesia, pp. 53–56; Polynesia, pp. 56 sq.; Australia, pp. 57–64.

Effects of contact with Europeans, pp. 64–69.—Decay of primitive codes of sexual conduct among the North American Indians, pp. 64 sq.; social organisation and traditional customs of uncultured peoples not ascribable to European influence, pp. 65 sq.; alleged influence of Europeans on the Australian aborigines, pp. 66 sq.; effects of European influence on the natives of Polynesia, pp. 67 sq.; of Micronesia, p. 68; of India, *ibid.*; of Africa, pp. 68 sq.

Difficulty of distinguishing between marriage and other sexual relations, pp. 69–88.—Individual marriage not intended to establish sexual relations, which are unrestricted before, p. 69; pre-nuptial sexual freedom not regarded by many peoples as an avenue to marriage, pp. 70 sq.; trial-marriage, pp. 73 sq.; marriage difficult to distinguish among many peoples from transient relations, pp. 74 sq.; Dr. Westermarck's definition of marriage, p. 75; difficulty of the distinction illustrated

35563

from the usages of the North American Indians, pp. 75–78 ; transient and unstable character of individual marriage among uncultured peoples, pp. 78–83 ; the birth of children may have a stabilising effect on marriage, and often regarded as constituting marriage, pp. 84–86 ; the instability of marriage relations often not affected by the birth of children, pp. 86–88.

The juridic conception of marriage, pp. 88–96.—The formation of a new group, or family consisting of father, mother, and children not regarded as the test of marriage, pp. 88–90 ; relation established between the father and the mother's family independent of association, pp. 90–93 ; the father often named after the child, pp. 90 sq. ; distinction drawn by uncultured peoples between marriage and other sexual relations, founded upon juridic grounds and not upon the fact of cohabitation, pp. 93–95 ; extra-connubial relations not originally illicit, but tending, from being looked upon as unfounded on a juridic basis, to become regarded as illegal, pp. 95 sq.

CHAPTER XIV

PRIMITIVE JEALOUSY AND LOVE

Masculine jealousy in uncultured races, pp. 97–112.—The effects of masculine jealousy upon sexual customs dependent upon the nature of the claims in regard to which the sentiment operates, p. 97 ; confusion arising from misconception of the nature of sexual jealousy among animals, pp. 97 sq. ; sexual jealousy having reference to the risk of losing women more pronounced in primitive than in civilised conditions, pp. 98 sq. ; inconsistent statements concerning jealousy among primitive peoples, pp. 99 sq. ; no reference in the jealousy of primitive males to exclusive possession or to particular individuals who are the object of desire ; the sentiment aroused by fear of abduction, not of seduction, pp. 100 sq. ; angry feelings produced by loss of a woman allayed by the presentation of another woman or of the means of obtaining one, pp. 101–104 ; jealousy aroused by risks of desertion or abduction resulting from unsanctioned intercourse, pp. 104–107 ; women concealed from strangers owing to fear of abduction, pp. 107 sq. ; primitive jealousy exemplified from its manifestations among the Fuegians, pp. 109 sq. ; among the Australian aborigines, pp. 110–112.

Prevalent indifference as regards connubial fidelity, pp. 112–117.

Primitive duels, pp. 117–120.—Difference between masculine jealousy among animals and in primitive humanity, owing to guarantees against loss obtainable in social organisations, p. 117 ; no scramble for the possession of females among the members of primitive societies, pp. 118–120 ; orderly character of contests between rival males, *ibid.*

Varied manifestations of primitive jealousy, pp. 120–129.—Jealousy appeased by guarantees of reciprocity, pp. 120 sq. ; claims in regard to connubial fidelity vary among allied peoples according to established usage, pp. 121–125 ; jealousy manifested by despots and chiefs, pp. 125–127 ; resentment aroused by persistent infidelity, pp. 127 sq. ; the sentiment of honour, pp. 128 sq.

Penalties for adultery, pp. 129–138.—Failure to recognise adultery as a punishable offence, and light punishments legally inflicted for the offence, while incest is severely punished, opposed to the hypothesis that the family and not the clan was the primitive unit of society, pp. 129 sq.; impulsive acts of vengeance not as frequent as reported, p. 130; homicide of a lover by injured husband not generally countenanced, pp. 130 sq.; statements that adultery is punishable with death often misleading, pp. 132–134; fines imposed on adulterers, sometimes used as a means of exploitation, pp. 134–136; other offences on the part of the wife regarded as more serious than adultery, p. 136; marital claims to exclusive possession not generally supported by primitive jurisprudence and tribal law, pp. 136–138.

Sexual emotion, pp. 138–143.—Sexual jealousy currently understood to connote individual choice and attraction, p. 138; variety in the forms of sexual emotion in different cultures dependent upon the fact that those manifestations are effects of the repression of natural instincts, p. 139; those manifestations not possible where the operation of those instincts is not subject to repression, pp. 139 sq.; the repression of the sexual instincts at puberty in European society, the source of manifestations of romantic passion and of vices unknown in primitive societies, p. 140; the concentration of sexual emotion upon one individual an effect of the restrictions connected with monogamic marriage in European society, pp. 140 sq.; absence of those conditions in primitive society, pp. 141 sq.; absence of love-poetry among uncultured peoples, pp. 142 sq.

Suicide among primitive races, pp. 143–149.—Suicide from frivolous motives prevalent in lower cultures, *ibid*; suicide from motives of revenge, pp. 144–146; suicide due to erotic motives equally impulsive, p. 146; most recorded instances have reference to desire to escape from an objectionable suitor, pp. 147 sq.; remarkable absence of instances of suicide from disappointed attachment, p. 149; elopements in primitive society likewise unconnected with passionate attachment, p. 149.

Primitive love, pp. 149–152.—Improbability of the existence of highly developed romantic sentiments in primitive mankind, p. 150; individual attraction and desire probably found in uncultured societies, but destitute of depth or stability, *ibid.*; uncultured peoples eminently disposed to non-sexual affection, p. 151; post-nuptial affection arising from prolonged association, *ibid.*; not associated with sexual instincts or with jealousy, pp. 151 sq.; sexual love among Oriental peoples mostly physical, p. 152; no synthesis between sexual instincts and other sentiments, *ibid.*

Late marriage, pp. 152–157.—Mating attachment usually developed as a result of prolonged cohabitation, pp. 152 sq.; marriage often entered into, or stabilised in relatively mature years and when sexual life is on the wane, pp. 153–157

Sexual selection and standards of feminine beauty, pp. 157–163.—Indifference to beauty shown by uncultured peoples in the choice of a wife, pp. 157 sq.; old women married by young men and often preferred, pp. 158–160; feminine beauty probably estimated by primitive peoples by standards similar to our own, but regarded with comparative

indifference, p. 160 ; utilitarian and coarse characters equally appreciated, pp. 160 sq. ; admiration for obesity, pp. 161–163 ; preference for pendulous breasts and other deformities, p. 163.

Economic grounds for sexual selection, pp. 164–167.—Preference and selection as regards a wife chiefly determined by considerations of economic utility, pp. 164–166 ; indisposition to marry resulting from changed economic conditions in Africa, pp. 166 sq.

Chapter XV

THE SELECTION OF A HUSBAND AND THE ACQUISITION OF A WIFE

Marriage proposals by women, pp. 168–176.—Initiative in propositions of marriage taken by the women in primitive societies, pp. 168–174 ; the procedure a rule in matriarchal societies, pp. 173 sq. ; reasons for its coming to be regarded with disapproval in patriarchal societies, pp. 174 sq. ; marriage as an economic association, of more advantage to the women than to the men in primitive matriarchal societies, pp. 175 sq.

Love of adornment greater in primitive males than in females, pp. 176–181.—Ornamental display characteristic of males among animals, p. 176 ; the biological rule reversed in civilised, holds good in primitive societies, pp. 176–181.

Women's choice determined by economic considerations, pp. 181–186.—Choice of a male partner determined by his efficiency as a hunter or as a warrior, pp. 181 sq. ; such ' manly ' qualities in general the foundation of feminine admiration, p. 182 ; preference for refined and effeminate men occasionally found in certain societies, pp. 182 sq. ; capacity to supply animal food the usual test of the merits of a suitor in hunting societies, pp. 183 sq. ; homicide as a necessary qualification for a suitor, pp. 184–186 ; head-hunting, pp. 185 sq.

Tests of endurance at initiation and marriage ceremonies, pp. 187–208.—Confluent purposes of initiation ceremonies, p. 187 ; tests of endurance a universal feature of those ceremonies, *ibid.* ; severe character of the tests, pp. 187–195 ; dancing as a test of endurance, pp. 195 sq. ; tatuing as a test of endurance, pp. 196 sq. ; tests of endurance apparently not imposed in view of the general interests of the community, pp. 197–199 ; absence of regular systems of training or education in primitive societies, pp. 197–199 ; tests universally regarded as a condition of, and as an avenue to, marriage, p. 199 ; sometimes form part of preliminaries to marriage, pp. 199–201 ; their original purpose may have been to test the suitability of young men as husbands, p. 201 ; brides offered as prizes in competitive contests, pp. 202–207 ; bride-racing, pp. 207 sq. ; ' showing-off ' as a mode of courtship, p. 208.

Marriage by service, pp. 209–212.—The rendering of services the most primitive mode of acquiring a wife, p. 209 ; service sometimes takes the form of a competition, *ibid.* ; service required of the suitor even where he is able to offer liberal payment, pp. 209 sq. ; the service often of no

utilitarian benefit, but calculated to test the qualifications of the suitor, pp. 209–211; marriage by service the earliest form of individual marriage contract, pp. 211 sq.

Marriage by purchase, pp. 212–229.—General prevalence of the usage in advanced societies, pp. 212 sq.; 'purchase' in marriage transactions not equivalent to what is connoted among Europeans by the term, pp. 213–226; absence of the notion of commercial traffic in many uncultured societies, pp. 213–218; marriage by purchase substituted for marriage by service, p. 218; the usage supported by the women, who take a pride in the price paid for them, pp. 219–221; occasional degeneration of the usage by assimilation to slave-traffic, pp. 221–223; uniform bride-price fixed by law or usage, p. 223; gifts of equal or greater value given by the bride's family, pp. 224–226; transaction not regarded as a sale, pp. 224–226; 'purchase' a commutation of service, pp. 226–228; purchase of slave-girls as a mode of evading matrilocal marriage, pp. 228 sq.

Marriage by capture, pp. 230–250.—Hypothesis that it was once the most usual mode of obtaining wives, p. 230; no clear instance of marriage by capture as the habitual mode of obtaining wives among primitive peoples, pp.230–235; the customary capture of women not practicable as a normal mode of acquiring them, pp. 233–235; women captured in warfare usually distinguished from regular wives, pp. 233 sq.; abduction of individual women, pp. 235 sq.; the procedure attended with the same drawbacks as a cause of incessant warfare as the wholesale capture of women, p. 236; prearranged or formal elopement often mistaken for forcible capture, pp. 236 sq.; widespread usages of ceremonial or simulated capture, pp. 237–240; improbability of ceremonial capture being a reminiscence of capture of women in hostile raids, p. 240; attempted interpretation of the usages by reference to sentiments of modesty, pp. 240–242; or as a magical protection against supernatural dangers, pp. 242 sq.; usages of simulated violence associated with the practice of actual violence or elopement, p. 243; with bargaining over the bride-price, and ceasing on its payment, pp. 244 sq.; no simulated violence in matrilocal marriage or where no bride-price is paid, pp. 245 sq.; ceremonial violence probably connected with transition from matrilocal to patrilocal usages, pp. 245–247; resistance and distress, real or simulated, of the bride or her relatives also associated with change from matrilocal to patrilocal marriage, p. 247; 'Lifting the bride over the threshold,' pp. 247–250; unsatisfactory interpretations of the usage, p. 248; probably connected with the final step in the transfer of the bride to her husband's home, pp. 249 sq.; widespread ceremonial survivals of 'marriage by capture' indicative of the former prevalence of matrilocal marriage rather than of the acquisition of women by capture, p. 250; the change to patrilocal usage due to economic conditions rather than to violence, *ibid.*

Chapter XVI

THE SOCIAL EVOLUTION OF MONOGAMIC MARRIAGE

The development of higher agriculture marks the transition between primitive tribal society and civilisation, and the final change in the relative position of the sexes, p. 251; purchasing power acquired by men

through the ownership of cattle enables them to acquire many wives, p. 251; persistence of matriarchal conditions where no pastoral stage has preceded agricultural civilisation, pp. 251 sq.; no pronounced pastoral or extensive agricultural phase in primitive Europe; consequent persistence of matriarchal conditions, pp. 252 sq.; transfer of econo mic production to the men, and consequent loss of economic power by women; their sexual value alone left, pp. 254 sq.; object of marriage in archaic Europe mainly the acquisition of landed property transmitted in the female line, pp. 255 sq.; importance attached to monogamic customs in European tradition, and detestation of polygamy, pp. 256 sq.; no grounds for the distinction in primitive society, p. 257.

Absence of jealousy amongst women of polygamous families, pp. 257–260.—Testimonies as to the harmony between wives in polygamous families, pp. 257–260; sources of quarrels mainly economic, p. 260; women the chief supporters of polygamy, wives added to the household at their request, pp. 261–263; modifications of feminine jealousy brought about by the economic conditions of monogamic societies, pp. 263 sq.

Polygamy not condemned outside European countries, pp. 264–267.—Polygyny the biological rule, pp. 264 sq.; grounds of European objection to polygamy not understood, p. 265; polygamy regarded as meritorious and enhancing the esteem in which a man is held, pp. 265–267; polygamy not prohibited by law until the sixth century of the Christian era, p. 267.

Limitations of polygyny, pp. 267–276.—Limit to the number of wives sometimes imposed by tribal custom, but not to the extent of monogyny, pp. 267–269; difference between the terms 'monogyny' and 'monogamy,' p. 269; monogamy not implied by monogynous customs, and monogyny not a character of monogamous institutions, pp. 269–271; monogyny usually attended with promiscuity or frequent changes of wives: successive polygyny, pp. 270 sq.; limitations of polygyny by economic conditions, pp. 271–274; the poor usually monogynous, pp. 271 sq.; the bulk of the population usually monogynous in civilised polygamous countries, pp. 272 sq.; difficulties of economic maintenance of large families in hunting societies; marriage rare among some, pp. 272 sq.; condition of forest tribes particularly unfavourable to polygyny, pp. 273 sq.; degree of polygyny almost exclusively governed by economic factors, p. 274; hypothesis as to the effects of the relative proportion of the sexes on degree of polygyny, p. 274; statistical fallacies as to degree of prevalence of polygyny, p. 275; effects of modern conditions on Oriental peoples and on uncultured races, pp. 275 sq.

Alleged instances of primitive monogamic institutions, pp. 276–306.—The occurrence of monogyny greatly exaggerated, pp. 276 sq.; examination of examples adduced by Dr. Westermarck, pp. 277–302; polygamy general in North America, pp. 277–279; erroneous statements and uncertain reports concerning South American tribes, pp. 279–286; erroneous report of monogamy among the Guanches, pp. 286 sq.; monogamy of some Tuareg and Berber tribes of the Sahara, pp. 287–289; erroneous reports of monogamy in India, pp. 289 sq.; and in the Philippines, pp. 290–293; forest tribes of the Malay Peninsula:

not known to have monogamic institutions, pp. 293–295 ; misleading reports concerning the Andaman Islanders, pp. 295 sq. ; and the Nicobarese, p. 297 ; uncertain monogyny of the Veddahs, pp. 297 sq. ; polygamy of African Pygmies, pp. 298 sq. ; of Bushmen, p. 299 ; general polygamy in Polynesia, Melanesia, and New Guinea, pp. 299–301 ; polygamy universal among Australian tribes, pp. 301 sq. ; among the Fuegians and other peoples in the lowest phases of culture, pp. 302 sq. ; distribution of the degree of polygyny : general in primitive culture with the exception of forest tribes, continuous increase up to pastoral conditions, decay with agricultural civilisation, pp. 303 sq. ; no instance known of change from monogamic to polygamic usages : supposed Muhammadan influence, pp. 304–306.

Status of wives in polygamous families, pp. 307–315.—Misleading use of the terms ' concubine ' and ' chief wife,' p. 307 ; usually no juridic distinction between wives in the lower cultures, pp. 307–310 ; use of the term ' chief wife ' in Africa, pp. 310–312 ; multiplicity of ' chief wives,' pp. 310 sq. ; ' chief wife ' distinguished by her social status before marriage, pp. 311 sq. ; acquired or allotted on succeeding to an office *ibid.* ; rise in importance of the ' chief wife ' with that of the transmission of property, pp. 313–315 ; concomitant lowering of the status of other wives, pp. 314 sq.

Polygamy and its decay among the Jews, pp. 315–318.—Traditional polygamous institutions of the Jews, *ibid.* ; gradual economic limitation, no monogamous institutions, p. 318.

The Oriental harem, pp. 319–324.—High status and great freedom of Oriental women, pp. 319–323 ; juridic position of Turkish women, pp. 319 sq. ; Persian origin of seclusion as a matriarchal institution, pp. 320 sq. ; feministic views of Persian women, pp. 321 sq. ; effects of the Oriental harem system, pp. 322 sq. ; equality of wives, pp. 323 sq. ; evolution towards monogamy, p. 324.

Marriage and position of women in China, pp. 325–334.—Original identity of Chinese marriage institutions with those of Central Asiatic nomads, pp. 325–327 ; equal status of wives among Tartars and Mongols, pp. 325–327 ; equality of wives in ancient Chinese polygamous families, p. 327 ; ' Great wife ' and ' Little wives,' pp. 327–329 ; indissolubility of Chinese marriage after three years : customary suicide of widows, p. 329 ; abased position of wives in China, pp. 330–332 ; Chinese marriage purely juridic, unconnected with sentimental attachment, p. 332 ; Chinese courtesans, their importance in Chinese society and their accomplishments, pp. 333 sq.

Greek marriage, pp. 334–342.—Polygamy and polygyny in archaic Greece, pp. 334 sq. ; monogamy established by adaptation of matriarchal institutions p. 335 ; no principle of monogamy in ancient Greece, *ibid.* ; reluctance of the Greeks to marry, pp. 335 sq. ; Hesiod's advice on marriage, pp. 336 sq. ; development of the dowry from adaptation of matriarchal marriage, pp. 337 sq. ; debased position of Greek wife, pp. 338 sq. ; Greek sexual life and sentiment associated with hetairai ; their character and position, pp. 339–342.

Roman marriage, pp. 339–342.—Juridic institution of Roman marriage by the patrician revolution, pp. 343–345 ; ' Usus,' ' coemptio,' ' farreo,' pp. 345–348 ; religious ceremony confined to confirmation of the contract, pp. 345 sq. ; transference of the wife to the husband's ' familia,' pp. 346 sq. ; marriage by ' usus,' p. 348 ; decay of all marriage forms after the first period of the Republic, p. 348 ; high position of women in Rome in opposition to theory of ' patria potestas,' pp. 348-350 ; Roman marriage the last step but one in the development of European marriage institutions, pp. 350 sq.

Chapter XVII

TABU

Primitive ethics, pp. 352–358.—Moral prohibitions a distinctive character of human mentality, which exists nowhere else in the animal world, p. 352 ; such prohibitions more abundant in uncultured than in civilised humanity, pp. 352 sq. ; no reference generally in primitive prohibitions to social ethical principles, but to tabus apparently destitute of ethical significance, p. 353 ; primitive view of murder : no tribal punishment for parricide, pp. 353–355 ; reasons for the absence of ethical principles in primitive societies : high social morality spontaneous, pp. 356 sq. ; social offences regarded as a private concern and dealt with by private vengeance, pp. 357 sq.

Notion of tabu and sacredness, pp. 358–365.—Awe with which tabus are regarded, p. 358 ; the character of a categorical imperative primitively an attribute of tabus, *ibid.* ; whimsical and superstitious appearance of primitive tabus, pp. 358 sq. ; dread of dangerous consequences from a breach of them the chief motive for the observance of primitive tabus, p. 359 ; later distinction between ' sacred ' and ' impure,' *ibid.* ; primitive meaning of the word ' sacred,' pp. 359 sq. ; murderers and criminals regarded as sacred, pp. 360 sq. ; holy things supposed to be dangerous and defiling, p. 362 ; those distinctions not present in primitive tabus, pp. 362 sq. ; tabus not primitively connected with gods or with kings, pp. 363 sq. ; origin of tabus various, origin of the notion and of moral prohibitions a separate problem, p. 364.

The restriction placed upon the operation of masculine instincts by the periodicity of the instincts of the female, common to both animals and humanity, and the only analogue of a moral prohibition among lower animals, pp. 364 sq.

The tabu on menstrual and puerperal women, pp. 365–390.—Menstrual and puerperal tabus in North America, pp. 366–370 ; in South America, pp. 370–373 ; in northern and central Asia, pp. 373 sq. ; among the Hebrews, p. 375 ; among the Persians, pp. 375 sq. ; in India, pp. 376–378 ; in the Malay Peninsula, p. 378 ; in Africa, pp. 378–380 ; in Indonesia, pp. 380 sq. ; in the Philippines and Micronesia, pp. 381 sq. ; in New Guinea and Melanesia, pp. 382 sq. ; in Polynesia, pp. 383 sq. ; in Australia, pp. 384 sq. ; dreaded and dangerous effects of menstruation, pp. 386–390.

Sexual segregation during pregnancy and suckling, pp. 390–397.—Prolonged nursing among savage races, pp. 391 sq. ; cessation of marital relations, or complete separation during the whole or part of the duration of pregnancy and suckling, pp. 392–396 ; disregard of the custom in Europe, and its decay among uncultured races, pp. 396 sq.

Origin of periodical sexual prohibitions, pp. 397–412.—Suggested explanation of the origin of menstrual and puerperal tabus as being due to abstention on the part of the men, owing to horror or disgust, p. 397 ; lack of manifestations of disgust, except on superstitious grounds, among savages, pp. 397 sq. ; no general horror of blood among uncultured races, pp. 398 sq. ; menstruating women sometimes regarded as possessed by an evil spirit, pp. 399 sq. ; the restriction common to men and animals, pp. 400–403 ; repulse of the male by the female among animals, p. 401 ; breeding seasons among herbivorous animals, p. 401 ; no evidence of special breeding season among carnivora or primates, p. 401 ; males functionally active at all times, pp. 402 sq. ; human prohibitions differ from animal restrictions only in being formulated, p. 403 ; women segregate themselves of their own accord, pp. 404–406 ; traditions as to the imposing of sexual tabus by women, pp. 406 sq. ; extension of menstrual impurity to women at all times, pp. 407–409 ; the tabus sometimes regarded as sacred and holy in a good sense, pp. 409 sq. ; practical applications of the effects of menstrual blood, pp. 410 sq. ; the conception of 'impurity' derivative, pp. 411 sq.

The menstrual tabu apparently regarded as the type of tabu prohibitions, pp. 412–417.—Terms for 'tabu' and 'impure' specially applied to menstruation, p. 412 ; blood and red paint the usual mark of a tabu, pp. 412–417 ; red paint assimilated to menstrual blood, pp. 416 sq.

Some other tabus probably connected with the menstrual prohibition, pp. 417–419.—The superstition about stepping under a ladder, pp. 418 sq. ; general aversion of uncultured peoples to pass under anything, usually ascribed to the possibility of contamination by a menstruating woman, pp. 418 sq.

The Sabbath, pp. 419–439.—Husband regarded as contaminated by the menstrual or puerperal condition of his wife, and as not being able to undertake any work profitably, p. 420 ; abstinence from work imposed upon all the members of an infected household, owing to the impossibility of such work prospering, pp. 420 sq. ; abstinence from work generally observed on all inauspicious occasions, p. 421 ; periodical unlucky or tabu days, pp. 421–428 ; the days of the new moon, of the full moon, or the first day of each lunar phase commonly observed as tabu days, pp. 422–428 ; unlucky influence ascribed to the moon, pp. 428 sq. ; the moon regarded as the cause of menstruation, pp. 429–432 ; actual relation between the moon and physiological periodicity, pp. 429 sq. ; menstruation spoken of as 'the moon,' pp. 431 sq. ; lunar cults specially associated with women, pp. 432 sq. ; the Babylonian Sabbath, p. 434 ; menstruating goddesses and menstruation of the moon, pp. 435 sq. ; the Jewish Sabbath originally a lunar tabu day, pp. 437 sq. ; regarded as a special woman's observance, p. 438 ; moon-days in Greece and in Rome, pp. 438 sq. ; adaptation of the Sabbath by the Christian Church, pp. 438 sq.

Chapter XVIII

THE TOTEM

The sacredness of food, pp. 440–443.—Prevalence of tabus as regards food and ritual character of meals, pp. 440 sq. ; food the type of utilitarian and economic interests, reproduction the type of non-utilitarian interests, pp. 441–443.

Ignorance concerning the physiology of generation, pp. 443–450.—Knowledge of reproductive physiology of recent date : views until lately prevalent, pp. 443 sq. ; paternity not always recognised as a physiological relation, p. 445 ; conception not regarded as directly dependent upon sexual intercourse, pp. 445–450 ; ignorance and uncertainty concerning the duration of pregnancy, pp. 447 sq. ; conception held to be due to supernatural agencies, pp. 449 sq.

Immaculate conception through food and other agencies, pp. 450–455.—Gods and heroes usually born of virgins, pp. 450 sq. ; conception through the operation of various agencies, pp. 451 sq. ; impregnation through eating, pp. 452–455.

Relation between food and offspring, pp. 455–460.—Qualities of an animal communicated by eating its flesh, pp. 455–457 ; qualities of food eaten by a woman communicated to her offspring, pp. 457 sq. ; importance of satisfying the ' fancies ' of a pregnant woman, pp. 450–460.

The importance and sacredness of food-animals, pp. 460–472.—Importance of food-meat in primitive societies, p. 460 ; totemism probably connected in its origin with animal food-supply, p. 461 ; the totem commonly not regarded as sacred and freely eaten, pp. 461–463 ; sacredness not an original character of the totem and associated with the decay of totemism, pp. 463–465 ; ritual eating of the totem, pp. 465–468 ; ordinary meals partaken of ritually and sacramentally, pp. 468 sq. ; ritual meals probably at first physiological and habitual, pp. 469 sq. ; the totem originally the ordinary food of the tribe, pp. 471 sq.

Conception through eating the totem, pp. 472–476.—Impregnation through eating animal food, and child formed out of that food, pp. 472 sq. ; changes in food-supply, and consequent modifications in the theory of conception through the totem, pp. 474–476.

The totem as tribal ancestor and tribal god, pp. 477–481.—The totem regarded as ancestor of the tribe : identity of every tribesman with the totem, pp. 477 sq. ; undifferentiated semi-animal and semi-anthropomorphic character of the totems, pp. 478–480 ; regarded as having created the world, and as dwelling in heaven, pp. 478–480 ; artificial totems and split-totems, pp. 480 sq.

Diffusion and fundamental conceptions of totemism, pp. 481–486.—Wide distribution of totemic ideas ; pseudo-totems, pp. 481 sq. ; absence of totemism among the Eskimo : importance of fundamental totemic ideas amongst them, pp. 483–485 ; religious and social aspects of totemism, pp. 485 sq.

Priestly clans, pp. 486–489.—Special power of members of totem-clan over their totem, pp. 486–488 ; privileged position of oldest totem-clans as mediators between the tribe and its ancestor, pp. 488 sq.

Primitive tribal solidarity and communism, pp. 489–501.—Members of the tribe regarded as ' of the same flesh,' p. 489 ; brotherhood of persons having the same totem, or partaking of the same food, pp. 490 sq. ; tribal brotherhood the earliest and most efficient form of loyalty, pp. 491 sq. ; family and tribal devotion, pp. 492 sq. ; primitive communism and social solidarity, pp. 493–499 ; absence of clear conception of individuality in primitive humanity, p. 499 ; its development through the acquisition of private property, pp. 499 sq.

Chapter XIX

THE WITCH AND THE PRIESTESS

Gods the product of evolution, p. 502 ; women thought to have had little part in that evolution, *ibid.*

Primitive religion not speculative, but practical, pp. 503–514.—Inaptitude of women for abstract speculation, p. 503 ; religious ideas not derived in the first instance from such speculation, pp. 503 sq. ; indifference of savages towards metaphysics, pp. 503 sq. ; primitive superhuman beings capable of assuming the attributes of theological gods, pp. 504 sq. ; influence of royalty on the development of the idea of gods, pp. 505 sq. ; life of primitive humanity dependent upon the control of rain, pp. 506–508 ; supreme supernatural beings dwell in heaven and control the rainfall, pp. 508 sq. ; rain-making functions of kings, pp. 509 sq. ; heavenly power commonly unworshipped, pp. 511 sq. ; the supreme being not so important as the power to control him by magic, pp. 512 sq. ; the products of speculative systems a late phase in the evolution of religions, not generally due to personal founders, p. 513 ; late sects often founded by women, pp. 513 sq.

The exclusion of women from religious functions in Western civilisations of recent origin, pp. 514–516.—High position of priestesses in ancient Rome and Greece, pp. 514 sq. ; in western Asia and Egypt, pp. 514 sq.

Priestesses in uncultured societies, pp. 516–530.—Priestesses in Africa, pp. 516–518 ; magic women among the Eskimo thought to have preceded male priests, pp. 518 sq. ; medicine women and priestesses among the North American Indians, pp. 519 sq. ; position of priestesses in Central America, their relation to male priests, or ' pajes,' pp. 521–523 ; priestesses in South America, pp. 523–525 ; religious functions exercised exclusively, or mainly, by priestesses in Indonesia, pp. 525–528 ; and in the Philippines, p. 528 ; priestesses in Polynesia, pp. 529 sq. ; shamanesses thought to have preceded shamans among Siberian peoples, p. 530.

Male priests dressed as, and impersonating women, pp. 531–536.—Widespread practice of priests dressing in female attire, pp. 531 sq. ; clothes regarded as part of the wearer, as possessing and communicating his attributes, p. 532 ; men following feminine occupations dressed as women, pp. 532 sq. ; male priests engaging in women's work and impersonating women, pp. 534 sq.

Smiths the first male magicians among some peoples, p. 535 ; magical character of smiths, pp. 535 sq.

Priestesses among the peoples of northern Europe, pp. 536–543.—Origin of the Druids probably of comparatively late date, pp. 536–538; Gaulish priestesses, pp. 538–540; Irish and British priestesses, pp. 540 sq.; Celtic priestesses probably more ancient than, and supplanted by, the Druids, p. 541; priestesses among the Teutons and Nordic barbarians, pp. 541–543.

Traditions concerning the transference of religious functions from men to women, pp. 543–555.—Former exercise of religious functions by women in Australia, pp. 543–545; tradition of the Fuegians concerning the former monopoly of religious functions by women, pp. 545 sq.; tradition of women's monopoly of religious rites among the tribes of the Amazon, pp. 546 sq.; women's religious associations in Africa, pp. 547–550; religious associations to which both sexes are admitted, pp. 550 sq.; traditions of African secret societies from which women are excluded representing them as having been founded by women, pp. 551–553; Melanesian traditions of the origin of religious associations from women, pp. 553 sq.; similar traditions in New Guinea, p. 555.

Powers of witchcraft ascribed to women, pp. 555–562.—Religious magic and witchcraft, p. 555; women regarded as naturally possessing magic powers, pp. 556–558; attribution of magic powers to women explained by reference to nervous temperament, pp. 558 sq.; magic powers of women apparently connected with their social power in primitive society, pp. 559 sq.; women dreaded on account of their supposed magic powers even when excluded from magical functions: witch persecution, pp. 560–562.

Witchcraft and religious magic, pp. 562–571.—Witches sometimes regarded as beneficent, pp. 562 sq.; supernatural beings associated with primitive religious magic generally dreaded and maleficent, pp. 563–566; primitive gods not distinguished as 'good' and 'evil,' pp. 566 sq.; good and bad magic dependent upon the same powers and procedures, and distinguished only by the purposes for which they are employed, pp. 567–570; protection against use of magic powers for injurious purposes, or witchcraft, pp. 569 sq.; death and disease supposed to be due to witchcraft, p. 570; generally regarded as having been introduced into the world by women, p. 571.

Chapter XX

THE LORD OF THE WOMEN

Dangerous character of the moon, pp. 572–577.—The moon often identified with the first woman, pp. 572–574; dangerous character ascribed to the new moon and to the full moon, pp. 574 sq.; the influence of the moon regarded as dangerous in all its phases, pp. 574–577.

Precedence of the moon in primitive cosmology, pp. 577–583.—Moon-cults older and more primitive than solar cults, pp. 577–579; the moon regarded as more powerful than the sun, p. 579; thought to have been originally as bright as, or brighter than, the sun, pp. 580 sq.; suggested explanations of the precedence of the moon over the sun, pp. 581 sq.; indifference of savages as regards natural phenomena, pp. 582 sq.

The moon regarded as the cause of conception and generation, pp. 583–592.—The moon thought to cause menstruation by sexual intercourse with women, pp. 583 sq.; regarded as the cause of pregnancy and as the principle of generation, pp. 584–591; superstitions connecting the after-birth with the moon, p. 590; children held up to the moon as to their parent, pp. 590 sq.; conception ascribed to representatives or substitutes for the moon, pp. 591 sq.

The moon primitively regarded as a male, pp. 592–597.

The moon as source of magic power, pp. 597–600.

The moon as cause of time and as destiny, pp. 600–603.—The moon the primitive measure of time, pp. 600 sq.; regarded as the cause of time and as possessing the secret of immortality, pp. 601 sq.; regarded as the deity of fate, pp. 602 sq.; conception of fate and of natural law, p. 603.

Lunar divinities commonly triune, pp. 603–608.—The waxing, full, and waning moon regarded as three different persons, pp. 603 sq.; threefold lunar deities and attributes, pp. 605 sq.; triune character transferred to other deities, pp. 607 sq.

The moon the source of lunacy or divine madness, pp. 608–610.—Lunacy and other mental disturbances ascribed to the influence of the moon, pp. 608 sq.; reverence for lunatics and idiots, pp. 609 sq.

Lunar animals: the dog, the hare, and the cat, pp. 610–623.—Dogs regarded as favourites of the moon and as witches, pp. 610 sq.; witches thought to change themselves into hares, pp. 611–613; superstitious fear of hares, pp. 613 sq.; regarded as favourable to women and as imparting beauty to them, pp. 614 sq.; association of the hare with the moon, pp. 615–618; hares probably favourite victims in women's sacrifices, 619 sq.; sacrificed to moon deities, pp. 620 sq.; the cat as a disguise of witches, pp. 621 sq.; the origin of the association probably sacrificial, p. 622; cats regarded as lunar animals, pp. 622 sq.

The moon as patroness of feminine occupations, pp. 624–628.—The moon as the heavenly spinstress, pp. 624 sq.; assists women in spinning and weaving, pp. 625 sq.; the moon as a maker of bark-cloth, p. 626; as a basket-maker, *ibid.*; as a potter, *ibid.*; as a cook, pp. 626 sq.; as a carrier of firewood, pp. 627 sq.

The moon regarded as the producer of vegetation, pp. 628–632.—Origin and growth of vegetation ascribed to the moon, pp. 628 sq.; the moon identified with sacred plants and trees, pp. 629–631; sap, gums, and resins regarded as the blood of the moon, p. 631; the moon the patroness of agriculture and the counterpart of the cultivator of the soil, pp. 631 sq.

The moon the controller of water and moisture, pp. 632–638.—Rain and snow supposed to proceed from the moon, pp. 632 sq.; the moon regarded as controlling water, p. 633; frogs thought to intercede for rain and associated with the moon, pp. 634 sq.; all forms of water controlled by the moon, pp. 635–637; weather thought to be controlled by the moon, p. 637; suggested explanations of the relation between the moon and moisture, pp. 637 sq.; control of the water-supply by the moon probably related to it as the source of power in primitive agricultural magic, p. 638.

The moon specially worshipped by women, and regarded as their protecting deity, pp. 638–640.

Chapter XXI

THE RESURRECTION AND THE LIFE

The serpent and eternal life, pp. 641–651.—The serpent regarded as immortal owing to its power of sloughing its skin ; men thought to have originally possessed that power, or to have been defrauded of immortality by the serpent, pp. 641–651 ; immortality acquired by being swallowed by, and being born again out of, a serpent, pp. 642 sq., 646 ; myths of the origin of death in Oceania, pp. 643–645 ; myths of the perverted message of life, pp. 646–648 ; the serpent and immortality in Greece, Egypt, among the Semites, and in Europe, pp. 648–651.

Immortality dependent on the moon, pp. 651–660.—The moon sometimes thought to renew its life by sloughing its skin, pp. 651 sq. ; the renewal of human life thought to depend upon that of the moon, pp. 652–660 ; choice offered to mankind between propagation and immortality, pp. 655–657 ; attempt to obtain immortality by being born again from the moon, pp. 657 sq. ; conceptions of the Australian aborigines concerning the resurrection and the origin of death, pp. 659 sq.

The serpent as representative of the moon, pp. 660–664.—The serpent and the moon interchangeable, pp. 660 sq. ; moon-deities represented as serpents, pp. 661 sq. ; women's witchcraft derived from the serpent, p. 662 ; serpents the source of magical power, pp. 663 sq.

Women and serpents, pp. 664–669.—Serpents thought to make love to women, pp. 664–669 ; serpents the cause of menstruation, pp. 666 sq., 668 sq. ; thought to steal women's milk, p. 668 ; serpent gods cause pregnancy and regulate menstruation, p. 669.

Serpents the guardians of waters, pp. 670–673.—Serpents the guardian deities of springs and lakes which fertilise women, pp. 670 sq. ; serpents interchangeable with lizards, dragons, and fishes, pp. 671 sq. ; the moon thought to renew her youth by bathing in the Waters of Life, pp. 672 sq.

Chapter XXII

PRIMITIVE COSMIC RELIGION

Primitive ideas concerning the moon the germ of cosmic religious conceptions of universal application, as opposed to tribal religion, pp. 654 ; no evidence in support of the hypothesis of indiscriminate ' nature worship,' pp. 675 sq. ; gods, as they assume an independent personality, sever their connection with the ideas out of which they arose, p. 676 ; the sun often substituted for the moon in later cosmological interpretations, pp. 676 sq. ; solar cults and more highly developed theological systems derived from lunar cults, pp. 677 sq.

Cosmic religion in Melanesia and New Guinea, pp. 678–694.—The two moon-gods of the bright and the dark moon, pp. 679–682 ; the mother of the gods, pp. 682 sq. ; no definite distinction between gods, spirits, and heroes, pp. 683–685 ; ghost societies ; rites of death, new birth, and resurrection, pp. 685–688 ; the crocodile and the shark ; the

' Principle of Life from the Sky,' pp. 688–690 ; salvation through the substituted sacrifice of a redeemer, pp. 690–692 ; sacred stones ; regarded as partaking of the moon's immortality, pp. 692–694.

Cosmic religion among the aborigines of Australia and Tasmania, pp. 694–709.—The moon regarded as the creator and restorer of life, pp. 694 sq. ; ' Bora ' ceremonies, pp. 695–708 ; supposed death and resurrection of the candidate, pp. 695–706 ; divinities of the ' boras ' ; their lunar character, pp. 697–701 ; magical virtues of crystals and gems ; snake-stones, pp. 702–704 ; knocking out of teeth ; teeth regarded as immortal, pp. 705–708 ; moon-cult in Tasmania, p. 709.

Traces of lunar cults in Indonesia, pp. 709–712.—Agricultural religion assumes a solar character ; Father Sun and Mother Earth, p. 709 ; Hindu and Muhammadan influence in Indonesia, pp. 709 sq. ; lunar gods among the more primitive populations, pp. 710 sq. ; rites of resurrection in Celebes, p. 711 ; lunar mythology of the Dayaks, pp. 711 sq.

Survivals of primitive cosmic religion in Polynesia, pp. 712–721.—Decay of cult and religious ideas in Polynesia, pp. 712 sq. ; the Rangi-Papa mythology, p. 712 ; supposed solar mythology : absence of solar cults, p. 713 ; Maui, the left-hand moon-god, pp. 713–715 ; Rona, the moon-eater, p. 715 ; interchangeable functions of the moon-gods, pp. 715 sq. ; Maui's wife, the sun, p. 716 ; Tangaroa and the Tangaroas, pp. 716 sq. ; genealogical interpretation of mythology ; ' ancestor-worship ' ; sacred kings, the descendants of the moon-gods, p. 718 ; religious associations ; ' runanga ' ; the Areoi and the rites of death and resurrection, pp. 718–720.

Primitive cosmic religion in North America, pp. 721–738.—The two moon-gods and the moon-cult of the Eskimo, p. 721 ; moon-cults among the tribes of the North-West, pp. 721–723 ; rites of resurrection in British Columbia, pp. 722 sq. ; conflicting accounts of the religious ideas of the North American Indians, pp. 723–726 ; the Great Spirit, pp. 725 sq. ; ' manitus ' and magical powers, p. 726 ; ' medicines,' p. 727 ; influence of Christian ideas, pp. 727 sq. ; the moon-goddesses : Aataensic, ' The Old Woman who never dies,' pp. 728–730 ; the two sons of the Old Woman : the Bright and the Dark Manitu, pp. 730–733 ; the Great Hare and his contest with the sun, pp. 733–735 ; moon-cult of the Déné, p. 786 ; the Great Manitu, the source of magic power, p. 786 ; the two moon-gods among the tribes of California, pp. 736 sq. ; the Goddess of Fertility and the Serpent-god of the Pueblo Indians, pp. 737 sq. ; solar cults in North America, p. 738.

Cosmic religion in Central and South America, pp. 739–745.—Moon-gods of the ancient Mexicans, p. 739 ; solar cult established by the Incas of Peru, pp. 739 sq. ; the popular lunar mythology and moon-cults, pp. 740–741 ; lunar cult of the Caribs, p. 741 ; Jurupari, the serpent-god, controller of menstruation, pp. 741 sq. ; religious ideas of the Huitoto, p. 742 ; moon-cults of other South American tribes, p. 742–744 ; mythology of the Patagonians, pp. 744 sq. ; moon-cult of the Fuegians, p. 745.

Cosmic religious conceptions in Africa, pp. 745–763.—The two conflicting moon-gods of the Bushmen and Hottentots, pp. 745 sq. ; moon-dances and rites, pp. 746 sq. ; dancing as a magic practice to assist the growth of the moon, pp. 747–749 ; the cross as a symbol of the moon and of

eternal life, pp. 749–753 ; lunar cults of Africa, p. 753 ; rites of regeneration and resurrection, pp. 755–758 ; decay of religious conceptions among the Bantu : growth of fetichism, pp. 758 sq. ; otiose supreme beings : Leza, p. 760 ; Dahomian religion : the moon-god Mau, pp. 760 sq. ; other appellations of the supreme god, p. 761 ; absence of solar religion in Africa, pp. 762 sq.

The cosmic religion of Ancient Egypt, pp. 763–789.—The religion of the sun-god Rā : its establishment by the priest of Heliopolis under the Vth Dynasty, pp. 763–765 ; the great gods identified and associated with Rā : Amen, the frog-god of Thebes, p. 765 ; Tum, p. 766 ; Ptah, pp. 766 sq. ; the face-god Horus : his contest with Set, pp. 767–770 ; identical attributes of the Egyptian high-gods, p. 770 ; incongruities of the interpretations of solar theology, pp. 770–773 ; the moon-god Khons, p. 772 ; persistence of popular religion, pp. 773 sq. ; improbability of the foreign origin of solar religion, pp. 774–776 ; Osiris, the early dynastic and popular god of the resurrection, pp. 776–777 ; the sacred beetle Khepera, pp. 777 sq. ; all Egyptian gods, gods of the resurrection and of 'transformations,' p. 778 ; Osiris, the Lord of the Moon, pp. 778–783 ; sublimation of solar mythology : moral interpretations, p. 784 ; the evil god Set : his worship and its abolition, pp. 784 sq. ; Thoth as the Holy Spirit and Logos, pp. 785–787 ; his animal forms : the ibis, the baboon, p. 787 ; evolution of lunar and totemic mythology into Gnosticism and theology, pp. 787–789.

THE MOTHERS

CHAPTER XIII

PROMISCUITY AND INDIVIDUAL MARRIAGE

THE regulation of relations between intermarriage groups is, like the rule of exogamy, a sexual and not an economic regulation. Individual marriage has its foundation in economic relations. In the vast majority of uncultured societies marriage is regarded almost exclusively in the light of economic considerations; and throughout by far the greater part of the history of the institution, the various changes which it has undergone have been conditioned by economic causes. In the established tradition of modern Europe the sexual and the economic aspects of marriage are combined in one and the same relation; the former is, further, conventionally regarded as being the primary one, and the economic aspect as subordinate, subsidiary, and accessory to it. That view of the institution, based upon ethical and sentimental standards, has been consistently upheld as a recognised convention even where, as in the marriages of the aristocratic classes in continental Europe, the association was founded exclusively upon economic and social considerations, and the bride and bridegroom made one another's acquaintance for the first time on the wedding-day amid festive celebrations symbolic of the consummation of romantic passion. The institution, its origin and development, have hence been almost exclusively viewed and discussed by social historians in terms of the operation of the sexual instincts and of the sentiments connected with those instincts, such as the exercise of personal choice, the effects of jealousy, the manifestations of romantic love. The origin, like the biological foundation, of individual marriage being essentially economic, those psychological factors are the products of the association rather than the causes or conditions that have given rise to it. Individual economic association between sexual partners has inevitably tended to establish individual sexual claims; those claims

have brought about new restrictions on sexual relations. The married woman tends in time to become prohibited or tabued to all but her individual associate. In comparatively advanced stages of social development the betrothal of females in infancy, more especially in the case of chiefs and of aristocratic classes, has led to a retrospective operation of the restriction upon their sexual freedom, and to the demand that a bride shall be a virgin.

Those restrictions, which, as we shall see, have been extremely slow in developing, and have not become fully established until quite late stages in the growth of advanced societies, have contributed to that identification of the sexual with the economic aspect of marriage which is assumed in European tradition. Marriage is with us the only recognised and licit sexual relation. It is in theory the only avenue to the satisfaction of the sexual impulses and their derivative sentiments; and it is so to a large extent in practice, for sexual relations outside marriage are attended with the risks, the disabilities and disadvantages which are inseparable from defiance of traditionally established codes and of the existing social order. But in primitive society, marriage is nothing of the sort. It is neither the entrance into sexual life, nor even the condition of access to any given individual of the opposite sex. What, in uncultured societies we call marriage, far from being a means of satisfying the sexual instincts, is one of the chief restrictions which have become imposed upon their operation.

Those restrictions, being the effect of marriage, are necessarily non-existent before it; unmarried females, outside the prohibited classes or degrees, are accessible to all males. In all uncultured societies, where advanced retrospective claims have not become developed, and the females are not regularly betrothed or actually married before they have reached the age of puberty, girls and women who are not married are under no restrictions as to their sexual relations, and are held to be entirely free to dispose of themselves as they please in that respect.[1]

[1] North America.—Eskimo: J. Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Seas*, vol. i, p. 132; W. E. Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage*, p. 529; J. Murdoch, "Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition," *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 419 sq.; L. Kumlien, "Contributions to the Natural History of Arctic America," *Bulletin of the United States National Museum*, No. 15, p. 16; E. Petitot, *Les Grands Esquimaux*, p. 145; J. McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory*, vol. ii, p. 135. Western Tribes: J. McLean, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 300; A. G. Morice, "The Great Déné Race," *Anthropos*, v, p. 971; Id., *The History of the North Interior of British Columbia*, p. 232; J. Jetté, "On the Superstitions of the Ten'a Indians," *Anthropos*, vi, p. 700; J. MacKenzie, "The King's Posts," in L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, vol. ii, pp. 424 sq.; G. Gibbs, "Notes on the Tinneh, or Chepeweyan Indians of

To that rule there does not exist any known exception. Were any authenticated instance known of a primitive society, uninfluenced by the usages and sentiments of a more highly developed

British and Russian America," *Smithsonian Report*, 1866, p. 310; E. Petitot, *Autour du Grand Lac des Esclaves*, pp. 219, 347; S. de Champlain, *Oeuvres*, vol. iii, p. 164; D. W. Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America*, p. 293; F. Poole, *Queen Charlotte Island*, p. 312; G. Gibbs, *Tribes of Western Oregon*, p. 199; R. Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, vol i, pp. 306, 320; S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 412; Id., "The Northern Californian Indians," *The Overland Monthly*, viii, p. 330; M. Venegas, *A Natural and Civil History of California*, vol. i, p. 81; R. E. Dixon, "The Northern Maidu," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, xvii, Part iii, pp. 236 sq.; A. S. Gastchet, "Der Yuma-Sprachstamm," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, ix, p. 346; A. L. Kroeber, "The Arapaho," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, xviii, p. 15. Algonkin and Iroquois Tribes: J. Cartier, *Bref récit et succincte relation de la navigation aux Canadas*, p. 30; *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. iii, p. 102; vol. xiii, pp. 136, 139; vol. xiv, p. 252; vol. xv, p. 106; vol. xxii, p. 232; vol. xxiii, p. 164; vol. xlii, p. 140; vol. lviii, p. 237; S. de Champlain, *Oeuvres*, vol. ii, p. 19; vol. iv, pp. 62 sq.; N. Denys, *Description géographique et historique des côtes de l'Amérique septentrionale*, vol. ii, p. 475; John Megapolensis, "A Short Account of the Maquaas Indians of New Netherlands," in E. Hazard, *Historical Collections*, vol. i, p. 420; N. Perrot, *Mémoire sur les moeurs, coutumes*, etc., pp. 23, 178; M. Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. iii, pp. 827 sq.; F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. v, p. 422; De La Hontan, *New Voyages to North America*, vol. ii, pp. 35 sqq., 45, 111, 177 sq., 180 sq.; F. G. Sagard Théodat, *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons*, pp. 111 sqq.; B. de la Potherie, *Histoire de l'Amérique septentrionale*, vol. ii, p. 458; D. Jones, *Journal of Two Visits made to some Nations of Indians in the Western Side of the River Ohio*, p. 75; T. Scharf and T. Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, vol. i, p. 49; H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. v, p. 272; A. Mackenzie, *Voyage from Montreal on the River St. Laurence*, pp. xcvi, 372; F. Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, p. xxxiv; E. Eggleston, "The Aborigines and the Colonists," *The Century Magazine*, xxvi, p. 106. Siouan and Southern Tribes: C. A. Murray, *Travels in North America*, vol. i, pp. 258, 260 (Pawnees); M. Lewis and W. Clarke, *Travels to the Source of the Missouri River*, p. 439; J. D. Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, p. 203 (Kansas, Osages); J. Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of America*, pp. 177 sq.; Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America*, vol. ii, p. 350; H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. v, p. 272; R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, pp. 194, 198, 201, 210, 215; C. C. Jones, *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, p. 69; J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, p. 245; J. Dunn, *The Oregon Territory*, p. 70; A. Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, p. 290; S. R. Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography*, p. 205; S. C. Simms, "A Crow Monument to Shame," *The American Anthropologist*, N.S., v, p. 375; E. D. Neill, "Memoir of the Sioux," *Macalister College Contributions*, p. 229; A. Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Carolina River*, pp. 92 sq.; J. Lawson, *History of Carolina*, pp. 34, 62 sq.; S. M. Barrett, *Geronimo's Story of his Life*, p. 25; F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. ii, p. 252; H. Ten Kate, "Notes ethnographiques sur les Comanches," *Revue d'Ethnographie*, iv, pp. 129 sq.; J. H. McCulloch,

culture, where chastity is regarded as obligatory on unmarried or unbetrothed females, the fact would be of momentous importance. For we should be compelled to regard it as an example of the

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perfection—that is to say, that it accorded with the moral standards recognised in European societies. The codes of sexual morality and the view of the institution of marriage which were

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INDONESIA.—Malays: J. C. van Eerde, "Een huwelijk bij de Minangkabausche Maleiers," *Tijdschrift von Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xliv, pp. 455 sq. Bataks of Sumatra: E. Modigliani, *Fra i Batacchi independenti*, p. 28; W. Ködding, "Die Batakker auf Sumatra," *Globus*, liii, p. 91; W. A. Henny, "Reis naar Si-Gompoelan en Si-Lindong," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xvii, p. 40; J. B. Neumann, "Het Pane-, en Bila-stroomgebied," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 2e Serie, iii, pp. 240 sq.; G. A. Wilken, *De verspreide Geschriften*, vol. i, pp. 586 sq. Pageh: J. Crisp, "An Account of the Inhabitants of the Poggy, or Nassau Islands, lying off Sumatra," *Asiatick Researches*, vol. vi, pp. 87 sq.; J. F. K. Hausen, "De groep Noord- en Zuid- Pageh van de Mentaweieilanden," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, lxx, p. 210. Engano: H. C. B. von Rosemberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 212; E. Modigliani, *L'Isola delle Donne*, p. 139. Ceram: P. Sachse, *Ceram en seine bewohner*, p. 105; J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 96. Moluccas and Other Islands: J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 sq., 71, 219, 278, 280, 302, 314, 370, 405, 435; Id., "The Sawu Group," *Revue coloniale internationale*, 1885, p. 305; Id., "The Island of Flores," *ibid.*, 1886, pp. 67 sq.; H. C. B. von Rosemberg, *op. cit.*, p. 199; G. W. W. van Hoëvell, *Ambon en de Oeliassers*, pp. 126 sqq.; C. F. H. Campen, "De Alfoeren van Halmahera," *Tijdschrift van Neêrlands Indië*, 1883, Part i, p. 284; J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Papuas," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xiv, p. 345.

professed and accepted by the Christian nations of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were supposed to represent the original and innate endowments of primitive humanity, and any

Dayaks of Borneo: H. Low, *Sarawak*, pp. 195 sqq., 325; H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, vol. ii, p. cxcvii; O. Rutter, *British North Borneo*, p. 308; S. St. John, "Wild Tribes of the North-West Coast of Borneo," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, N.S., ii, p. 237; C. Hose and W. McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, vol. ii, pp. 170, 183; J. T. Nieuwenhuis, *In Central Borneo*, vol. i, p. 72; M. T. H. Perelaer, *Ethnographische beschrijving der Dajaks*, p. 59; P. J. Veth, *Borneo's Wester Afdeeling*, vol. ii, pp. 251, 383 sq.; C. Lumholtz, *Through Central Borneo*, pp. 138, 217; E. H. Gomes, *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dayaks of Borneo*, p. 127; G. R. Mundy, *Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes*, vol. i, p. 52.

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Polynesia.—Hawaii: T. Coan, *Life in Hawaii*, p. 258; D. Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, p. 103; J. J. Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian Islands*, pp. 18, 42; H. T. Cheever, *The Island World of the Pacific*, pp. 92 sq.; E. Tregear, "The Maori," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix, p. 104; S. S. Hill, *Travels in the Sandwich and Society Islands*, pp. 63 sq.; M. Hopkins, *Hawaii*, pp. 354 sq. Ellice Group: C. Wilkes, *Narrative of*

deviations from those standards or institutions were regarded as aberrations due to corruption and acquired abuses. When the notions and customs of uncultured races first began to attract

the United States Exploring Expedition, vol. v, p. 91. Futuna: A. Monfat, *Le Missionnaire des Samoa, Mgr. L. Elloy*, p. 346. Rotuma: J. S. Gardner, "The Natives of Rotuma," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii, pp. 477 sq. Lord Howe Group: R. Parkinson, "Beiträge zur Kenntniss des deutschen Schutzgebiete der Südsee," *Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg*, 1887–88, p. 218. Samoa: G. Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago and Long Before*, p. 91; G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 285; C. Phillips, *Samoa, Past and Present*, p. 20; S. Ella, "Samoa," *Report of the Fourth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, p. 626; F. Walpole, *Four Years in the Pacific*, vol. ii, p. 353; J. L. Brenchley, *Jottings during the Cruise of H.M.S. 'Curaçoa' among the South Sea Islands in 1865*, p. 58. Tonga: W. Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, vol. ii, p. 174; T. West, *Ten Years in South Central Polynesia*, p. 270; W. Waldegrave, "Extracts from a Private Journal kept on board H.M.S. 'Seringapatam' in the Pacific," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, iii, p. 194. New Zealand: E. Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, vol. ii, p. 40; J. L. Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand in the Year 1814*, p. 239; E. F. Maning, *Old New Zealand*, pp. 96, 114; S. Marsden, in *The Missionary Register*, 1816, p. 659; R. A. Cruise, *Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand*, p. 280; A. S. Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, vol. i, p. 177; J. S. C. Dumont D'Urville, *Voyages de la corvette l'Astrolabe*, vol. ii, p. 432, vol. iii, p. 686; J. Batty Tuke, "Medical Notes on New Zealand," *The Edinburgh Medical Journal*, ix, p. 224; E. Tregear, *The Maori Race*, p. 284; Id., "The Maoris of New Zealand," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix, p. 101; E. Best, "Maori Marriage Customs," *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, xxxvi, pp. 32, 35; R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 35; J. S. Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, vol. i, p. 145; W. Brown, *New Zealand and its Aborigines*, p. 35; G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, vol. i, p. 314. Tahiti: J. Cook, *Voyages* (ed. Anderson), p. 267; J. Hawkesworth, *Voyages in the Southern Hemisphere*, vol. ii, p. 206; G. Forster, *A Voyage Round the World*, vol. i, p. 457; J. R. Forster, *Observations made during a Voyage round the World*, pp. 432 sq.; L. A. de Bougainville, *Voyage autour du monde*, vol. ii, p. 87; G. L. D. de Rienzi, *Océanie*, vol. ii, p. 317; P. Lesson, *Voyage autour du monde*, vol. i, p. 421; C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, vol. ii, p. 13; W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, vol. i, p. 87; J. A. Moerenhout, *Voyages aux îles du Grand Océan*, vol. i, pp. 223 sq., vol. ii, p. 62; *Roamings in the Pacific*, vol. i, p. 223. Marquesas: G. H. von Langsdorf, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 138; D. Porter, *Journal of a Cruise made to the Pacific*, vol. ii, pp. 59 sqq.; W. Waldegrave, *op. cit.*, p. 171; A. J. von Krusenstern, *Voyage round the World*, vol. i, p. 116; L. Tautain, "Étude sur le mariage chez les Polynésiens des îles Marquises," *L'Anthropologie*, ix, p. 643. Easter Island: F. L. Gray, "Easter Island," in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. v, p. 121.

New Guinea.—J. Modera, *Verhaal van eene Reize enlongs de zuid-westkust van Nieuw Guinea*, p. 25; M. Krieger, *Neu-Guinea*, p. 395; J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Papua," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechts-wissenschaft*, xiv, pp. 344 sq., 345; R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*,

the attention of travellers and missionaries during the period of the expansion of European civilisation and enterprise in various parts of the globe, the chief interest presented by those uncivilised human

vol. i, p. 160; R. Pöch, "Eine Reise an der Nordküste von Britisch-Neuguinea," *Globus*, xcii, p. 279; B. Malinowski, "The Natives of Mailu," *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia*, xxxix, p. 564; Id., "Baloma; the Spirits of the Dead in the Trobriand Islands," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlvi, p. 407; Id., *The Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, p. 53; W. N. Beaver, *Unexplored New Guinea*, p. 63; C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 134, 499 sqq., 566 sq.; R. W. Williamson, *The Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea*, p. 172; Id., "Some Unrecorded Customs of the Mekeo People of British New Guinea," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xliii, p. 274; B. A. Hely, in *Annual Report for British New Guinea*, 1892–93, p. 57 (Western District); H. N. Chester, *ibid.*, p. 61 (Louisiades District); C. Kowald, *ibid.*, p. 62; A. C. English, *ibid.*, p. 65 (Mekeo District); J. Hennesy, *Annual Report for British New Guinea*, 1893–94, p. 97 (Waga Waga District). Torres Straits Islands: A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 275.

Melanesia.—New Britain: G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 254; R. Parkinson, "Beiträge zur Ethnographie der Matty- und Durour-Inseln (Bismarck Archipelago)," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, ix, p. 196; Id., *Im Bismarck Archipel*, pp. 96, 100; W. Powell, *Wanderings in a Wild Country*, p. 261. New Hebrides and Loyalty Groups: R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 23, 235; A. Cheyne, *A Description of Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean*, pp. 15, 36. Solomon Group: H. B. Guppy, *The Solomon Islands*, p. 43; B. T. Sommerville, "Ethnographical Notes in New Georgia, Solomon Islands," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi, p. 394; F. Elton, "Notes on the Natives of the Solomon Islands," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvii, p. 93; R. Parkinson, "Zur Ethnographie der nordwestlichen Salomo Inseln," *Abhandlungen und Berichte des königl. zoologischen und anthropologischen Museums zu Dresden*, vii, No. 6, p. 8; C. E. Fox, "Social Organisation in San Cristoval, Solomon Islands," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlix, p. 119; C. Ribbe, *Zwei Jahre unter den Kannibalen der Solomon Inseln*, p. 270; R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, vol. iii, p. 62. New Caledonia: V. de Rochas, *La Nouvelle Calédonie*, pp. 235 sq.; M. Glaumont, "Usages, moeurs et coutumes des Néo-Calédoniens," *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vii, p. 83; C. Brainne, *La Nouvelle Calédonie*, p. 251; L. Moncelon, "Réponse . . . pour les Néo-Calédoniens au questionnaire de la Société," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, 3e Série, ix, p. 368; J. E. Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific*, p. 356.

Australia.—J. Macgillivray, *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. 'Rattlesnake,'* vol. ii, p. 8; W. Tench, *A Complete Account of the Settlement of Port Jackson in New South Wales*, p. 199; D. Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, vol. i, p. 559; E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, vol. ii, pp. 319 sq.; G. Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," in J. D. Woods, *The Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 18; R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. ii, p. 174; B. H. Purcell, "Rites and Customs of the Australian Aborigines," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 1893, p. 288; W. H. Willshire, *The*

societies lay in the corroboration of the generally accepted theory which their condition and conceptions might afford, or in the explanations that might be found necessary in order to account for discrepancies between the observed facts and the theory. The acquaintance acquired by Catholic missionaries with the manners and customs of the American natives in particular, who, owing to their isolation in the ' New World,' might be regarded as apt representatives of uncivilised humanity, greatly stimulated interest in the application of such observations to the elucidation of current views concerning human origins and development. To that intelligent interest of the Jesuit Fathers the science of comparative social anthropology owes to a large extent its origin. The first systematic book published on the subject was Father Lafitau's ' Manners of the American Savages compared with those of the Earliest Times.' It is intended to uphold the theory of a primitive moral and religious revelation, and to adapt the observations derived from the newly acquired acquaintance with peoples uninfluenced by European or Asiatic civilisations to that current theory. " In consequence of the error, in which the ancients were sunk in the last days of paganism," wrote Father Lafitau, " imagining as they did that in every country the indigenes had made their appearance like mushrooms, various authors being persuaded that those wild men still imbued with the baseness and imperfection of their origin were scarcely distinguishable from animals, have believed that it was long before their minds developed so as to be capable of that docility which is required by the laws of polite societies. Athenaeus, being like others of that opinion, writes that the men of the earliest times observed no solemnity in their marriages, mixing indifferently like animals, until the time of Cecrops, who laid down the laws of matrimony, compelling his subjects to take wives, and to be satisfied with one. The opinions of authors spread their contagion, and the truths of the Christian Religion do not always enlighten a scientific man sufficiently to

Aborigines of Central Australia, pp. 30, 36; A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 187, 232; E. Eylmann, *Die Eingeborenen der Kolonie Südaustralien*, pp. 125, 128; N. W. Thomas, *Kinship Organisations and Group Marriage in Australia*, pp. 130, 137, 146; A. Sutherland, *The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct*, vol. i, p. 180; G. Krefft, *On the Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Lower Murray and Darling*, p. 76; J. Beate Jukes, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyage of H.M.S. ' Fly,'* vol. ii, p. 248; W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, p. 182; Id., *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No.* 8, pp. 6, 7; G. Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-Western and Western Australia*, vol. i, p. 253.

Tasmania.—J. Bonwick, *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*, p. 38.

enable him to cast off the ideas which he has derived from pagan writers. . . . It appears to me evident, on the contrary, that marriage has always been regarded by all peoples as a thing sacred and solemn, the rights of which have been respected by even the most barbarous nations. For, in fact, although there be a great multitude of nations that have retained to the present day all their ferocity, and which appear to us to live without laws, without religion and without civil order, we do not, however, know of any that does not observe some solemnity in its alliances and is not jealous as regards the observance of conjugal faith. We have seen that virginity has been honoured from the most ancient times, consecrated in persons specially appointed to the cult of the gods, and held in regard among barbarians. That virtue could not be extended to all persons for all the days of their life, on account of the necessity of procreating the human species; but, mankind being in that necessity, conjugal faith has been respected, and marriage, shameful in its use, has been subject to laws of propriety, modesty, pudicity, and continence, which are inspired by nature, upheld by reason, and which the institution has preserved in the midst of barbarism. I admit, of course, that among some peoples, depravity and the grossness of manners have at various times and in diverse places introduced abuses and even shameful customs in this respect. But that is by no means universal." [1]

The doctrine of organic evolution changed completely the theoretical premises of social anthropology, and, shortly after that doctrine was established by Darwin, a galaxy of brilliant and distinguished scholars placed the social history of the human race upon a scientific basis by showing that the organisation of primitive society and the conceptions upon which it was founded differed profoundly from those obtaining in modern European society, and that the institutions and corresponding conceptions and sentiments obtaining in the latter were the result of a gradual development from a state of society in which they did not originally exist. The views of Father Lafitau have, however, been revived by a Finnish writer who was introduced to the English public by Alfred Wallace, one of the authors of the theory of natural selection. Dr. Wallace entertained, among other peculiar views, the opinion that the law of evolution, while applying to all other forms of life, did not extend to the human race, which he regarded as the product of a special creation. Edward Westermarck, Dr. Wallace's protégé, taking little note of the discoveries of the founders of scientific anthropology concerning the principles of primitive social organisation, "boldly challenged the conclusions of our most esteemed writers," and "arrived at different, and sometimes diametrically opposite,

[1] J. B. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains comparées aux moeurs des premiers temps*, vol. i, pp. 535 sq.

conclusions."[1] That revival of the doctrines of the seventeenth-century Jesuit theologians was set forth by Dr. Westermarck with an industry in the collection of bibliographical references which outdid that of all previous writers, and with a dialectical adroitness not unworthy of the reputation of his noted predecessors; and the effect produced on a portion of the scientific public by those qualities, together with the appeal which any attempt to discredit the conclusions of evolutionary science was sure of making to the popular prejudices of the period, have caused those views to exercise for a long time an enormous influence.

Were those views substantiated by valid evidence we should be compelled to abandon scientific methods in reference to the social development of humanity, and should have to turn to the older theological accounts of human origins; for although Dr. Westermarck has not expressly repudiated the doctrine of organic evolution, and has, indeed, endeavoured to trace the institution of marriage to the apes, he has not offered any examples of regard for chastity amongst monkeys, and there would therefore be no alternative but to account for those sentiments by the supposition of a special revelation. The hope that we may continue to employ the methods of science is, however, strongly confirmed by our ethnological evidence, imperfect as it is. We possess many thousands of accounts and statements referring to the sexual habits of uncultured and imperfectly known races; those statements come from all sorts and conditions of witnesses, many of them entirely devoid of scientific notions or regard for accuracy, many of them zealously anxious to represent the conceptions of sexual morality obtaining among European peoples as innate and universal. An enormous number of those statements and reports is of necessity inaccurate, misleading and false. Yet out of that multitude of highly untrustworthy and questionable documents which represent an innate regard for chastity as imposing continence upon unmarried females in primitive societies, there are probably not a dozen that cannot be shown to be irrelevant or erroneous. That remarkable fact, which, far more than we might have seemed entitled to expect, confirms our confidence in the methods of anthropological science, has been very clearly brought out by Dr. Westermarck. He has, with unsurpassed industry in research, brought together the evidence which such statements may afford in support of the conceptions of the moral theology of the last century, and we can therefore gain no better idea of the testimony of ethnological evidence than by an examination of the collection of examples which he has produced in support

[1] A. R. Wallace, in Introductory Note to E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. i, pp. ix sq.

of Father Lafitau's thesis. Such an examination shows that the number of relevant statements of the kind which we have no means of checking is, indeed, exceedingly small.

Alleged Instances of the Observance of Chastity before Marriage among Primitive Peoples.

Dr. Westermarck's enumeration of primitive peoples who are alleged to show an innate regard for chastity by imposing restrictions on the sexual relations of unmarried females and requiring virginity in a bride includes the Turks, the Circassians, the modern Egyptians, the Algerians, the Berbers, and other Muslim peoples of Africa, several Asiatic races with hoary patriarchal institutions, and even those peoples who practise the infibulation of girls.[1] Several other examples refer to Roman Catholics and to other populations which have long been Christians.[2] With those illustrations we are not concerned in estimating the sexual customs of primitive humanity. Nor are we in the present connection concerned with those people among whom the practice of betrothing girls in childhood obtains in the aristocratic classes of monarchical societies, such as those of slave-trading African kingdoms of the West Coast of Africa, for it is, as we shall see, the very practice of those societies that have long departed from primitive conditions, which has led to the conceptions and usages which obtain in that respect in advanced cultures. We shall have to note, however, that in those societies the claims to the pre-nuptial chastity of the bride and all that it involves are confined to the ruling classes and to chiefs, and when, therefore, Dr. Westermarck represents them as the general usage and sentiment among the Yoruba, the Ewe, and peoples of the Gold Coast and Slave Coast, or, still more unwarrantably, among the Tongans, Samoans, and other Polynesians, the statements are profoundly inaccurate and misleading. The same is true of several Californian tribes among whom a regular aristocratic class became established, and who in order to safeguard their exclusiveness required a high bride-price for their daughters, and strictly prevented all access to them save on the payment of that guarantee

[1] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. i, pp. 142, 143, 155, 156. With the statements concerning the Berber races it is interesting to compare the accounts given by the authorities mentioned in my note on page 7. The Osmanli Turks, by the way, are said to be indifferent to the virginity of their brides (E. Godard, *Égypte et Palestine*, p. 85).

[2] E.g., natives of Mexico (E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 139 sq.), the extinct Canelas (*ibid.*, p. 139), the Ossetes, and Chuvash (*ibid.*, p. 143). The same is true of several North and South American tribes at the time from which the accounts date, and also of several New Guinea and Melanesian natives as we shall have occasion to note.

of wealth.[1] Speaking of the latter Mr. Powers remarks: "Notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary by false friends and weak, maundering philanthropists, the Californian Indians are a grossly licentious race. None more so perhaps." [2] It is equally irrelevant to adduce as illustrations of the observance of chastity in the pre-nuptial state instances of peoples where such a state does not exist. With several peoples whose economic conditions are exceedingly simple, such as some tribes of New Guinea, some forest tribes like the Veddahs of Ceylon, boys and girls are mated as soon as they attain the age of puberty, and often before. Those unions are in no wise regarded as binding, and the youthful spouses are at liberty to separate, and take other partners, which they sometimes do the same day. Females who have no husbands are, among those peoples, accounted free as regards their sexual relations.[3] While, therefore, there cannot be said to exist either pre-nuptial chastity or unchastity, neither can it be said that any account is taken of unspotted purity.

Many forms of the statements which have been adduced as evidence that pre-nuptial chastity is observed have no bearing upon the question. It is thus frequently reported of uncultured peoples, that "the women are chaste." But it is by no means uncommon, even among rude and simple populations, for the married women to be perfectly sedate and faithful in their conduct, while at the same time they enjoy and exercise complete sexual liberty before marriage. This is very clearly stated, for example, by Champlain of some Canadian tribes.[4] So again, Comanche girls were unrestricted and made ample use of their freedom, but were strictly faithful as wives.[5] Of the women of Nicaragua Gomara tells us that they were "bad before marriage, but good afterwards." [6] Among the natives of Guiana "chastity is not considered an indispensable virtue amongst the unmarried women, but when once affianced they are singularly faithful and continent." [7] "The Patagonians," we are told, "are not in the least a voluptuous or sensual race; men and women are, on the contrary, of an austere and serious disposition, and after marriage the women are

[1] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. i, pp. 155 sq., 140.

[2] S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 412.

[3] See below, p. 79. Cf. C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 566 sq.; P. Lozano, *Descripción chorographica del Gran Chaco*, p. 83.

[4] See below, p. 34.

[5] H. Ten Kate, "Notes ethnographiques sur les Comanches," *Revue d'Ethnographie*, iv, p. 129.

[6] F. L. de Gomara, *Historia general de las Indias*, p. 283. Cf. p. 206 (Cumana).

[7] M. G. Dalton, *The History of British Guiana*, vol. i, p. 80.

models of fidelity and chastity. But no man ever thinks of considering the antecedents of a woman he marries; before she has a husband, she is her own mistress, and can dispose of herself as she pleases."[1] So, again, nothing is more fully attested than the unrestricted freedom which unmarried and unbetrothed girls enjoyed in New Zealand, except their orderly conduct after marriage and the fidelity which they in general observed towards their husbands.[2] So ingrained was the sentiment that even slave-girls who were handed to visitors for their temporary entertainment observed scrupulous fidelity to them for the time being and repulsed advances from other men.[3] The same unrestricted licence before marriage and fidelity after it is noted of several tribes of the Land Dayaks[4] and the Sea Dayaks.[5] Among the Andaman Islanders, marriage takes place comparatively late in life; previously to that individual association "the intercourse between the sexes is of the nature related by Herodotus in regard to the Massagetae"; there is an "utter absence of all moral feeling among them."[6] "The females," says another account, "have indiscriminate intercourse, save with their own fathers, until chosen and allotted as wives. . . . Sexual connection may take place before the men, women, and children of the party. If any married or single man goes to an unmarried woman and she declines to have intercourse with him, by getting up and going to another circle, he considers himself insulted, and, unless restrained, would kill or wound her."[7] Their chastity and fidelity after marriage have, however, been repeatedly praised. Mr. Man says that they are "models of constancy";[8] Mr. Portman that they become "fairly good wives afterwards, but are not 'models of constancy.'"[9] Of the Khyougtha of the Chittagong Hills, Captain Lewin says: "The intercourse between the sexes before marriage is almost entirely unrestricted, although the

[1] F. Lacroix, *Patagonie, Terre de Feu, et îles Malouines*, pp. 25 sq. Cf. A. Guinnard, *Trois ans d'esclavage chez les Patagons*, p. 122.

[2] J. L. Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, p. 239; R. A. Cruise, *Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand*, p. 280; M. J. Dumont D'Urville, *Voyage de la corvette L'Astrolabe*, vol. ii, pp. 432 sq.

[3] M. J. Dumont D'Urville, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 433.

[4] C. Lumholtz, *Through Central Borneo*, pp. 138, 217; G. R. Mundy, *Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes*, vol. ii, p. 2.

[5] S. St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, vol. i, p. 52.

[6] F. J. Mouat, "Narrative of an Expedition to the Andaman Islands in 1857," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxxii, p. 122.

[7] E. Owen, "On the Osteology and Dentition of the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, N.S., ii, p. 35.

[8] E. H. Man, "Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii, p. 135. Cf. F. J. Mouat, *loc. cit.*

[9] M. V. Portman, *A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, p. 627.

Khyougtha in this respect are rather stricter than the other and wilder tribes. After marriage, however, chastity is the rule, and one seldom hears of such a thing as an unfaithful wife." [1] Or again, among the Tharu, an important tribe of Oudh, "until the nuptial ceremony is completed, and the woman becomes the recognised property of some individual man, she is regarded as the common property of the clan, and is treated accordingly; till then there is no restriction of intercourse." But "so long as the contract between man and woman lasts, the latter is as chaste and faithful as any wife could be." [2] Among the Suk of British East Africa the life of unmarried people is one of free love; but "after marriage the women are generally faithful." [3] Among the natives of the Warru district of the Niger coast, "as a rule women are not chaste until married." [4]

Again, statements to the effect that even the unmarried girls are chaste or are strictly guarded have in the great majority of cases reference to their attitude towards strangers and towards Europeans in particular, and afford no criterion as to their conduct within the tribe. Many North American tribes would not even permit their women to become the legitimate wives of Europeans, in spite of every economic inducement.[5] That sentiment, as Mr. Bandelier points out, was probably general among American tribes. "Intercourse was almost promiscuous," he says, "with members of the tribe. Towards outsiders the strictest abstinence was observed; and the fact, which has been overlooked and misunderstood, explains the prevailing idea that before the coming of the white man the Indians were both chaste and moral, while the contrary is the truth." [6] Sexual intercourse was entirely unrestricted as regards unmarried girls among the Comanches, but it was extremely rare for any to have relations with a white man.[7] With reference to the Haidas, Mr. Poole, who

[1] T. H. Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein*, p. 47.

[2] J. C. Nesfield, in *The Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh*, vol. iii, p. 503.

[3] J. Barton, "Notes on the Suk Tribe of Kenia Colony," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, li, p. 91.

[4] R. K. Granville and F. N. Roth, "Notes on the Jekris, Sobos, and Ijas of the Warru District of the Niger Coast Protectorate," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii, p. 107.

[5] A. Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal to the Frozen Ocean*, p. 148; G. W. James, *The Indians of the Painted Desert Region*, p. 230; M. Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, p. 833; A. L. Kroeber, "Preliminary Sketch of the Mohave," *The American Anthropologist*, N.S., iv, p. 279; S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 214; J. Dunn, *The Oregon Territory*, pp. 313 sq.

[6] A. F. Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the South-Western United States*, Part i, pp. 141 sq.

[7] H. Ten Kate, "Notes ethnographiques sur les Comanches," *Revue d'Ethnographie*, iv, pp. 129 sq.

failed to discern any individual marriage amongst them, and states that all the women were "prostitutes," adds nevertheless the reservation that sexual relations scarcely ever took place with strangers.[1] The Missouri Indians recognise the duties of hospitality, and provide visitors with temporary wives, but these must be prisoners of war from some other nation, for on no account would they let even kinsmen and neighbours, the Mandan, have intercourse with their women.[2] At the present day, among the Indians of the Utah reservation, pre-nuptial chastity and marriage itself are so little regarded that their condition is described as one of sexual communism or complete promiscuity. But they "do not cohabit with white men or with Indians of other tribes."[3] Among the Caribbean races of the Mosquito Coast, although sexual relations were entirely unrestricted within the tribe, a girl who had had intercourse with a white man was killed by being slowly whipped to death.[4] The distinction is strictly observed at the present day by the native tribes of Mexico; "the young women enjoy absolute liberty, except as regards Mexicans."[5] Similarly, among the tribes of the Orinoco, whose morality is described as being as loose as it could be, girls and women were nevertheless jealously protected from Europeans.[6] The Jivaros of Ecuador, whose sexual relations both before and after marriage approach to complete promiscuity, are said to object strongly to any relations between their women and Europeans.[7] The Barolong Bechuana would kill a woman who had intercourse with a white man, although their own sexual standards are of the loosest, and the freedom of the unmarried unrestricted.[8] The Masai, whose organised pre-nuptial free love is notorious, will beat a woman to death who consorts with a European.[9] The natives of British Central Africa, according to Sir Harry Johnston, are totally indifferent to adultery; but they guard their women jealously against intercourse with Europeans.[10] In Benin, even

[1] F. Poole, *Queen Charlotte Islands*, pp. 312 sq.

[2] C. Mackenzie, "The Mississouri Indians," in L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, vol. i, p. 360.

[3] A. F. Currier, "A Study relative to the Functions of the Reproductive Apparatus in American Indian Women," *Transactions of the American Gynecological Society*, xvi, p. 276.

[4] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. i, p. 723.

[5] C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, vol. i, p. 266. Cf. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 663, 772.

[6] F. S. Gilii, *Saggio di Storia Americana*, vol. ii, p. 128.

[7] A. Simson, *Travels in the Wilds of Ecuador*, p. 158.

[8] W. Joest, "Bei den Barolong," *Das Ausland*, lvii, p. 464.

[9] S. L. Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, p. 76.

[10] H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 412.

prostitutes were not permitted to consort with Europeans.[1] In New Caledonia, where sexual morality is conspicuously absent, the men are extremely averse to any of their women having relations with Europeans.[2] Among the Tipperah of the Chittagong Hills "great freedom of intercourse is allowed between the sexes, but a girl is never known to go astray out of her clan."[3] With most of the wild tribes of India it is, in fact, a rule that, although pre-nuptial intercourse within the tribe is lightly regarded, misconduct with a member of another tribe involves excommunication.[4] Those distinctions apply, of course, to all peoples with strong endogamous principles ; they regard it as a crime to have relations, whether matrimonial or extra-matrimonial, with any member of a strange race or tribe. That fact has no bearing upon pre-nuptial restrictions within the tribe, although to many superficial observers, who form their opinion from the attitude of the women towards themselves or their companions, an erroneous impression may readily be conveyed.

There may even be a considerable amount of precautionary guarding of unmarried girls and of reserve on their part within the tribe itself, while at the same time the fullest liberty of disposing of themselves as they please before marriage is recognised. Far from there being any inconsistency between the two facts, the former is, on the contrary, a direct consequence of the latter ; for it would be as great a breach of the recognised liberty of an unmarried girl that she should suffer violence and be forced to yield her favours against her will as that she should be compelled to observe chastity. Among the Chukmas of the Chittagong Hills, for example, pre-nuptial relations are unrestricted ; nevertheless violence offered to a young girl is punished by a fine of 60 rupees, and the offender receives a severe beating from the young men of the village.[5] The dangers of such violence are in primitive societies very real. In Australia any female found unprotected is invariably abused and often killed afterwards.[6] In East Africa, among the Wayao and other tribes, a man, we are told, will never pass a solitary unmarried girl without entering into sexual relations with her, and if she refused he would probably kill her.[7] So likewise among the Andaman Islanders an unmarried

[1] H. Ling Roth, *Great Benin*, p. 37.

[2] M. A. Legrand, *Au pays des Canaques*, p. 118.

[3] T. H. Lewin, *The Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Dwellers Therein*, p. 80.

[4] E.g., W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, vol. i, p. 3 ; R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, vol. iii, pp. 15, 29, 397.

[5] T. H. Lewin, *The Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Dwellers Therein*, p. 75.

[6] See above, vol. i, pp. 313, 730.

[7] D. Macdonald, *Africana*, vol. i, p. 173.

girl who repels a man runs the risk of being killed.[1] Among the Siouan tribes of North America, " a man has as little control over his passions as any wild beast, and he is held as little accountable for their indiscriminate gratification." Rape was extremely common.[2] Among the Pima Indians the young men actually used lassoes to catch any stray female they might find.[3] Hence among the plain tribes, " custom makes it not only improper, but very dangerous for an Indian woman to be found alone away from her lodge ; for an unmarried girl to be found away from her lodge alone is to invite outrage, consequently she is never sent out to cut and bring wood, nor to take care of stock." [4] Further, it was the practice among all those tribes for unmarried girls when they went out at night to meet a lover, or to some ' dance,' to tie a rope round their thighs in such a manner that, while it did not interfere with their movements, it served as an effective preventive against violence on the part of the men.[5] Those precautions in no way affected the liberty which every girl had of giving herself to as many lovers as she pleased ; and with all the tribes the custom of night-visiting, that is, of the young men going to the girls' beds at night, or of the girls visiting in like manner their lovers, obtained, and sexual relations, provided no violence was done to the girl's will, were wholly unrestricted.[6] It was doubtless for the same reason that, among the Iroquois, the rule was observed that no advances on the part of the young men were permitted in the daytime ; all love-making had to be done at night in the form of ' night-visiting ' when the girls, among their own people, were at liberty to give or deny themselves as they pleased.[7]

It will readily be seen how such usages may give rise to misleading interpretations. Thus Dr. Westermarck cites the Rev. Owen Dorsey as saying that " among the Omaha extra-matrimonial intercourse is, as a rule, practised only with public women, or ' minckeda ' ; and so strict are they in these matters that a young girl, or even a married woman walking or riding alone, would be ruined in character, being liable to be taken for a ' minckeda,' and addressed as such." [8] At the time he described the Omahas, in the

[1] E. Owen, " On the Osteology and Dentition of the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, N.S., ii, p. 35.

[2] R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, p. 210.

[3] F. Russell, " The Pima Indians," *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 182.

[4] R. I. Dodge, *op. cit.*, pp. 198, 204 sq.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 203, 212 sq.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 215, 220 ; A. Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, p. 299, and references given in note 1, pp. 3, 4.

[7] De la Hontan, *New Voyage to North America*, vol. ii, p. 454.

[8] J. O. Dorsey, " Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 365 ; E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 340.

eighties of the last century, they were Christian farmers living in European homes and sending their children to Sunday-school. The Rev. Owen Dorsey is himself careful to warn us that their sexual customs were formerly quite different from those which he describes. At the present day the Omaha farmers marry very early, the girls almost at puberty: "it was not so formerly; the men waited till they were twenty-five or thirty; and the women till over twenty years of age." Of the Rev. Owen Dorsey's account in this respect, Professor Kroeber remarks: "This seems to be an Indian opinion which is not founded on facts."[1] The Rev. Owen Dorsey himself mentions that relics of their old pagan customs survive even at the present day in their 'dances,' concerning the propriety of which he is doubtful. After all, these Christianised Indians preserve a very vivid reminiscence of the traditional North American Indian manner of 'courting.' The youth will make a night assignation with the girl; "then, after her arrival, he enjoys her." Negotiations with the parents are only entered into at some convenient time subsequently to that preliminary overture. Such customs in the Sunday-school attending Indians of the present day are scarcely calculated to support the theory of primitive pre-nuptial chastity. The institution of 'minckeda,' the Rev. Owen Dorsey further tells us, appears to be of quite recent origin; in 1879 there were only two, or perhaps three, of those 'village whores' in the whole tribe—an inadequate provision, surely, for a population of mature bachelors.[2]

A reserved and retiring attitude in the general bearing of women and girls is very commonly regarded as evidence of chastity by superficial observers who are unable to imagine that the absence, in a primitive society, of the sexual restrictions of civilised codes can be anything but a manifestation of depravity, gross sensuality and lasciviousness, and assume that the demeanour of women who are ignorant of those restrictions must needs be similar to that of European prostitutes. But the assumption is as fantastic as the theory upon which it is founded. As Sir

[1] A. L. Kroeber, "The Arapaho," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, xviii, p. 14. The tendency to marry earlier is commonly found to follow the adoption of sexual restrictions which did not previously exist (see Von Oerten, "Die Banaka," in S. R. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien*, p. 35; J. E. Friend-Pereira, in *Census of India*, 1911, vol. iii, p. 143).

[2] J. O. Dorsey, *op. cit.*, pp. 259, 342 sq., 260. The Omaha settlements are among the most completely Europeanised of native American communities. Their sexual orderliness is, according to the collection of reports of medical men gathered by Dr. Currier, quite exceptional. "Schools and Churches are doing good work." Their conditions is "nearly civilised" (A. F. Currier, "A Study relative to the Functions of the Reproductive Apparatus in American Indian Women," *Transactions of the American Gynecological Society*, xvi, p. 293).

Herbert Ridley remarks, "to call this state of things immoral is to apply a modern concept to primitive habits of life."[1] What is normal implies natural and normal manners. It is noted that among the North American Indians "in some tribes the women are retiring and modest in manner, because custom requires it"; but at festive gatherings those same women will receive obscene jests and invitations with boisterous applause, and will, of course, make use of the freedom which is allowed by the code of their society.[2] Among the Sea Dayaks, says Spenser St. John, the women are "modest and yet unchaste."[3] The girls and women of the Caroline Islands, who are entirely unrestrained in their sexual relations, and who are devoid of any sentiments of modesty, are said by Dr. Finsch to be remarkably beseeming and modest in their demeanour and appearance.[4] In New Zealand, where the absolute freedom of unmarried girls was so fully recognised that no one would venture to place any restriction on their conduct, the general bearing of girls and women was nevertheless, in general, dignified and modest. Mr. W. Brown, who adds his testimony as to the unlimited freedom of the girls, remarks that "the sexes take no liberties with each other before third parties. During the period I was amongst them," he says, "I never witnessed in look or gesture the slightest approach to indelicacy."[5] Captain Tench comments on the shy and modest behaviour of a New South Wales aboriginal young woman. "She behaved so well," he says, "and assumed the character of gentleness and timidity to such advantage that, had our acquaintance ended here, a very moderate share of the spirit of travelling would have sufficed to record that among a horde of roaming savages in the desert wastes of New South Wales might be found as much feminine reserve, softness, and modesty as the most finished training could impart. On such grounds have countries been described and nations characterised; hence have arisen speculations and laborious compilations." Further acquaintance with the history of the same young woman disclosed, however, the most shocking and revolting indifference to elementary standards of European sexual morality.[6]

[1] H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. ii, p. 141.

[2] R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, p. 63.

[3] S. St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, vol. i, p. 52.

[4] O. Finsch, "Über die Bewohner von Ponapé," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xii, p. 317.

[5] W. Brown, *New Zealand and its Aborigines*, p. 36. I recollect my first introduction by a Maori chief to a daughter of his, a girl of remarkable beauty. A more genuine picture of maidenly modesty could scarcely be desired than that which she presented. I subsequently learnt that she was 'noa' to the entire settlement.

[6] W. Tench, *A Complete Account of the Settlement of Port Jackson in New South Wales*, p. 63.

A considerable number of Dr. Westermarck's examples consist of statements to the effect that it is rare to come upon pre-nuptial children,[1] or that a girl is blamed for having such a child,[2] or even severely punished or put to death.[3] But it is a fact familiar to ethnologists that with a large number of uncultured peoples, although sexual relations are wholly unrestricted before marriage, it is a rule that pregnancy must be avoided or that children resulting from such intercourse are killed at birth. The rule is most stringently enforced amongst peoples with whom pre-nuptial intercourse is not merely permitted, but is even obligatory and regularly organised. With the Masai, for example, pre-nuptial relations take the form of an organised system of free love, and all young girls cohabit with the young men in separate kraals; but pre-nuptial children are so strictly debarred that a girl incurs the severest punishment, and even death, if she brings up a pre-nuptial child.[4] The same strict rules concerning pre-nuptial motherhood are prevalent among many of the allied Bantu tribes of the same region of Eastern Africa and of the great lakes; but although they vary in detail, they refer in every instance to pregnancy and child-bearing, and not to sexual intercourse. "An unmarried woman," says Mr. Roscoe of the Basoga, "is not condemned for unchastity unless she becomes with child." Fornication is taken no notice of, and is, in fact, condoned.[5] Or, as he remarks in speaking of the Banyoro, "there was no idea of sexual union being wrong so long as there was no conception, and the only risk run by the girl lay in her being discovered to be with child."[6] As with the Masai, unrestricted clan polyandry is, as we have seen, habitual amongst them.[7] So again among the Banyankole, "it was a very serious matter for a girl to bear a child before marriage." But that the rule had no reference whatever to any value set on the virtue of chastity is made quite clear by the fact that, after marriage, not only is it considered the woman's duty to entertain any of her husband's friends, but she is perfectly free to bestow her favours upon whomsoever she pleases, without blame or hindrance.[8] Some of those tribes present examples of the most severe and barbarous penalties

[1] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 139 (Natives of British Guiana), 141 (Eastern Greenlanders).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 146 (Natives of Luzon), 153 (Bayankole, Busaoga, Akikuyu), 154 (Nandi).

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 145 (Natives of Nias), 147 (Mekeo Papuas, "formerly parts of the Bismarck Archipelago"), 149 ("various tribes in Western Victoria"), 152 (Ruanda, Baziba), 154 (Beni Amer).

[4] A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 261.

[5] J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, p. 233.

[6] Id., *The Bakitara or Banyoro*, p. 67.

[7] See above, vol. i, pp. 716 sq.

[8] J. Roscoe, *The Banyankole*, pp. 120, 129.

inflicted on unmarried mothers. Thus the Baziba of the southern shores of Lake Victoria "look," we are told, "upon illegitimate intercourse between the sexes before marriage as the most serious offence known to their laws." The guilty parties are bound hand and foot and cast into the lake, or are buried alive in a swamp.[1] But it appears after all that such punishment has not reference to "illegitimate intercourse" at all, but to the bearing of pre-nuptial children; unless such a child is actually born, no notice whatever is taken of the relation. After marriage sexual relations among the Baziba were, as with the Bayankole, polyandrous.[2] A like severity is shown by the Bakyiga, though the girl is merely driven away from the clan. But "as there was no communication between the clans, if a girl went wrong it was with some man of her own clan and therefore one who was regarded as her brother. She would not, however, be condemned unless she conceived, but in that case she would be driven away from her home and clan and would have to find a home with some other clan. When her child was born she would kill it and strive to find a husband for herself." The punishment was thus, in this instance, for incest, and not for fornication—a distinction which is frequently ignored in reporting similar facts. "The harsh treatment meted out to a girl who conceived before marriage was due to the fear of ghosts, for her deed would anger the dead of the clan, who might cause illness among the living if the crime was not thus severely punished."[3] Similarly among the Banyoro, the Bakoki,[4] the Busoga,[5] "if the girl refused to tell and the man could not be found, she was taken out of the kraal and sent away to friends, for her presence would bring ill-luck to her home; the children would die or the cows cast their calves."[6] But "this was only done when it was believed that some ghost was offended by the act, and was preparing to bring evil upon the clan."[7] Among the Bana of the Cameroons if a betrothed girl has a child, her intended husband is much offended and demands the restitution of all that he has paid in advance to her parents; but not the slightest importance is attached to the virginity of the bride.[8]

The disposal of pre-nuptial children by infanticide or abortion, which is very general in uncultured societies, is apt, in the light of

[1] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. i, pp. 152 sq.; J. F. Cunningham, *Uganda and its People*, p. 290.

[2] J. Roscoe, "The Bahima: a Cow Tribe of Erkole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii, p. 105 n.

[3] Id., *The Bagesu and other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate*, p. 127.

[4] J. F. Cunningham, *Uganda and its People*, p. 102.

[5] J. Roscoe, *The Bagesu and other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate*, p. 127.

[6] Id., *The Bakitara or Banyoro*, p. 67.

[7] Id., *The Bagesu and other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate*, p. 127.

[8] G. von Hagen, "Die Bana," *Baessler-Archiv*, ii, p. 102.

our notions, to suggest that shame and dishonour attach to pre-nuptial motherhood; but nothing could be farther removed than such conceptions from the ideas of the peoples who practise infanticide. Infanticide is not regarded in the lower stages of culture as a criminal act, but is viewed from the point of view of expediency as a Malthusian measure, and no child is reared when it is inconvenient to do so. The Australian aborigines destroyed most of their offspring simply because the babies were "too much trouble to look after." In seasons of drought the tribes near Adelaide killed all new-born children and ate them.[1] Among the Queensland tribes a girl's first child was almost invariably killed.[2] In most tribes every child after the third was killed.[3] Among the Veddahs of Ceylon a man is not allowed to have more than three children; all above that number are killed.[4] So likewise in the Marshall Islands no child after the third was allowed to live.[5] A young married man in the island of Rook, on being asked if he had any children, replied that he had killed them all; he was still too young, he modestly explained, to have a family; "when I am older I shall keep the children."[6] Failure to exercise such moderation is commonly regarded in primitive societies as a manifestation of unpardonable improvidence. In Papua "the old native custom too often was to despise a mother of a numerous family."[7] Among the natives of Ling-chow, in Cochin-China, the improvident rearing of offspring is likewise regarded as disreputable; consequently all children born before the first three years of marriage are regularly done away with, and in any case all families are limited by infanticide to a maximum of one female and two male children.[8] Among the Tshi-speaking peoples of West Africa a woman cannot have more than nine children; when the tenth child is born, it is buried alive, and the husband and wife separate.[9] Among the Lala of Nigeria and the Cameroons it is customary for the father of the bridegroom to have the use of the bride during the first months of marriage, or more precisely, until she has conceived three times. "On each

[1] A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 749. Cf. W. E. Roth, "North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 10," *Records of the Australian Museum*, vii, p. 13.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 750.

[3] O. Barsanti, *I selvaggi dell'Australia*, p. 137.

[4] "On the Weddas," by a Tamil, *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, iii, p. 71.

[5] D. de Rienzi, *Océanie*, vol. ii, p. 192.

[6] P. Reina, "Über die Bewohner der Insel Rook, ostlich von Neu-Guinea," *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, N.F., iv, p. 359.

[7] J. H. P. Murray, in *Annual Report for New Guinea*, 1921–22, p. 8.

[8] J. Beauvais, "Notes sur les coutumes des indigènes de la région de Long-Tcheou," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, vii, p. 284.

[9] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 341. Cf. *Man*, xi, p. 3.

of these occasions abortion is procured by means of a compression bandage round the lower part of the abdomen, but when she conceives the third time, she is at liberty to go to her husband, who may insist on abortion being procured a third time or not, as he pleases." [1] The Cauxanas of the Amazon invariably kill their first children.[2] Among the tribes of the Gran Chaco the great majority of children were destroyed. The Abipones never brought up more than two children in a family ; all others were killed to save trouble.[3] The Lengua and Mbaya women do not usually bring up more than one child, namely the one which they believe will be their last.[4] The Guaycurus and the Lules not only killed all their pre-nuptial children,[5] but a woman brought up only the children which she might have after she was thirty.[6] Children born in wedlock are thus disposed of in primitive societies at least as commonly as those born out of it. The latter are generally more inconvenient to bring up than the former ; they are accordingly destroyed just as other inconvenient children are, and as the first children born in marriage are quite commonly disposed of from motives of providence. When, as among the Masai and other northern Bantu, and the 'areoi' society of the Friendly Islands, abortion or infanticide is regarded as obligatory in the case of extra-nuptial children, the object of the rule is that no restriction should be placed on the promiscuous character of the sexual relations by the establishment of any bonds of parenthood. With the Friendly Islanders adoption of the child by foster-parents is accepted as an alternative to infanticide.[7] Among the Solomon Islanders the fruits of pre-nuptial intercourse are as a rule destroyed ; but "people trouble themselves very little about the matter." [8] Among the Guaycurus and the Guanas the young women destroyed their offspring with the avowed object of not incurring the risks of contracting matrimonial ties.[9] So likewise among the Creeks,

[1] O. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, p. 257.

[2] J. B. von Spix and C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Reise in Brazilien*, p. 92. Cf. A. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, p. 511.

[3] P. Lozano, *Descripción chorographica del Gran Chaco*, p. 92. Cf. M. Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones*, vol. ii, pp. 97 sq.

[4] D. de Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale*, vol. ii, pp. 152, 115 sqq. Cf. G. Kurze, "Sitte und Gebräuche der Lengua-Indianer," *Mitteilungen der geographische Gesellschaft (für Thuringen) zu Iena*, xxiii, p. 28.

[5] P. Lozano, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 102.

[6] F. R. de Prado, "Historia dos Indios Cavalleiros ou de nação Guaycuru," *Revista Trimensal do Instituto historico e geographico do Brasil*, i, p. 31.

[7] See above, vol. i, p. 723.

[8] R. M. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomon-Inseln und dem Bismarck Archipel*, vol. iii, p. 62 ; G. W. Powell, *Wanderings in a Wild Country*, p. 261.

[9] Gomes Jardin, "Sobre os Indios Uiacurús e Guanás," *Revista Trimensal do Instituto de historia e geographia do Brasil*, xiii, p. 356.

Cherokees and other tribes of the plains, a young woman's chances of marriage were greatly augmented by the fact that she had had many lovers; but the unmarried women destroyed their offspring for the express purpose of prolonging their period of unfettered sexual freedom.[1] No evidence, therefore, could be more irrelevant as regards pre-nuptial chastity than the rarity of pre-nuptial children or the habitual disposal of them by infanticide.

When those invalid instances are eliminated, Dr. Westermarck's enumeration of statements concerning peoples who are said to enforce pre-nuptial chastity is reduced to very moderate dimensions, and the probability of their accuracy is diminished in an even greater degree. In several of the instances adduced, the fact that the reverse of what is suggested by Dr. Westermarck is the case is established beyond doubt; in other instances the authorities referred to by him do not say what he ascribes to them, and sometimes they say the exact opposite.

Dr. Westermarck adduces from Petroff a statement ascribed to Father Veniaminoff, in which it is asserted that among the Aleutians "girls or unmarried females who gave birth to illegitimate children were to be killed for shame and hidden."[2] The writer from whom the statement is taken is given to the idealism which appears to be valued in ethnological reports; but in the present instance even that characteristic is insufficient to account for the very serious mistranslation of his authority. For what Father Veniaminoff says is, in fact, the very reverse of what is imputed to him by M. Petroff and Dr. Westermarck. The passage to which the above statement appears to refer runs as follows: "The Aleuts are disposed to sensuality. Before the doctrines of the Christian religion had enlightened them, their unbridled passions had free play; only the nearest kinship set a bound to their sensual desires. Although polygamy was general, irregular relations were common, though privately indulged in. The guest shared all the marital rights of the husband. . . . Down to the year 1825, and indeed even later, scarcely a virgin who had full right to that name was to be found above the age of twelve, and the fault lay for the most part with her own mother. The introduction of Christianity has, it is true, abolished their singular manner of entertaining guests, and also polygamy, but not their disposition to promiscuity. . . . Infanticide is indeed very rare. For down to the present day the belief is prevalent that if a girl, in order to hide her shame, should kill her child before or after birth, countless misfortunes would be brought down upon the

[1] C. C. Jones, *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, p. 69.

[2] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 141, citing I. Petroff, "Report on the Population, etc., of Alaska," in *Tenth Census of the United States*, p. 155.

whole village to which she belongs, and that the sacrificed child would be heard every night crying." [1] All other testimonies as to the sexual morality of the Aleutians are in entire agreement with that of Father Veniaminoff. "As regards licentiousness," says another Russian writer of the same period, "the Aleutian women are, properly speaking, not so much women as animal females; all notion of shame or modesty is unknown to them." [2] Count Langsdorff, who spent a considerable time in several of the islands, gives no less unfavourable an account. "An Aleutian whom I questioned on the subject," he adds, "answered me with perfect indifference that his nation in this respect followed the example of sea-dogs and sea-otters." [3]

The Aleuts do not differ in regard to sexual customs from other Inuit, or Eskimo, races to whose ignorance of moral conventions every writer concerning them bears witness. Yet Dr. Westermarck introduces them also in his list, with a reference to some of the natives of the long Christianised districts of eastern Greenland, which is, on his own showing, emphatically contradicted.[4] Accounts are decidedly more favourable concerning the Tlinkit of Alaska; but there is no opportunity of judging of their code of pre-nuptial chastity, for as soon as a girl shows signs of approaching puberty she is confined in a hut; her head is wrapped up in a mat, she must not be exposed to the light of the sun, she is forbidden to lie down, being compelled to sleep in a sitting position, she is nearly starved, and what food she is allowed she is not even permitted to chew for herself, the nourishment being already masticated for her. In this condition she is kept until she is handed to her husband.[5] Notwithstanding those superstitious observances which have no reference to chastity, "the social customs and laws," we are told, "permitted great looseness in sexual relations." [6]

Dr. Westermarck gives a list of references concerning various tribes of North America, and he asserts that in the passages indicated "we read that the girls were chaste and carefully guarded." [7]

[1] J. Weniaminow, "Charakter-Züge der Aleuten von der Fuchs-Inseln," in Wrangell, *Statistischen und ethnographischen Nachrichten über die Russischen Besitzungen der Nordwestküste von Amerika*, pp. 218 sq.

[2] H. Ritter, "Land und Leute in russische Amerika, nach dem russische Marine-Archiv," *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, N.F., xiii, p. 255.

[3] G. H. von Langsdorff, *A Voyage round the World*, p. 358.

[4] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 141.

[5] F. Boas, "First General Report on the Indians of British Columbia," *Report of the Fifty-ninth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, pp. 830 sq.; J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 428; G. H. von Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels*, pp. 413 sq.

[6] J. R. Swanton, *loc. cit.* [7] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 140.

In the majority of those passages we read nothing of the sort, and in some we read the exact opposite. Father Morice is accused by Dr. Westermarck of stating that untruth concerning "various Déné tribes." What Father Morice says on the subject is that the Déné have no word for a virgin. "The deficiency of language is so glaring in this respect that when designating the Blessed Virgin by that appellation the missionaries must explain to the natives that Mary was not a virgin in their own sense of the word." [1] Father Morice says that the description given by Father Demers is only too fully justified, and cites his report that the Déné "know of no moral restraint; promiscuity seems to enjoy an uncontroverted right. They outdo animals in the infamy of their conduct." [2] Father Morice refers also to the account of McLean, who states that "the lewdness of the women cannot possibly be carried to a greater excess. They are addicted to the most abominable practices, abandoning themselves in early youth to the free indulgence of their passions. They never marry until satiated with indulgence." [3] The linguistic deficiency referred to by Father Morice is readily intelligible when we learn that sexual intercourse before puberty with strangers is regarded by the Déné as absolutely imperative. They believe that menstruation cannot make its appearance without such pre-nuptial intercourse, and when missions were established amongst them nothing astonished them more than the discovery of the fact that a virgin could menstruate.[4] Concerning the detached southern branch of the same race, the Apache, Dr. Westermarck adduces a statement of Major Cremony, and

[1] A. G. Morice, "The Great Déné Race," *Anthropos*, v, p. 971. In the passage referred to by Dr. Westermarck (*Anthropos*, ii, p. 32), where it is stated that although the conduct of the women among most Déné tribes is outrageous, some tribes are better than others in this respect, no reference whatever is made to unmarried girls or to pre-nuptial manners, a subject with which, in his systematically arranged account, Father Morice deals in the above-mentioned place.

[2] A. G. Morice, *The History of the North Interior of British Columbia*, p. 232.

[3] J. McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory*, vol. i, p. 300.

[4] J. Jetté, "On the Superstitions of the Ten'a Indians," *Anthropos*, vi, p. 700. Concerning the Eastern, or Chippenwayan Déné, Hearne wrote that the girls were as strictly "watched and guarded" as in an English boarding school (S. Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort to the Northern Ocean*, pp. 310 sq.). Doubtless the "guarding" was against strangers, for we have ample testimonies as to entire indifference of the Chippeways to pre-nuptial chastity. "Continence in an unmarried female is scarcely considered a virtue and its want brings no discredit on the individual" (B. R. Ross, "The Eastern Tinneh," *Smithsonian Report*, 1866, p. 310. Cf. J. McKenzie, "The King's Posts," in L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, vol. ii, pp. 424 sq.).

several similar statements have been current concerning that fierce and hostile race, probably owing to their averseness to having any relations with Europeans. But an educated Apache admits that, even in quite recent times, when the Apaches were Christians, it was the practice of the girls to spend their time in the forest with the boys, and this was regarded by their parents with good-natured indifference.[1]

Father Charlevoix, who is also referred to by Dr. Westermarck, mentions a story which, he says, has been circulated "by certain writers" concerning the usages of Canadian tribes generally; and he adds his opinion that "it appears quite improbable."[2] It is taken from the account of Father Chrestien Le Clercq. Le Clercq represents the Canadian Indians not only as chaste, but as extravagant ascetics. Not only is the custom of men and girls resorting at night-time to one another's couches, which was universal among them, unattended, according to the good Father, with any impropriety, but we are assured that an Algonkin bridegroom and his bride were in the habit of preserving their chastity for a whole year after marriage. "It is the truth to say," he writes, "that they live together like brother and sister with much circumspection. The women and the girls are so modest that they would not permit any liberty which would be contrary to their duty."[3] That was not, however, the view generally taken by the missionaries, who untiringly denounced the usage and laboured to put it down. When one of them preached against the custom, a young Indian got up and accused the Reverend Fathers of desiring to gain possession of their mistresses for themselves.[4] It further appears that the same freedom of nightly visiting was used by temporary and casual visitors. "These barbarians," we are told, "have a most abominable custom; if any troop of warriors or young men pass where other savages dwell, they have licence to visit at night the cabins and approach the girls."[5] The usage of which Father Le Clercq gives us such an

[1] S. M. Barnett, *Geronimo's Story of his Life*, p. 25.

[2] F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. v, p. 422. Dr. Westermarck refers to an English translation of Charlevoix. Heriot's account, which is also referred to in Dr. Westermarck's note, is merely a transcription from Charlevoix and Lafitau (G. Heriot, *Travels through the Canadas*, p. 322). Heriot's account of the manners and customs of the American Indians, which is appended to his 'Travels,' is a mere compilation, and not a very intelligent one, from those authors, and contains nothing in the way of personal testimony. Parkman's note (*The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century*, p. xxxiv, note 1) refers to the passage in Le Clercq here noticed.

[3] C. Le Clercq, *Nouvelle relation de la Gaspesie*, pp. 443 sq. Cf. *Relations des Jésuites*, 1652, p. 5.

[4] A. de La Hontan, *New Voyages in North America*, vol. ii, p. 455.

[5] *Relations des Jésuites*, 1642, p. 42.

edifying account is thus described by Father Théodat: "The young men have licence to addict themselves to evil as soon as they are able, and the young girls prostitute themselves as soon as they are capable of doing so. Even fathers and mothers commonly act as pimps to their daughters. At night the young women and girls run from one hut to another, and the young men do the same and take their pleasure where they like, without, however, using any violence, for they rely entirely upon the will of the woman. The husband does the same with regard to his nearest female neighbour, and the wife with regard to her nearest male neighbour; nor does any jealousy appear amongst them on that account, and they incur no shame or dishonour." [1] Similarly the sober and judicial Champlain, speaking of the Canadian tribes, says: "The young women go at night from one hut to another, and the young men do the same, taking their pleasure as they will." [2] The usage was universal both among the northern and among the southern tribes; "all the Indians whom I have seen having similar customs on this head," says Henry, whose intimate experience included Algonkins, Iroquois, Delawares, and Omahas.[3] The practice has by several writers, following Le Clercq and Charlevoix, been picturesquely described as a "form of courtship," with or without ascetic exercises in continence. Keating, on the other hand, speaking of the Chippeways, says that it had reference solely to extra-connubial amours, and never to overtures with a view to marriage.[4] And one of the Jesuit Fathers makes the same remark as regards the Canadian tribes.[5]

Those stories afford an instructive illustration of the extent to which erroneous impressions may be conveyed and perpetuated

[1] F. G. Sagard Théodat, *Le grand voyage du Pays des Hurons*, pp. 111, 115.

[2] S. de Champlain, *Oeuvres*, vol. iv, p. 83.

[3] A. Henry, *Travels and Adventures in the Years 1760–1776*, p. 290. Cf. *Relations des Jésuites*, 1639, p. 17; 1640, p. 30; 1642, p. 9; 1643, p. 15; 1670, pp. 89 sq.; N. Denys, *Description géographique et historique des côtes de l'Amérique septentrionale*, vol. ii, p. 373; A. de La Hontan, *New Voyages to North America*, vol. ii, pp. 35 sq., 180 sq.; N. Perrot, *Mémoire sur les moeurs, coutumes et religion des sauvages de l'Amérique septentrionale*, p. 24; Diéreville, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie, ou de la Nouvelle France*, vol. iii, p. 389; J. Long, *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter*, p. 137; W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Sources of the Missouri*, vol. ii, p. 166; E. D. Neill, "Memoir of the Sioux" (*Macalister College Contributions*, No. 10), p. 229; S. R. Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography*, p. 205.

[4] W. H. Keating, *loc. cit.* Keating says that "chastity is a virtue in high repute among the Chippeways." That, however, is in flat contradiction with all our other information concerning them, which very emphatically states the exact reverse.

[5] *Relations des Jésuites*, 1642, p. 1.

in ethnological literature, and of the critical investigation which is indispensable before they can be accepted. The account of Father Le Jeune stands out amongst the various relations of the seventeenth-century French Jesuits, most of which are very ignorantly written from a purely pietist point of view, for its intelligent and critical interest in the actual customs of the natives. "I have been told," he says, "that the savages are tolerably chaste. I cannot speak of all, as I have not been among all the tribes; but all those I have met were lewd, both the men and the women."[1] Champlain, whose whole style marks him as superior to the theories and prejudices of his successors in the study of the 'savages,' gives the following clear account of the matter: "They have also a kind of marriage, which is that when a girl is fourteen or fifteen she has several lovers and friends, and will keep company with whomsoever she pleases. Then after five or six years she will take the one she likes best as her husband, and they may live together to the end of their lives, unless after living some time together they have no children, when the man will unmarry and take another, saying his wife is no good. Thus unmarried girls are more free than married women, for after they are married they are chaste."[2] The very earliest account we possess of the Canadian Indians would seem to suggest that some had institutions similar to the 'olag,' or girls' house, of Micronesia and Upper Burma. "They have also a very bad custom with their daughters," says Cartier, "for as soon as they are of age to go to man, they put them in a bawdey-house, and abandon them to anyone who will take them, until they meet with a suitable party. And this we have seen by experience, for we saw those houses as full of girls as a school in France is full of children."[3] Cartier's account possibly refers to the ordinary 'long-houses,' of the Senecas, which disappeared almost as soon as European occupation rendered permanent settlements precarious for the Indians, and which were most of the time occupied chiefly by the women and girls, who received their sexual associates as they chose.[4]

Of the other references in Dr. Westermarck's list of pre-nuptially chaste American Indian tribes, only one states what he asserts may be read in all of them, that, namely, of Mr. E. Sapir. He apologises for the "scattered and, I fear, all too scanty notes that were obtained in the course of 1906, incidentally to working out the language of the practically extinct" and completely Christianised Takelma

[1] Le Jeune, in *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. vi, p. 252.

[2] S. de Champlain, *Oeuvres*, vol. i, p. 19. Cf. *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. iii, p. 102.

[3] J. Cartier, *Bref récit et succinct narration de la navigation faict en MDXXXV et MDXXVI* (Paris, 1654, reprint 1863), fol. 30 verso.

[4] See above, vol. i, p. 270.

Indians.[1] Catlin makes no reference, either in the place indicated or anywhere else, to the observance of chastity by Mandan girls. All that is contained in his statement is the very moderate claim that the chastity of some of the "women," among the "more respectable families," was satisfactory.[2] Even that claim is not, however, confirmed. Prince Wied, speaking of the Mandans, says that "prudery is not a virtue of the Indian women; they have often two or three lovers, and infidelity is not often punished."[3] When the first white men visited them the first thing the Mandans—presumably not of "respectable families"—did was to offer them their wives.[4] With the chastity of the married women, whether of respectable family or not, we are, however, not here concerned; what is more to the point is that Mandan young men spent the greater part of their time in free love-making with the young Mandan girls, and that "they did not meet with many coy beauties."[5] Neither does Schoolcraft say a word about Nez Percés girls being "chaste or carefully guarded." What Major Alvord says in the passage indicated by Dr. Westermarck is that "their laws against prostitution are very severe upon the women."[6] The reference is apparently to married women, and by "prostitution" is in all probability meant commerce with Europeans. There exists no evidence that there ever was any difference between the customs of North American tribes as regards pre-nuptial chastity, although licentiousness may have been greater in some than in others. "The Hurons," remarks Father Le Jeune, "are more licentious than the Montagnais because they are better fed."[7] "Chastity as such," says Mr. Eggleston, "was held in no respect in all; in the unmarried women unchastity was common and unreproved in all the tribes."[8] Even at the present day the surviving American Indian communities that keep to themselves in the Indian Reserves have not essentially modified their native customs. Dr. Currier, who has very carefully collected reports from medical men, concludes that "there are few of the tribes,

[1] E. Sapir, "Notes on the Takelma Indians of South-Western Oregon," *The American Anthropologist*, N.S., pp. 251, 274.

[2] G. Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, vol. i, p. 121.

[3] Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Voyages in the Interior of North America*, vol. ii, p. 350.

[4] M. Lewis and W. Clarke, *Travels to the Source of the Missouri River*, vol. i, p. 211.

[5] Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *loc. cit.* Cf. R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, p. 194.

[6] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. v, p. 654.

[7] Le Jeune, in *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. vi, p. 254.

[8] E. Eggleston, "The Aborigines and the Colonists," *The Century Magazine*, xxvi, p. 106.

yet uncivilised, in which women are compelled by custom and sentiment to be virtuous. From the testimony of most of my correspondents, whose information is gained by personal contact with Indians, it is apparent that as little restraint is imposed upon their sexual appetites by both men and women as upon the passional appetites in general." [1]

From South America we have four examples of pre-nuptial chastity. "Dobrizhoffer praised the Abiponian women for their virtuous life"; [2] but he says nothing in the passage referred to of pre-nuptial restrictions.[3] We are next told that "fornication is proscribed among the Canelas in Maranhão." [4] According to Father Ignace the last of the Canelas died out before the middle of the last century, and the remnants of the tribes were then all good Roman Catholics. But Kissenberth says he met some Canelas in the present century, their chief being a major in the Brazilian army.[5] Father Ignace, who merely compiles the statements of old writers, is careful not to vouch for their accuracy, and remarks that "one must not exaggerate the chastity of the Canelas." [6] Señor Ribeiro, in fact, mentions that the Canela women were unchaste, and the men quite indifferent to their conduct.[7] The statement of Ehrenreich is next reproduced that among the Carajas of the western side of the Araguay River, "extra-connubial intercourse between the

[1] A. F. Currier, "A Study relative to the Functions of the Reproductive Apparatus in American Indian Women," *Transactions of the American Gynecological Society*, xvi, pp. 276 sq.

[2] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 139, referring to M. Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones*, vol. ii, p. 153.

[3] In another passage, which appears to have been overlooked by Dr. Westermarck, Father Dobrizhoffer does indeed say that "boys and girls hold in abhorrence all means and opportunities of infringing the laws of decorum," and that "the Abipones never indulge in licentious gratification during youth" (M. Dobrizhoffer, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 41). But we may be pretty sure that the good Father would have expressed himself more definitely in his idyllic description of those savages had he been able to bear witness to the enforcement of pre-nuptial chastity. The Abipones, who are now quite extinct, were a branch of the Guaycurus, and were identical with other Chaco tribes in their customs (S. A. Lafone Quevedo, *La raza Pampeana y la raza Guarani*, p. 109; G. E. Church, *Aborigines of South America*, pp. 242, 263; F. de Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale*, vol. ii, p. 166).

[4] E. Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, after E. Ignace, "Les Capriekans," *Anthropos*, v, p. 478.

[5] W. Kissenberth, "Bei den Canella-Indianern in Zentral Maranhão (Brazil)," *Baessler-Archiv*, ii, pp. 45 sqq.

[6] E. Ignace, *loc. cit.*

[7] F. de Paulo Ribeiro, "Memoria sobre as nações gentias que presentemente habitam o continente do Maranhão," *Revista Trimensal de historia e geographia*, iii, p. 186. No mention of the observance of pre-nuptial chastity appears in Ribeiro, Father Ignace's chief authority, and the statement is probably derived from some article in the local press to which he refers, and which I have been unable to consult.

sexes is visited with severe punishment, under certain circumstances even with death." [1] The original source of the statement is a passage in the travels of Castelnau, in which he says that he was told by his native interpreter that "libertinage is severely punished among the Carajas, for a girl had just been killed by her mother for allowing herself to be seduced." Castelnau adds: "This, however, is scarcely in accordance with the offers which were constantly made to our men." [2] The first part of Castelnau's statement has been reproduced by most subsequent writers who have referred to the Carajas.[3] The only writer who has made a detailed personal study of the tribe, and written a large book concerning it, Dr. Krause, says: "Concerning the severe punishments for pre-nuptial intercourse and for adultery mentioned by Ehrenreich and Königswald, I have been unable to learn anything. The men enjoy complete freedom before marriage." He mentions that women from other tribes dwell with the Carajas as prostitutes, but adds: "The Carajas themselves have amatory adventures with the women of their own tribe also." One of Krause's men was offered two young Caraja girls, besides two women.[4] The last example of pre-nuptial chastity in South America is due to Mr. Whiffen, and refers to the Huitoto of the upper reaches of the Rio Negro, to whom are added the Boras. Mr. Whiffen tells us that among them "virginity, as with us, is strictly protected so far as possible." [5] Mr. Hardenburg merely says that the Huitoto are chaste. I am fully disposed to believe him. They have a foolish custom of squeezing and compressing their generative organs from childhood, so that those organs "never reach the normal development," and the wretches are, in fact, almost eunuchs.[6] I very much doubt whether the virginity of their women requires much protection against the men. The girls are not only allotted as infants, but are brought up in the family of their future spouse.[7] It scarcely appears that their case is "as with us."

[1] P. Ehrenreich, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, p. 17; E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 139.

[2] F. de Castelnau, *Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud*, vol. i, p. 446.

[3] Couto de Magalhães, "Reise an der Araguaya," *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, xxii, p. 223. Dr. Couto says: "I had little time to inform myself closely as to their customs," and proceeds to cite Castelnau, thus: "Adultery and even sexual intercourse outside marriage are punished with death." G. von Königswald, "Die Caraja Indianer," *Globus*, xciv, p. 237, copies the statement of Dr. Couto, and Dr. Ehrenreich copies his.

[4] F. Krause, *In der Wildnissen Brasils*, pp. 326 sq.

[5] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 139; T. Whiffen, *The North-West Amazons*, p. 156.

[6] W. E. Hardenburg, *The Putumayo*, pp. 154, 153.

[7] W. C. Farabee, *Indian Tribes of Eastern Peru* (*Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. x), p. 141.

In Africa by the side of populations in a relatively primitive, social and cultural state, are found large warlike and once powerful barbaric kingdoms, with aristocratic classes and an old-established system of slavery, and also numerous peoples who profess the Muslim faith and have adopted the pronounced patriarchal institutions and conceptions associated with that advanced religion. Among the latter, and those populations that are directly under their influence, the demand for chastity in unmarried women and the claim to virginity in brides are more emphatically proclaimed than by any other peoples in the world, not excepting Europeans, although much more importance is attached to those claims as a matter of social tradition than of genuine sentiment. In the slave-holding African kingdoms virginity is demanded more especially, and often exclusively, in the case of the brides of kings and chieftains, a claim which has tended to become extended to aristocratic families and to betrothed girls in general. It is, in fact, in those barbaric African societies that the process of evolution by which those retrospective claims have developed is most clearly illustrated, and almost every stage of transition from their special application to the brides of royal personages, to all betrothed girls, and even to unmarried females in general, is met with amongst them. With the vast majority of the peoples of Africa, however, no importance whatever is attached to pre-nuptial chastity; sexual relations between the unmarried are in general not only permitted, but encouraged, and virginity in a bride is regarded as a fault rather than as a merit. "Among a large number of African peoples," says Dr. Westermarck, "the unmarried are allowed full liberty before marriage, and virginity is neither expected nor found in a bride. But those of them among whom the contrary is the case are also very numerous."[1] The various peoples mentioned by Dr. Westermarck, concerning whom he asserts that the latter usages are observed, number thirty-five, including the Muslim populations of Morocco, Algeria, Egypt, etc.[2] My own casual notes of African peoples of whom it is stated that pre-nuptial relations are unrestricted comprise about one hundred and fifty-six different tribes.[3] No statistical importance can, of course, be attached to those figures; but the fact that so small a number of peoples alleged to have a regard for pre-nuptial chastity is discoverable in Africa is not without significance, and that significance is greatly increased when it is found that as regards the majority of

[1] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. i, pp. 150 sq.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 152–157.

[3] It should be observed that, while statements predicating chastity frequently turn out on closer enquiry to be erroneous, it is, on the other hand, exceedingly unlikely for pre-nuptial licence to be imputed to a people who observe pre-nuptial chastity.

those peoples the statement is entirely irrelevant, plainly incorrect, or definitely contradicted. If, from Dr. Westermarck's enumeration, we eliminate instances so obviously irrelevant as regards primitive social conditions as the Muhammedan populations of North Africa and of the Sudan, his list is reduced to twenty-four. These include the Yoruba and other peoples of the Gold Coast and Slave Coast of West Africa, with whom, as he admits, the claim is confined to cases in which a girl has been betrothed in infancy, and to aristocratic families; it also comprises peoples, such as the Nandi and other East African Bantus, with whom, as with the Masai, the very reverse of any observance of pre-nuptial chastity is notoriously the case, but who are introduced into his enumeration and represented as having a regard for virginity because their tribal laws forbid the rearing of pre-nuptial offspring. When those quite irrelevant examples are set aside, Dr. Westermarck's instances of African peoples who, he claims, observe pre-nuptial chastity amount to fifteen tribes, and concerning several of them the statement is, as we shall see, contradicted.

If regard for pre-nuptial chastity were a primitive social phenomenon we should naturally expect to find it among the more primitive and segregated populations, and we might expect the neglect of it in Africa to be associated with the extreme licentiousness which characterises many peoples of barbaric culture; the reverse is conspicuously the case. Dr. Westermarck adduces, concerning some African peoples among whom pre-nuptial licence is unrestricted and undisputed, statements calculated to suggest that they nevertheless entertain some sense of the reprehensible character of their customs, or that they in reality attach some value to the virginity of a bride.[1] It is obvious that where those conceptions are entertained by some peoples and disregarded by others, we are bound to come upon ideas and customs intermediate between the two attitudes. Where the bride of a chief, or one who has been betrothed in infancy, is required to preserve her chastity, a girl who is a virgin naturally commands a higher bride-price than one who is not. It is quite common, where the amount of the bride-price is a paramount consideration, that a girl's lover is expected to pay it, or a portion of it, or a small fine, if she becomes pregnant or if the relation is publicly known. The greatest variety obtains in such usages, and a nominal fine may be exacted by the parents even where no opposition whatever is offered to free relations between a girl and her lovers. The influence of missionary ideas is also doubtless to be found in many parts of Africa at the present day, for "natives readily accept our standards of morality," [2] and even when not adopting

[1] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 151 sq.

[2] H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. i, p. 98.

them are almost invariably sensitive concerning any practice which they know to be condemned by other peoples. Such circumstances could be of significance as indications of innate sentiments only if pre-nuptial licence were condemned by the most primitive and isolated tribes and condoned by the most corrupt. Seeing that the reverse is the fact, any qualification or repudiation of the practice among African peoples who do not enforce its observance could not be regarded as being of significance, even if the descriptions of their attitude in this respect were correct.

It is notable, however, that while vague extenuating suggestions are occasionally met with in summary references to some tribes, the reverse of what is suggested by those remarks is made emphatically clear in almost every detailed and scientific monograph which we possess concerning an African tribe. Thus in his exhaustive study of a South African tribe, the Thonga, the Rev. Henri Junod states that "nothing is prohibited in the relation between young people of both sexes. A married woman is sacred among the Thonga, but an unmarried girl is not." Sexual commerce between the unmarried "is not censured at all, and it would be more accurate to speak of amorality than of immorality. A boy who has no mistress is laughed at as a coward ; a girl who refuses advances is accused of being deformed." [1] Of the Baila of Rhodesia, Messrs. Smith and Dale say: "Boys and girls are under no restraint. Whatever they may do is looked upon merely as play. Adults rather encourage than otherwise these precocious acts, for they regard them as a preparation and training for what is man's and woman's chief business in life. Whatever they may do during their early years, no blame is assigned." [2] Such considered results of detailed investigations are of more weight than the declaration of a traveller about a tribe of the same region that, although pre-nuptial freedom is with them equally unrestricted, "all know that immorality is wrong," [3] or than Dr. Westermarck's suggestion that among the South African Bantu "unchastity in a young man is not looked upon with perfect indifference." [4] Again, in his encyclopaedic account of the Akamba of East Africa, Dr. Lindblom tells us that unmarried persons "have the most unrestricted freedom. . . . Free-love is permitted among the young people. . . . As is well known, such things cease to be a mystery to the children of primitive

[1] H. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, pp. 97 sq.

[2] W. E. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, p. 36.

[3] C. Gouldsbury and H. Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 141 ; E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 151.

[4] E. Westermarck, *loc. cit.*

people at a very early age." [1] Yet, far from such freedom being merely 'permitted' or 'tolerated,' "it is generally considered wrong to concern oneself about who is making love to one's daughter." [2] In his admirable study of the Bambara, a West African people that is well advanced on the way to the establishment of recognised proprietary purchase claims, Father Henry writes: "I have heard it said by serious persons that the native is never guilty, at least in public, of any offensive familiarity with women; that adultery and fornication are rare. For a long time I myself believed that the Bambara were endowed with an angelic nature. Those lofty ideas have now entirely left my mind, and I am compelled to admit that the Bambara are hideously licentious." He substantiates his conclusion by a long list of illustrations. Even though a girl is betrothed, her freedom of action is not regarded as being abolished. "A betrothed girl does not entirely dispose of herself, neither does she, however, belong definitely to her future husband: she retains the right of disposing of her person. The Bambara believes that he has been placed in the world by God in order to enjoy carnal pleasures to the utmost." [3]

The statements adduced by Dr. Westermarck in reference to alleged regard for pre-nuptial chastity in Africa are, when not irrelevant and misleading, as questionable as those produced by him from other parts of the world. We are informed, for instance, on the authority of Dr. Felkin, the missionary, that "in the Madi or Moru tribe the girls are carefully looked after." [4] But Emin Pasha, an exceedingly accurate observer, noted, on the contrary, that in the Madi tribe the unmarried girls sleep in special huts for the express purpose of allowing the young men to have access to them; [5] and, quite recently, Major Stigand has reported that "among the Madi a man is allowed to pass the night with an unmarried girl if he makes her a present of five arrows. There is supposed to be no harm in this." [6] Dr. Westermarck refers to the Dinka of the Upper Nile, citing a statement from Mr. Petherick to the effect that for each illegitimate child "the father has to pay

[1] G. Lindblom, *The Akamba*, pp. 412, 556, 419.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 412.

[3] J. Henry, *L'âme d'un peuple Africain: les Bambara*, pp. 157 sq., 162 sq., 164.

[4] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 153, citing R. W. Felkin, "Notes on the Madi or Moru Tribe of Central Africa," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, 1884, p. 323.

[5] *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, pp. 103, 108.

[6] C. H. Stigand, *Equatoria: The Lado Enclave*, p. 154. Dr. Felkin appears to have been somewhat confused in his account of the tribes of that region, for the Moru are not the same people as the Madi, although they speak the Madi language. Their customs are, however, identical (C. H. Stigand, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 50 sqq.).

the penalty of four head of cattle." [1] Our chief authority on the juridic usages of the Dinka is Captain O'Sullivan's very detailed and exact study of them, and there is no occasion to go to Petherick's old and casual account for information. Captain O'Sullivan tells us that "simple seduction is not a grave offence among the northern Dinka, and is seldom brought before Government"; in the rare cases where it is taken notice of the fine is one cow, though more may be claimed in the case of a rich man or in the more prosperous districts.[2] Concerning the Herero, Dr. Westermarck reproduces from Professor Kohler's article the statement of the Government official Bensen that it is considered a shame to the parents of a girl if she "loses her virtue"; but he omits the statement contained in the same paragraph that no punishment attaches to pre-nuptial unchastity, and the summing up of the evidence by Professor Kohler, who concludes that girls among the Herero are free, in principle, to dispose of themselves as they please.[3] Dr. Irle says that the licentiousness of the young people knows no bounds, and that the children among the Herero lose their innocence at an incredibly early age.[4] Concerning some surviving tribes of Bushmen the statement of Lieutenant Trenk is mentioned that "since males and females marry immediately on the appearance of puberty, the girls are for the most part virgins when they enter the married state." There is nothing very startling about the fact; but even this qualified virginity of Bushmen girls at puberty and marriage is, according to the authority quoted, neither invariable nor looked for. "If the woman," says the same writer, "has children before her marriage, the young husband takes them over and brings them up. Children born before marriage are handed over, as soon as they are grown up, to their extra-nuptial father." [5] Mr. Stow, who has made a special study of our information concerning the Bushmen, says that among them "chastity was unknown and uncared for." [6] The Dume Pygmies, we may note, "have no idea of morality whatsoever, the young men and girls indulging in promiscuous intercourse with one another." [7]

"Of the ancient inhabitants of the Canary Islands we are told

[1] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 154, after J. Petherick, *Egypt, the Soudan and Central Africa*, p. 393.

[2] H. O'Sullivan, "Dinka Laws and Customs," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xl, p. 186.

[3] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 152, and J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Herero," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xiv, p. 304.

[4] J. Irle, *Die Herero*, pp. 100 sq.

[5] Trenk, "Die Bushleute der Namib, ihre Rechts- und Familienverhältnisse," *Mitteilungen aus dem Deutschen Schutzgebieten*, xxiii, pp. 169, 168.

[6] G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, p. 95.

[7] A. D. Smith, *Through Unknown African Countries*, p. 276.

that a woman who lost her virtue was ostracised and not spoken to for the rest of her life." [1] We are, however, only told this on the authority of Father Abreu de Galindo, who, we shall see, tells us a great deal more concerning the Guanches which is demonstrably and grossly inaccurate.[2] His reports are uniformly contradicted by each and all of the contemporary testimonies which we possess. It was, on the contrary, obligatory for every Guanche girl to 'lose her virtue' before she could be married; and "they had many other heathen and beastly customs similar to those of brutes; and indeed they, both men and women, had no more shame than animals." [3]

In southern Asia and in Indonesia we have the contrast of old and advanced cultures possessing highly developed religious systems and pronounced patriarchal institutions, side by side with the remnants of primitive races; and it is not always possible to estimate the degree of influence exercised by Hinduism, Buddhism, or Islam upon the latter. Nevertheless, the principle of complete sexual freedom before marriage is fully recognised among the vast majority, if not indeed all, of the populations of that region that have remained in any degree primitive, as may be seen from that portion of my note on p. 8 which refers to that region, and perhaps even better by an examination of the instances which have been adduced by Dr. Westermarck as exceptions. In India it may be said that wherever the practice of infant marriage has not been adopted, sexual relations between the unmarried are either openly or tacitly recognised. Even in the higher cultures of that region there is seldom to be found any abstract regard for chastity as a virtue in the European sense. Those cultures, as is shown by abundant evidence, have themselves succeeded social stages in which, as in those societies which have remained more primitive, no restriction was placed upon sexual relations except those arising from kinship and marriage. In Burma, for example, where among the uncultured northern tribes pre-nuptial sexual freedom is unrestricted, the customs of the more cultured southern peoples are in this respect very similar to those which obtain in our own society. Yet in the Burmese code of laws, known as the Wonnana Dhammathat, which is a mixture of principles of Hinduism with ancient native juridic usage, we find the conceptions which obtain in all primitive societies expressly laid down in legal form. "When son, daughter, grandchild, great grandchild, male slave or female slave are not given in

[1] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 155, after Miss A. C. Cook, "The Aborigines of the Canary Islands," *The American Anthropologist*, N.S., ii, p. 480.

[2] See below, pp. 286 sq.

[3] A. Bernaldez, *Historia de lo reyes catolicos D. Fernando y Doña Isabel*, vol. i, p. 179.

marriage before the sixteenth year," states the code, " the sexual act shall not be called a fault." [1]

In Dardistan, that is in Hindu-Kush, although " young people have continued opportunities of meeting each other in the fields and at festive gatherings, and love declarations often take place on these occasions," yet, Dr. Westermarck informs us on the authority of Gottlieb Leitner, " if any evil intention is perceived the seducer of a girl is punished by this savage, but virtuous, race with death." [2] The standard authority upon the ethnology of that region tells us that " great liberty is allowed to young women, with frequent evil results. Infanticide arising from illicit connections is common, and is not considered a crime." Among that ' savage, but virtuous, race ' " infidelity is not regarded as an offence and custom requires that a man shall place his wife at his guest's disposal." Cases of infidelity are " extremely common," but the men show no manifestations of jealousy. Their chiefs exercise the ' jus primae noctis.' That present condition of this ' savage, but virtuous, race,' is, however, an improvement on their past condition. " It would appear that morals were more loose formerly than they are now." [3] We are next told that among the Bodo and Dhimals " chastity is prized in man and woman, married and unmarried." [4] According to Sir Herbert Ridley, among the Dhimal marriage is invariably on probation. If a man is satisfied with the young woman with whom he has officially ' eloped,' the marriage is celebrated; if not, she is returned to her parents till the next experiment. " Dhimals seem, however, to regard marriage as a form of minor importance. I know a young Dhimal who took a girl to his house some three years ago. The two live happily together, and she has had a child, but the marriage ceremony has not yet been performed. From this curious laxity in ordering the relations of the sexes it follows, of course, that intercourse preceding elopement or marriage is tacitly recognised." [5] The Santals and the " mountaineers of the Rajmahal Hills," who, so far as I know, are the same people, but who are duplicated by Dr. Westermarck,[6] are next called upon to illustrate

[1] J. Jardine, *Notes on Buddhist Law.* III. *Marriage.* I. " Translation of the Wonnana Dhammathat on Marriage, with Comment," p. 1; cf. p. 15.

[2] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 143, after G. W. Leitner, *Results of a Tour in Dardistan*, vol. ii, p. 35.

[3] J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, p. 77.

[4] E. Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, after Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. i, p. 123.

[5] H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. i, p. 226.

[6] Unless the Mäl are meant. Their customs are identical with those of the Santals; the young people " work together, go to market together, eat together, and sleep together " (E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 273).

innate primitive chastity. Although it is admitted that they "allow a young man to show his love for a girl of adult age by sleeping on the same bedstead with her," the classical interpretation of Father Le Clercq is placed upon that innocent custom. Any indiscretion arising out of it is "visited with a fine," whether the guilty young man marries the girl or not.[1] Sir Herbert Risley's account is less elegantly worded. "Sexual intercourse, before marriage," he says, "is tacitly recognised, it being understood that if the girl becomes pregnant the young man is bound to marry her." There is no word of a fine unless he does not desire to marry the girl. The Santals, as we have seen, practise fraternal polyandry.[2] The marriage season is observed during the yearly festival, when general sexual promiscuity is allowed. Their present customs, again, represent an attenuated survival in the midst of Hindu culture of more primitive usages. "It is curious to hear that in Santal Parganas, shortly after the rebellion of 1885, it became the fashion among the more wealthy Santals to imitate the usages of high-caste Hindus, and marry their daughters between the ages of nine and twelve." [3] Among the tribes of Assam complete pre-nuptial freedom of intercourse is the time-honoured and general rule, and is regarded as in a manner obligatory; but, on the authority of the Rev. Sydney Endle, Dr. Westermarck mentions that "among the Kacharis, Rabhas, and Hajongs, on the contrary, sexual intercourse before marriage is rare where contact with 'civilisation' has not exercised its deteriorating influence." [4] A different view is taken by the authors of the last Government Report on those tribes. The effect of contact with Hindu 'civilisation' has been to introduce the practice of infant marriage, which did not obtain before, and among the Kacharis girls marry as early as the age of twelve. The adoption of the practice, it is suggested, may have been accelerated by their "greater freedom of intercourse with the other sex, and the need for making some permanent arrangement as soon as there are signs of pregnancy." [5] Dr. Westermarck cites from General Fytche's book on Burma the account which he gives on the report of Mr. O'Riley of a tribe he calls the Let-htas: "Until married, the young people of both sexes are domiciled in two long houses at opposite ends of the village, and 'when they may have occasion to pass each other, they avert their gaze, so that they may not see

[1] E. Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, after Sherwill, "Notes of a Tour through the Rajmahal Hills," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xx, p. 557, and Hertel, *Indisk Hjemmemission blandt Santalerne*, p. 83.

[2] See above, vol. i, pp. 674 sq.

[3] H. H. Risley, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 228.

[4] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 144.

[5] J. E. Friend-Pereira, "The Rabhas," in *Census of India*, 1911, vol. iii, p. 143; J. McSwiney, *ibid.*, p. 70. Cf. E. Stack, *The Mikirs*, p. 19.

each other's faces." [1] Dr. Westermarck refrains from quoting the rest of the passage, which is even more edifying but apparently incredible, and also General Fytche's comment on the whole account which, he says, contrasting as it does with the well-known customs of all neighbouring tribes, " savours of romance." [2] Nevertheless, the account happens to be perfectly correct. The tribe referred to is usually known as the Zayeins, or Sawng-tüng Karens, and is the same one whose interesting customs of rigorous exogamy, none being allowed to marry except his cousin in another village, we have already had occasion to notice.[3] The very scrupulous rules which include the compulsory suicide of the guilty party, after he has dug his own grave, are therefore not directed against unchastity, but against what by their tribal law is incest. When a meeting takes place between the two intermarrying villages, as on the occasion of a wedding between members of each, orgies take place of which the most unrestrained and ' scandalous ' promiscuity is the chief feature. It is clear from the account of Dr. Giles that unrestricted sexual freedom is permitted between members of the marrying classes.[4]

Three tribes and castes from the Cochin district of Southern India are mentioned by Dr. Westermarck from the work of Mr. Anatha Krishna Iyer. It is not very apparent why they are singled out. The aboriginal races of southern India differ from those of northern India in that they marry earlier ; consequently pre-nuptial licence is not so apparent as in the northern aboriginal races, who marry in adult age. There is no pre-nuptial licence amongst the Nayars ; according to our standards there is also no marriage. The people mentioned are the Kammalans of Cochin State, whose marriage customs are the complete fraternal polyandry which was once the rule with Tamil races. We are told that " sexual licence is in no case tolerated." The other two castes are the Ulladans and the Velans, of whom we are informed that anyone rendering an unmarried girl pregnant must either marry her or pay a fine. In fact, among the Ulladan the woman, in such a case, is, according to Mr. Thurston, given some coco-nut milk, which is supposed to purify her. The man has to pay a small fine, which " is spent in the purchase of toddy." [5] With the Velans also, among whom marriage is very loose, the accident of causing an unmarried girl to conceive is atoned for by standing drinks all round.[6]

[1] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 143 sq.

[2] A. Fytche, *Burma, Past and Present*, vol. i, p. 343.

[3] See above, vol. i, pp. 577 sq.

[4] F. H. Giles, in J. G. Scott and J. P. Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, Part i, vol. i, pp. 539 sq.

[5] E. W. Thurston, *Tribes and Castes of Southern India*, vol. vii, p. 217.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 348.

The Veddahs of Ceylon, concerning the details of whose social life our information is extremely imperfect, have often been adduced as an example of a primitive race who, in their sex relations, conform to our own established standards. Dr. Westermarck refers to them in the following terms: "The strict morality which characterises the Veddas of Ceylon 'extends to unmarried girls, who are protected by their natural guardians with the keenest sense of honour.'" [1] Since there is no pre-nuptial state amongst them, pre-nuptial promiscuity can scarcely take place, and the protection mentioned can only have reference to measures taken as a safeguard against the abduction of females. The Veddahs mate at the appearance of puberty, the girls about the age of eleven or twelve, the boys about fourteen.[2] Their unions, which are said to be monogamous, are moreover alleged to be remarkable for their unsurpassed constancy; divorce is asserted to be unknown amongst them; "Death alone separate husband and wife." [3] Those statements, made in one of the earliest modern accounts of the Veddahs, have been frequently reproduced. There is, however, abundant testimony that they are wholly incorrect. Captain Lamprey, the secretary of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, reports on the solemn deposition of a Veddah in a Court of Law, that any Veddah, "if he did not like his wife, could send her back at any time, and she would be received by her parents." [4] This is confirmed by Mr. Gillings, who states that "if a man does not like a woman whom he has married he will, after a year, take her back to her father." [5] Dr. Sarasin likewise reports that the men could change wives whenever they pleased; [6] and this is also confirmed by M. Deschamps, who says that even "after a short time" a man is free to send away his wife and take another.[7] It is thus beyond doubt that, although from the nature of the case there is no pre-nuptial intercourse among the Veddahs, at least after puberty, the principle of trial-marriage is observed by them, and that no importance is attached to virginity. If there is no opportunity for the exercise of extra-nuptial sexual freedom before marriage,

[1] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 145, citing H. Nevill, "Vaeddas of Ceylon," *The Taprobanian*, i, p. 178.

[2] E. Deschamps, *Au pays des Veddas*, p. 381.

[3] J. Bailey, "An Account of the Wild Tribes of the Veddahs of Ceylon," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, N.S., ii, pp. 291 sq.

[4] J. Lamprey, "On the Veddahs of Ceylon," *The Natural History Review*, iii, "Proceedings of Societies," p. 31.

[5] J. Gillings, "On the Veddahs of Bitenne," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, ii, p. 86.

[6] P. and F. Sarasin, *Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon*, vol. iii, pp. 459.

[7] E. Deschamps, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

that such freedom is recognised is shown by the fact that it is fully indulged in after marriage. A widow, no matter how young she may be, enjoys complete sexual liberty, and is regarded as common to all the men. The freedom is entirely recognised by the wives, who manifest no jealousy in regard to it.[1] Mr. Gillings affirms that, "adultery and polygamy are still common among them."[2] According to Sir J. E. Tennent an adulterous wife is taken back by her husband without the least demur. He also states that the Veddahs show "extreme indifference to morals."[3] It will be seen that the alleged superlative virtue of the Veddahs is, to say the least, open to doubt.

Our knowledge of the habits of the wild tribes inhabiting the forests of the Malay Peninsula is even more defective than our knowledge of the Veddahs; and accordingly, various edifying accounts concerning them have been circulated. Referring to such accounts, Father Bourien says: "Certain writers, from not having carefully studied these savage tribes whose customs they have desired to describe, picture them to us as having preserved their primitive innocence intact; and there are even those who state that they have never remarked among the tribes which they have visited any indication of sin. I am sure that a more intimate study of their customs, and a better knowledge of their language, would have proved to them how necessary even for their physical welfare was the introduction of Christianity. A long sojourn among erratic tribes has taught me that from among carnal sins they only exclude one, viz. rape."[4] A Russian traveller has described the sex relations of the Jakun as a "round of temporary cohabitations regulated by chance and inclination."[5] Mr. R. J. Wilkinson, who is probably the highest authority on those tribes, says that the Sakai "leave everything to sexual passion."[6] These tribes are included by Dr. Westermarck in his list of peoples who show an innate regard for chastity. His reference to them in this connection is as follows: "Of the wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula, Vaughan Stevens says that irregular connections only occur among the

[1] H. Nevill, *op. cit.*, p. 178. Cf. J. E. Tennent, *Ceylon*, vol. ii, p. 445.

[2] J. Gillings, *op. cit.*, p. 86. I shall discuss the monogamous principles of the Veddahs in another place (below, p. 297 sq.).

[3] J. E. Tennent, *Ceylon*, vol. ii, p. 444.

[4] M. Bourien, "On the Wild Tribes of the Interior of the Malay Peninsula," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, N.S., iii, p. 80.

[5] N. von Miklucho-Maclay, "Ethnologische Excursionen in der Malayischen Halbinsel," *Naturkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxvi, p. 17; also in *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1878, No. 2, p. 215. Cf. below, p. 79 and note [6].

[6] R. J. Wilkinson, *The Aboriginal Tribes*, in *Papers on Malay Subjects*, p. 56.

Belendas, who have been most subject to Malay influence." [1] Mr. Wilkinson gives us some particulars about the authority selected by Dr. Westermarck. " I knew the ' professor ' as Vaughan Stevens was styled," he says ; " he was a simple, kindly man who possessed a great gift of imaginative exaggeration. He was full of strange tales. Vaughan Stevens was no professor, he was not even a savant, he was sent out to collect skulls." [2]

Although Dr. Westermarck has not been able to discover any example of primitive chastity in the Micronesian islands, and contents himself with informing us that it is owing to intercourse with foreigners that " the women of Ponape lost their modesty," [3] he finds in the Philippine Islands an illustration of primitive chastity to which he appears to attach much importance, since he refers to it elsewhere as one of the main evidences of his thesis. According to one of the oldest accounts of the natives of those islands, " when they marry they are not concerned whether their wives are virgins or not." Of the wilder tribes, whom the Spaniards called ' Pintados,' the same writer tells us that " the women are extremely lewd and even encourage their daughters to a life of unchastity, so that there is nothing so vile that the latter cannot do before their mothers, since they incur no punishment." [4] Or again, according to another writer, " from early childhood they have communication with one another with facility and little secrecy, and without this being regarded by the natives as a cause of anger." [5] Another account of the same period states : " In many—I believe in all—these islands, they hold a doctrine suggested by the devil, that a woman, whether married or single, cannot be saved unless she has some lover. Consequently virginity is not recognised or esteemed amongst them ; rather they consider it a misfortune and a cause of humiliation." [6]

Dr. Westermarck, however, cites from the versatile German poet, A. von Chamisso, who spent nearly a week at Manilla, the statement that " some of the independent tribes of the Philippines held chastity in great honour, not only in the case of women, but also in the case of young girls, and protected it by severe laws.

[1] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 145. The expression used by Stevens, " wilde Ehen," does not quite exclude pre-nuptial freedom.

[2] R. J. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 sq. ; cf. p. 23. Sir J. Frazer, who disdains to avail himself of worthless testimonies in support of a thesis he is defending, in rejecting Vaughan Stevens's supposed evidence of totemism among the tribes of Malaya, remarks : " No reliance can be placed on his evidence " (J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, p. 347 n.). Cf. W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, vol. ii, p. 63.

[3] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 128. Cf. below, p. 68.

[4] M. de Loarca, " Relación de las islas Filipinas," in E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1893*, vol. v, p. 119.

[5] A. de Morga, " Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas," *ibid.*, vol. xvi, p. 129.

[6] Pedro Chirino, " Relación de las islas Filipinas," *ibid.*, vol. xii, p. 251.

This statement," he adds, " is confirmed by Dr. Hans Meyer and by Professor Blumentritt with regard to the Igorots of Luzon." [1] Professor Blumentritt, in fact, gives the following account from a pamphlet by Don Maximo Lillo de Garcia, and it has been copied by Dr. Hans Meyer and other writers: " As soon as the children attain puberty, both boys and girls are completely isolated. In each village there are two large houses; the maidens spend the night in one of them and the boys in the other. With the latter an old man, and with the former an old woman, act as overseers and take care that no one shall slip in or out of the houses during the night." [2] He adds on the authority of Don Mas the interesting information that so strict is the continence enforced on Igorot girls that, being unable to control their passions, they go into the woods and have connection with monkeys.[3] As Dr. Westermarck is perfectly well aware, the Igorots of Luzon, who were formerly so fierce and independent that they had never been closely approached, have more recently been made by Dr. Jenks the subject of an exhaustive study, which is one of the classics of scientific ethnological literature, and has entirely superseded our previous quite defective and unreliable information concerning the people in question. Dr. Jenks, referring to the above passage of Blumentritt's compilation, which he has only read in a translation, and which he generously doubts can represent correctly the author's words, has the following remark: " There is no such institution in Bontoc Igorot society. The purpose of the ' olag ' is as far from enforcing chastity as it well can be. The old women never frequent the ' olag.' " [4] The ' olag,' or ' girls' house,' an institution which is very general over the whole Micronesian region, as also in some parts of Polynesia, in Upper Burma and Northern India, resembles the arrangement which Cartier describes as having been seen by him among the Canadian Indians, who " put their daughters in a bawdey-house." [5] The Igorots of Luzon place their daughters in

[1] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 146; A. von Chamisso, *Reise um die Welt mit der Ronzoffischen Entdeckung-Expedition*, in *Werke*, vol. ii, p. 118. Cf. E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, vol. ii, p. 424: " In a previous work I have given a list of numerous savage and barbaric peoples among whom unchastity before marriage is looked upon as a disgrace or a crime for a woman. It is to be noted that to this group of peoples belong savages so low in type as the Veddah of Ceylon, the Igorots of Luzon, and certain Australian tribes."

[2] F. Blumentritt, " Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen," *Petermann's Mittheilungen, Ergänzungsheft*, No. 67, p. 27; M. Lillo de Garcia, *Filippinas: Distritto de Lepanto*, p. 27.

[3] Sinibaldo Mas, *Informe sobre el estado de las islas Filipinas en 1842*, p. 23.

[4] A. Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, pp. 67 sq.

[5] See above, p. 34.

the 'olag' at a very tender age; there they have complete freedom to receive the visits of boys and young men. Even married men at times visit the girls' 'olags.' Boys generally visit several of these girls' houses where they spend the night with various young girls. The girls themselves solicit boys and men. One way in which they do this is by stealing a man's pipe, his cap, and even his breeches. He is then obliged to come at night and recover his property. It is said that a girl is generally faithful to one lover at a time, but Dr. Jenks mentions the declaration with scepticism and as inconsistent with the whole conduct of the institution and the manners of the people. There is among the Igorots, he says, no conception of modesty. "There is no such thing as virtue, in our sense of the word, among the young people after puberty." [1]

The Line Islands, though not belonging geographically to Micronesia, are inhabited by a Micronesian race, mingled perhaps with Melanesian elements. "Among the nobles of the Line Islanders," Dr. Westermarck tells us, "proof of virginity is required on marriage and 'it must be conclusive.'" [2] Although that is literally correct, there is a form of apologetic dialectics which is known as 'suppressio veri et suggestio falsi.' What Dr. Westermarck's authority says on the subject is that among the Line Islanders "intercourse between the sexes was perfectly legitimate until marriage." He also informs us that the vast majority of the people did not marry at all, but simply cohabited irregularly. Marriage, in fact, among the Line Islanders is merely a juridic measure for the acquisition and transmission of landed property; this being vested in the females can only be transmitted to a man's son by marriage. The fatherhood of the heir is, thus, the chief consideration in the transaction, and consequently the proof of virginity "must be conclusive." It is—the juridic marriage is consummated 'coram populo.' [3]

"In New Guinea," says Dr. Westermarck, "the relations between the unmarried vary greatly in different tribes." But there is every appearance that the variations are not so much in the tribes as in the reports, and above all, as the distribution of those reports seems to show, in the degree of missionary influence on the different populations. The Papuans and Melanesians of New Guinea have proved the readiest and most amenable pupils of the missionaries; they have, after but a few years, so completely espoused the standards of their instructors that no more perfect models

[1] A. Jenks, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 sq.

[2] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 148.

[3] Tutuila, "The Line Islanders," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, i, pp. 270 sq.

of priggish virtue, at least so far as regards their professed sentiments, could be found in an English cathedral town. In the Torres Straits Islands and the region round Port Moresby the morals of the natives have been completely transformed and at the present day leave, in outward appearance, nothing to be desired; if they keep up some of their old customs secretly, they are careful to protest their innocence.[1] Similarly in the region of Doreh and Galvinsch in Dutch New Guinea, where the oldest missions are established, the natives present to the casual observer the most orderly behaviour, and are careful to keep their supplementary wives on an island off the coast.[2] In his cruise on the 'Samoa,' in connection with the establishment of German authority in northern New Guinea, Dr. Finsch paid a visit to the Doreh mission station and spoke ever after of the natural chastity characteristic of the Papuan race. His subsequent acquaintance with the natives appears to have been exceedingly superficial; many of the populations of which he speaks were only seen by him from the deck of his steamer.[3] As soon as we come upon any Papuan population in its natural state, a very different tale is told. "To my great astonishment," says Mr. Beaver, "I found quite recently that the same customs with regard to women as obtain in the Banu and Aird also appear here (Baramura district). They are now known to hold good from Budji to the Dutch border and along the Fly. I had always been under the impression that the Fly River people were exceedingly careful of the chastity of their women; but it seems a mistaken idea, and I should be quite prepared to believe that they once existed on Kiwai and even Mawatta and Parama, although nowadays, of course, they are quite unthinkable in those places."[4] In the Government Reports on the inland populations no tribe is described as observing pre-nuptial chastity. On the contrary, in each of those reports, to whatever district it may refer, we are informed that chastity is unknown and that pre-nuptial relations are entirely unrestricted.[5] "A girl before she was married might dispose of her person as she pleased."[6] "Among the Mekeo people of British New Guinea, in former days," says Dr. Westermarck, on the authority of Mr. Williamson, "a girl who became with child before marriage ran the risk of being killed."[7] Their customs must have undergone a profound change, for Mr. Kowald reports that amongst the Mekeo people the mother of an illegiti-

[1] Cf. W. H. R. Rivers, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 242. Cf. below, p. 300.

[2] See below, p. 301.

[3] O. Finsch, *Samoafahrten*, pp. 81, 140.

[4] W. N. Beaver, *Unexplored New Guinea*, p. 140.

[5] See above, note 11 sq.

[6] C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 567.

[7] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. i, pp. 146 sq.

mate child was more esteemed and more eagerly sought in marriage on that account.[1]

The Melanesian region, as we have repeatedly noted, is in the southern islands especially, marked by conspicuous male domination and brutality and complete female subjection; infant-betrothal of girls is general. The conceptions of tabu are, moreover, of wide application and invested with perhaps more superstitious awe than in any other region. Exact information is particularly difficult to obtain from Melanesian natives, for they are profoundly averse to speaking about their customs, however innocent, to strangers;[2] after they have been converted to Christianity they usually adapt their account of their pagan usages to the standards of their new faith. In those circumstances we might expect to hear that chastity is enforced in unmarried girls, and it can cause no surprise that, as Dr. Codrington observes, "in these islands generally there was by no means the insensibility in regard to female virtue with which the natives are so commonly charged."[3] Yet, notwithstanding those special local circumstances, there is not any portion of that region, with the possible exception of Fiji, from which habitual and general pre-nuptial intercourse has not been reported, and not one allegation to the contrary which is not belied by more reliable reports.[4] There is not any evidence to show that there exists anywhere in the Melanesian region any "regard for female virtue."

"In some parts of the Bismarck Archipelago," says Dr. Westermarck on the authority of Count von Pfeil, "seduction, if proved by

[1] C. Kowald, in *Annual Report on British New Guinea*, 1892–93, p. 62.

[2] H. H. Romilly, "The Islands of the New Britain Group," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xix, p. 8: "The investigator has to rely principally on his own powers of observation, as he cannot get much reliable information or many facts from the natives by word of mouth" (cf. G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 207).

[3] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 235.

[4] Dr. Gerland went much farther than Dr. Westermarck, with the advance of our ethnological knowledge of the Melanesian region, is able to do, in claiming the existence of a regard for chastity in those savages. After showing the barbarous despotism and cruelty under which Melanesian women suffer, he proceeds to remark: "*And yet* the relations between the sexes are in general more pure than in Polynesia" (T. Waitz and G. Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, vol. vi, p. 628). The italics are mine, and emphasise the peculiar view, once very general, that the imposition of chastity upon women is an indication of respect for them, whereas the exact opposite is the rule in primitive societies. In the New Ireland Group the women appear to enjoy far greater freedom and influence than in any other part of the Melanesian region; chastity, and indeed any regular marriage relations, are also said to be non-existent there (D. Rannie, "New Ireland," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Queensland Branch of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia*, ii, Part i, pp. 80 sq.).

witnesses, is severely punished." [1] Dr. Brown, who has spent a large portion of his life in the Bismarck Archipelago, also describes such punishment, but it is not inflicted for 'seduction' "proved by witnesses," whatever that may mean, but for what is a very different thing—namely, rape.[2] "Children, when comparatively young, seem to have improper intercourse with each other;" [3] and "illegitimate births were very numerous." [4]

Concerning the Solomon Islands, the statement of the Rev. R. H. Codrington is quoted that "among good families, at Saa, in Malanta, the virginity of a bride is a matter of much concern to her friends, not only because the boy's friends will not pay what they have promised if her character is questionable, but because they value propriety." [5] The Rev. R. H. Codrington's work has been in many respects a very important contribution to ethnology, but questions of sexual morality are treated by him with more than the usual amount of clerical delicacy. His account becomes readily intelligible in the light of further information. Of the value set on 'propriety' by the Solomon Islanders and of their conception of chastity, Mr. Somerville writes: "There is no sense whatever among them that this is a virtue or even desirable in a girl. Women and men, as soon as they are of age to do so, may have connection promiscuously just as they desire. This is the rule from the chief's daughter downwards." [6] It appears, however, that after a girl's tatuing is completed she is regarded as married; "from this time her friends keep a watchful eye over her movements and check any symptoms of levity on her part, or the slightest approach to familiarity with anyone of the opposite sex. I am describing the rule; there are exceptions." [7] That watchfulness after the completion of tatuing is very necessary, for in spite of it the girls meet young men in the bush; the resulting offspring is usually killed.[8] In the case of a chief's daughter, far from the bride-price being a secondary consideration, it is usually so high that very often the

[1] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 147, citing J. von Pfeil, *Studien und Beobachtungen aus der Südsee*, p. 31.

[2] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 253.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 254. Cf. the other authorities cited on p. 12 n., by whom this is confirmed.

[4] A. Hahl, "Ueber die Rechtsanschauungen der Eingeborenen einer Theiles der Blanchbucht und des Innern der Gazelle Halbinsel," *Nachrichten über Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel*, 1897, p. 81.

[5] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 147, citing R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 239.

[6] B. T. Sommerville, "Ethnographical Notes in New Georgia, Solomon Islands," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi, p. 394.

[7] A. Penny, *Ten Years in Melanesia*, p. 92.

[8] F. Elton, "Notes on Natives of the Solomon Islands," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvii, p. 93.

daughter has to remain unmarried until her greedy father is dead; after that release she either marries someone for "a mere song," or resumes her career of free love.[1] Mr. Elton likewise states that "all the young women are prostitutes."[2] As regards chastity in New Caledonia, Dr. Westermarck tells us that "among some of the New Caledonians unchastity is considered dishonourable, and to call a person a bastard is an insult; whereas among others 'les jeunes filles peuvent disposer de leur corps.'" But there is no hint in his authorities that the first statement refers to "some of the New Caledonians," while the qualifying concession refers to "others"; both are given as applying to the New Caledonian savages in general, and the only difference in origin between the two statements is that the one comes from the Rev. Father Lambert and the other from an educated medical man and journalist. There are other accounts from missionaries similar to that of Father Lambert. In speaking of them M. Rochas, the most expert authority on that region, remarks that "one may admire the elegance and idyllic colouring of those descriptions, but we should be allowing ourselves to be deceived if we took them seriously." There is, according to the same authority, a short period during which continence has to be observed, on superstitious grounds, before puberty, and that ritual observance has served in all probability as a sufficient foundation for the accounts of Catholic missionaries; the girls, however, "amply make up for it as soon as they are mature. They fly from one amour to another until their charms are faded."[3] All the young women, says another writer, "have liberty to prostitute themselves before marriage."[4] "No notice is taken of the virginity of a girl, for she loses it while playing about in early years."[5]

In Fiji "there is a mass of evidence to show that in heathen times the majority of girls were virgins until they married or entered into concubinage." This state of things was, says Dr. Westermarck citing Sir Basil Thomson, put an end to by the introduction of Christianity.[6] Although this may sound like a severe stricture on the influence of the Christian religion, the demoralising effect of the latter on the savages is, in this instance, readily intelligible. Mr. T. Williams tells us that Fijian girls were "in youth the victims of lust, and in old age of brutality."[7] "A girl child," says Sir

[1] A. Penny, *loc. cit.*

[2] F. Elton, *loc. cit.*

[3] V. de Rochas, *La Nouvelle Calédonie et ses habitants*, pp. 235 sq.

[4] M. Glaumont, "Usages, moeurs et coutumes des Néo-Calédoniens," *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vii, p. 83.

[5] L. Moncelon, "Réponse . . . pour les Néo-Calédoniens au questionnaire de la Société," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, Série iii, ix, p. 368.

[6] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 127 sq.

[7] T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, vol. i, p. 169.

Basil Thomson, "was promised to a man old enough to be her grandfather." [1] "The fear of him, or his friends, causes her parents to keep a strict watch over her." [2] After marriage a chief would send one of the girls thus acquired "as part payment for a musket." [3] Those customs applied to the marriage of chiefs concerning whose doings our information is naturally fuller; whether they also applied to the marriages of ordinary people is not known. The hypothesis that they did, which Sir Basil Thomson regards as supported by a mass of evidence, is difficult to reconcile with the periodical rites of promiscuity to the existence of which he himself bears witness, and in which the young Fijians, boys and girls, behaved "like pigs." [4] One of the more recent writers on Fiji says that "the absence of chastity did not seem to be greatly resented"; [5] and, according to Mr. Williams, "all the evils of the most licentious sensuality are found." [6] Mr. Romilly, who acted as magistrate in Fiji in conjunction with a native chief in a sort of mixed tribunal, remarks on his colleague's notions concerning sexual offences. "Rape," he says, "is a trifling 'faux pas' in his eyes; while stealing a pig is the 'ne plus ultra' of wickedness. He tried a man for the first offence and fined him a shilling; a poor wretch who stole a pig, however, got six months." [7]

The extreme licence notoriously prevalent in every part of Polynesia is alluded to by Dr. Westermarck with the characteristic concession that "there is said to be, or to have been, the greatest freedom before marriage." [8] He, however, gives prominence to statements calculated to convey the impression that the ritual virginity required of the brides of chiefs in Tonga and in Samoa and publicly demonstrated represented the general customs of those islands. We have quantitative information concerning Samoan virginity: there was exactly one virgin per village, that village virgin being specially chosen and guarded for the purpose of a ceremonial marriage with a chief.[9] Turner says that sometimes among non-noble classes "the same obscene practice was gone

[1] B. Thomson, *Fijians*, p. 201.
[2] T. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 168.
[4] B. Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 154 sq., 157; L. Fison, "The Nanga, or Sacred Stone Enclosure of Wainimala, Fiji," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv, p. 28.
[5] A. B. Brewster, *The Hill Tribes of Fiji*, p. 197.
[6] T. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
[7] H. H. Romilly, *Letters from the Western Pacific*, p. 74.
[8] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 149.
[9] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, pp. 120 sqq.; G. Kurze, "Die Samoaner in dem heidnischen Zeit," *Mittheilungen der geographische Gesellschaft (für Thuringen) zu Iena*, xix, p. 7; E. von Hesse-Wartegg, *Samoa, Bismarck-Archipel und Neu-Guinea*, pp. 237 sq.

through, to which I have referred"; but "there are many marriages without any such ceremony at all." Chastity, he adds, "was more a name than a reality"; there was no restraint and no decency, and "immorality was the natural and prevalent consequence. There were exceptions, especially among the daughters of persons of rank; but they were exceptions, not the rule."[1] Freedom of unmarried women was recognised in Samoa as in every other part of Polynesia; "unchastity in either sex before marriage was not considered a very serious offence."[2] In the Tongan group the same institutions of the common 'olag' obtained as in Micronesia; "the single women, and sometimes the married women, sleep in parties in a large hut; at night the young men visit and they embrace. The girl is permitted to receive the embraces of any man until she is married, when she can receive no one but her husband."[3]

After what we have just seen of Dr. Westermarck's methods, we shall be prepared to receive without undue surprise his suggestions that conceptions of pre-nuptial chastity are entertained by the aborigines of Australia. Mr. Woods, fifteen years after editing his well-known work on Australian ethnology, states that "chastity as a virtue is absolutely unknown among all the tribes of which there are records."[4] Professor Gerland, after collating all the evidence available to him, concludes with much moderation that "chastity is not demanded either of girls or of widows, for it is not regarded as a virtue and the young people are therefore wholly unrestrained."[5]

[1] G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 95, 91. Cf. Id., *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 184.

[2] G. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 265. Cf. *The Colonial Intelligencer, or Aborigines' Friend*, iii, pp. 52 sq.

[3] W. Waldegrave, "Extracts from a Private Journal kept on board H.M.S. 'Seringapatam' in the Pacific," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, iii, p. 194. 'Olags' have not infrequently been transformed by missionaries so as to accord with the edifying description of the institution. Romilly gives the following interesting account of the institution as he found it at Rotuma. This island had been taken possession of by some Roman Catholic missionaries, who established the usual despotic rule over the natives. They placed a tabu over the 'olag,' and the girls were locked up in it at a given hour. "The missionaries say I am a heretic and a devil," writes Romilly, "and they forbid the natives to have intercourse with me. They have got a big house here in which all the women sleep. Last night at shutting-up time I crawled off with the banjo and climbed on to the roof and dropped in the middle of them. I sat there playing half the night while the ladies performed a frantic 'lula-lula,' or dance. The priest turned up quite frantic in the middle of it, almost foaming at the mouth. I put on a bland smile on my face, and said: 'Asseyez-vous, Monsieur; ici point d'étiquette'" (H. H. Romilly, *Letters from the Western Pacific and Mashonaland*, p. 54).

[4] J. D. Woods, *The Province of South Australia*, p. 403.

[5] T. Waitz and G. Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, vol. vi, p 774.

"No such virtue is recognised," wrote one of the earliest explorers of Central Australia.[1] "There is not much to be said about their morals," says one of the more recent explorers, "for, I am sorry to say, they have none."[2] They "do not understand what feminine virtue signifies," says Mr. Willshire.[3] The Australian aborigines, says an Australian writer of great learning and judgment, who is in many ways disposed to take what I regard as an over-idealistic view of innate moral instincts, are marked by "absolute incapacity to form an even rudimentary notion of chastity."[4] To them, says another writer, the virtue of chastity is "not even comprehensible as an object or motive of conduct."[5] "Of chastity," says Mr. Jukes speaking of the natives of northern Queensland, "they have no idea."[6] "Chastity or fidelity," says Mr. Taplin, "are quite unknown to them."[7] "Chastity is quite unknown amongst them," says Mr. Beveridge, "and it is a hopeless task endeavouring to make them understand the value of the virtue. They say all such trammels and prohibitions may be quite correct as regards white men, but, not being in accordance with aboriginal ethics, and never having been practised by any of their progenitors, they cannot see why they should, merely because a white man bids them, ignore that which their forefathers deemed good from the very earliest time and which they themselves feel to be innate."[8]

With many, perhaps with the majority, of primitive peoples extra-connubial freedom is but the normal and natural operation of the sexual functions, exercised with moderation and without excess; with most of them violence is resented and prohibited as an infringement of that freedom. Few of them are in any high degree licentious; most of them are entirely free from vice. In Australia, where complete male dominance is established in the lowest stage of culture, the manifestations of sexual life are wholly unredeemed, revolting and brutal. The Australian aborigines are one of the few uncultured peoples with whom the forms which those manifestations assume surpass anything that even European imagination is capable of conceiving, or that the utmost European depravity can stomach.[9] "The natives," says Dr.

[1] E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, vol. ii, p. 320.

[2] C. Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, p. 345.

[3] W. H. Willshire, *The Aborigines of Central Australia*, p. 37.

[4] A. Sutherland, *The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct*, vol. i, p. 113.

[5] W. Westgarth, *Australia Felix*, p. 70.

[6] J. Beete Jukes, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyage of H.M.S. 'Fly,'* vol. ii, p. 248.

[7] G. Taplin, *The Folklore, Manners and Customs of the South Australian Aborigines*, p. 93.

[8] P. Beveridge, *The Aborigines of Victoria and Riverina*, pp. 23 sq.

[9] See below, vol. iii, pp. 325 sq.

Eylmann, "know no restraint in the satisfaction of their sexual passions." [1] "One of the darkest features in the aboriginal character," says Mr. Parker, "is its gross sensuality. I cannot portray the appalling details of the dark picture." [2] Mr. Parker was well acquainted with most of the tribes of New South Wales and Victoria; "I find but little difference in the habits and customs of the people," he reports; "I see everywhere the same gross and beastly sensuality." [3] "No one but he who has occasion to mix frequently with the natives," says another witness to the sexual depravity of the aborigines, "can form a correct opinion on the subject." [4]

The native Australian women are not, however, mere victims of male lust. "It must not be thought," says Mr. Withnell of the North-Western Tribes, "that the women possess any chastity or virtue." [5] They "prostitute themselves through life." [6] The female children, reports a missionary in evidence supplied to the Colonial Office, are "cradled in prostitution, as it were, and fostered in licentiousness." [7] Australian women "exhibit the worst type of unchastity. They crawl on hands and knees through the long grass to cohabit with other blacks who have no right to their companionship." [8] The Australian females, says Dr. Eylmann, appear, many of them, to be absolute nymphomaniacs. It is difficult to restrain young girls even in the mission schools; the teachers themselves are not immune from their direct solicitations. [9] It has been found impossible to conduct mixed classes of aboriginal children, even of the tenderest age. [10]

As regards pre-nuptial conditions in particular, a loop-hole for ambiguity would appear to be afforded by the fact that such conditions do not usually exist, since the female children are allotted to the older men long before puberty, and generally at birth. Collating information obtained from twenty different tribes, Dr. Sutherland found that the average age of 'marriage' for the

[1] E. Eylmann, *Die Eingeborenen der Kolonie Süd-Australien*, p. 125.

[2] E. S. Parker, *The Aborigines of Australia*, p. 22.

[3] Id., in *House of Commons Accounts and Papers*, 1844, vol. xxxiv, "Copies of, or Extracts from, Despatches of the Governors of the Australian Colonies, with Reports of the Protector of the Aborigines," p. 309.

[4] B. Hurst, *ibid.*, p. 178.

[5] J. G. Withnell, *The Customs and Traditions of the Aboriginal Natives of North-Western Australia*, p. 17.

[6] E. J. Eyre, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 320.

[7] D. Coates, in *House of Commons Accounts and Papers*, 1844, vol. xxxiv; "Copies of, or Extracts from, Despatches of the Governors of the Australian Colonies, with Reports of the Protector of the Aborigines," pp. 59 sq.

[8] W. H. Willshire, *The Aborigines of Central Australia*, p. 28.

[9] E. Eylmann, *Die Eingeborenen der Kolonie Süd-Australien*, pp. 125, 128.

[10] W. Westgarth, *Australia Felix*, p. 70.

girls was 11·53 years.[1] It is often considerably less. Often "the girls go to live with their husbands at from seven to ten years, and suffer dreadfully from intercourse."[2] "At puberty no girl, without exception, is a virgin."[3] It is obvious that in those conditions the question whether pre-nuptial chastity is or is not observed would seem liable to remain somewhat obscure. "This question," remarks Dr. Malinowski, "seems relatively unimportant, as we know that girls are handed over to their personal husbands on arriving at puberty, or even before."[4] Nevertheless, the remark is, in this instance, but a convenient means of dispensing with a discussion of the question; for, as it happens, we have definite testimony on the point. Although all infant girls are 'betrothed,' that is to say, allotted from birth to the older men, the latter do not invariably take possession of them in infancy; some may remain 'unbetrothed' owing to the decease of their elderly 'fiancé.' Finally, early as is the age at which the females are handed over to their 'personal husbands,' the age at which they begin to give themselves over to promiscuous intercourse is even earlier.

In his detailed study of the aborigines of South Australia, Dr. Eylmann says that the girls, "as soon as the sexual instincts begin to awaken, that is between the ages of eight and twelve, give themselves to boys who are no older than themselves."[5] "The young of both sexes," says Eyre, "habitually have sexual intercourse."[6] Among the aborigines of the Lower Murray and Darling, says Dr. Krefft, "when a native takes a 'lubra' to himself for good, it is pretty certain that, however young she may be, she has had connection with most of the men of the tribe."[7] The females, says Mr. Willshire of the central tribes, are from infancy "sexually at the mercy of all who may get hold of them."[8] Mr. Collins, after referring to that habitual practice of rape, says: "Even children make it a game or exercise, and I have often, on hearing the cries of the girls with whom they were playing, run out of my house thinking some murder was committed, but have found the whole party laughing at my mistake."[9] Dr. Roth informs us that

[1] A. Sutherland, *The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct*, vol. i, p. 113.

[2] T. A. Davis, in E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, vol. i, p. 380.

[3] S. Gason, "Notes on the Australian Aborigines," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv, p. 169.

[4] B. Malinowski, *The Family among the Australian Aborigines*, p. 104.

[5] E. Eylmann, *Die Eingeborenen der Kolonie Südaustralien*, p. 128.

[6] E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, vol. ii, p. 320.

[7] G. Krefft, *On the Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Lower Murray and Darling*, p. 76.

[8] W. H. Willshire, *The Aborigines of Central Australia*, p. 28.

[9] D. Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, vol. i, p. 559.

exactly the same customs obtain among the Queensland tribes, and that "no one troubles himself about the matter."[1] "Unless they should happen to be betrothed," he states in another place, "women are allowed considerable sexual freedom before marriage; even if betrothed, it does not follow that her future husband makes any trouble over it with her."[2] It is, indeed, a matter of tribal custom that, in any case, all a man's tribal brothers should have intercourse with a girl before she is handed over to her personal husband.[3] "All the males of the tribe, beginning with the youngest, fit for such a proceeding bear their share in the labour, nor is it until pronounced by unanimous consent perfectly qualified to be married that she is given up to her future husband."[4] "With both sexes," says Mr. Brough Smyth, "intercourse takes place as soon as they reach puberty; with the girls sometimes when they are scarcely nine or ten years old."[5] In a circumstantial account, Mr. B. H. Purcell states that with the Yanawiyal tribe intercourse between the unmarried of both sexes is not only permitted, but is regarded as obligatory.[6] Sir George Grey noted the addiction of the younger females to intrigues in Western Australia.[7] The younger men, says Mr. Taplin, "are not allowed to take a wife until the time by which their 'narumbe' has expired, but they are allowed the abominable privilege of promiscuous intercourse with the younger portion of the sex."[8] "The females are, many if not all, prostituted from childhood," says Dr. Landor.[9] For six months after initiation, says Mr. Sutherland, "the youth were allowed an unbounded licence, and there was no possible blame attached to the young unmarried girl who entertained him."[10] In some districts of Queensland separate camps are reserved, as with the Masai of East Africa, for intercourse among the unmarried.[11] Among the Maryborough tribes, "it was permitted to the unmarried girls, if they wished to do so, to encamp away by themselves at a little distance, or they and some widows might make such a

[1] W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, p. 182.

[2] Id., *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 8*, p. 7.

[3] See below, vol. iii, pp. 224 sq.

[4] A. Oldfield, "The Aborigines of Australia," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, iii, p. 251.

[5] R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. ii, p. 319.

[6] B. H. Purcell, "Rites and Customs of the Australian Aborigines," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 1893, p. 288.

[7] G. Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-Western and Western Australia*, vol. ii, p. 320.

[8] G. Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," in J. D. Woods, *The Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 18.

[9] H. Landor, in R. Brough Smyth, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 240.

[10] A. Sutherland, *The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct*, vol. i, p. 113.

[11] W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 8*, p. 7.

camp. It would face away from the main encampment, and its situation is a sign that the young women are there waiting for the young men to come and court them."[1]

In support of his suggestion that, although "among many uncivilised peoples both sexes enjoy perfect freedom previous to marriage . . . the same can certainly not be said of the Australian aborigines while in their native state," Dr. Westermarck adduces a singular statement from Pastor Strehlow, edited by Herr von Leonhardi, in which it is asserted that among the Arunta of Central Australia, "if a grown-up youth has sexual intercourse with a grown-up girl, or with the wife of another man, they are both speared and their bodies thrown into the fire."[2] The statement is in more ways than one unintelligible, for Pastor Strehlow says a few lines farther that "before subincision sexual intercourse is not permitted,"[3] which would seem to imply that it is permitted afterwards. I have never heard of a "grown-up girl" being unmarried amongst the Australian aborigines. Pastor Strehlow's book, which appears to have been subjected to a good deal of 'editing,' abounds in similar contradictions and startling assertions, and is, consequently, well known to be of little use for scientific purposes. The statement of Pastor Strehlow, or of his editor, invests the Aruntas with a unique character of fanatical ascetism, which has altogether escaped the notice of every other observer, including Sir W. B. Spencer and Mr. Gillen, who spent some four years amongst them; and it has, in all probability, its source in the severity of punishments inflicted for the breach of tribal laws concerning incest. So have, it is pretty obvious, most of the other statements mentioned by Dr. Westermarck. Thus Mr. Holden is cited as saying of the Maroura tribe of the Lower Darling that "their laws were strict, especially those regarding young men and young women. It was almost death to a young lad or man who had sexual intercourse till married."[4] But the statement, which is absurd as it stands, and is contra-

[1] A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 232. Dr. Howitt's informant adds that "numbers remain perfectly virtuous." But in view of what we know of the relations between the sexes in Australia, where every female found alone is raped, we may be permitted to doubt the accuracy of the suggestion.

[2] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. i, p. 149, citing C. Strehlow, *Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien*, edited by M. von Leonhardi, vol. iv, Part i, p. 93. A similar statement is made concerning the Lorija tribe (*ibid.*, p. 103).

[3] C. Strehlow, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, Part i, p. 93.

[4] Holden, in G. Taplin, *The Folklore of the South Australian Aborigines*, p. 19. Cf. the Rev. Taplin's own statement on the subject, referring to the tribes of the same region (above, p. 58). See also A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 675.

dicted by the editor of the book in which it appears, manifestly has reference to intercourse within the clan or marriage-class. There are innumerable similar testimonies to the strict prohibition in every Australian tribe of such incestuous intercourse, as it is considered by the Australian aborigines.[1] Thus, for example, Mr. Morrill, speaking of the same tribes of northern Queensland, concerning which we have such full and precise information from the admirable accounts of Dr. Roth, says: "They are very strict in their relations. When girls are but ten years old they are not allowed to sleep at the same fire with their brothers."[2] Those rules, which are mentioned in almost the same words by Mr. Moore Davis in a passage cited by Dr. Westermarck,[3] have, of course, nothing to do with the extra-nuptial licence which has been fully described in the same tribes. Dr. Westermarck's only remaining witnesses to the chastity of the Australian aborigines are Mrs. Parker and the indispensable Mr. Curr; but even those authorities do not say one word from which the observance of pre-nuptial chastity among the Australian aborigines might be inferred.[4]

Dr. Westermarck has frequently lectured and admonished Australian scientists who have spent their lives in the study of the native races, and has passed unfavourable judgments upon their critical standards; had any of them based inferences concerning "unknown conditions in the past" upon such alleged evidence as Dr. Westermarck produces to suggest unknown conditions in the

[1] See above, vol. i, p. 730.

[2] J. Morrill, *Sketch of a Residence among the Aborigines of North Queensland for Seventeen Years*, pp. 22 sq.

[3] Moore Davis, in R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. ii, p. 318 (E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 149 sq.). If the statement is intended to mean what Dr. Westermarck suggests, which is improbable, it is, like Mr. Holden's statement above mentioned, explicitly contradicted by the writer of the work from which it is taken. A statement of Mr. J. Dawson's (*Australian Aborigines*, p. 28) is also mentioned by Dr. Westermarck; but it refers to 'illegitimate' children, whatever that may mean among the Australian aborigines. The only children that are regarded as 'illegitimate' are, so far as I am aware, the fruits of incestuous relations.

[4] Mrs. Parker says that in the Euahlayi tribe "unchaste women were punished terribly. After we went west even the death penalty for wantonness was enforced" (K. Langloh Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, pp. 59 sq.). Whether the 'wantonness' which wounded the feelings of Euahlayi mission-station blacks was adultery, desertion, or incest we are not told. Mr. Curr merely cites a Mr. Stephens as asserting that Australian 'immorality' was due to "the white man's drink" (E. M. Curr, *Recollections of Squatting in Victoria*, p. 249; E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 127). Had it been possible to suggest the observance of pre-nuptial chastity in any Australian tribe, we may be fairly sure that Mr. Curr would not have neglected the opportunity.

present, the reproofs which he has freely bestowed upon them would not have been impertinent.

The foregoing somewhat tedious and unedifying examination of the allegation that restrictions are imposed upon sexual relations before marriage, in primitive societies where advanced claims founded upon infant-bethrothal or purchase by means of a high bride-price have not yet developed, was necessary in view of the prevalent impression, largely due to the influence of Dr. Westermarck's writings, that examples of such restrictions are quite common ; and the examination of the instances produced in support of that allegation affords a more definite basis for judgment than a mere enumeration of the peoples who recognise no such restrictions. The assumption that any exception to that rule may occur in a primitive society is, when examined, found to be unsupported by any trustworthy evidence.

Effects of Contact with Europeans.

The glaring discrepancy between the theories current among the moral theologians of the seventeenth century and the customs found in primitive societies, even after the boldest efforts to idealise them, was accounted for by the Jesuit Fathers by assuming that the primal state of innocence of unsophisticated savages had suffered rapid corruption through contact with the representatives of an effete and sinful civilisation. The earliest modern anthropological literature which we possess, that relating to the natives of North America, is pervaded with that hypothesis. Thus, for example, General Denys, the Governor of New France, gives a very unfavourable account of the sexual morality of the Indians of Canada in his time, but is persuaded that this looseness was a corruption brought about by contact with Europeans, and he draws an imaginary picture of the severe chastity and modesty of " former days." As an instance of that corruption he mentions that a girl found a husband more readily if she had already borne a child, " because he was then assured that she was not barren "—a preference which it is difficult to trace to the corrupting influence of European ideas. He likewise adds that the men do not repudiate their wives so readily as they did formerly, and that polygamy is disappearing—changes which, apparently, are to be regarded as effects of the corruption introduced by Europeans.[1] On the other hand, the very earliest accounts of the tribes of the self-same locality—those of Cartier, the first white man to make their acquaintance, and of Champlain—describe in clear terms the

[1] N. Denys, *Description géographique et historique des costes de l'Amérique septentrionale*, vol. ii, pp. 475 sqq., 372 sq.

complete liberty enjoyed by unmarried girls.[1] Another early report, still referring to the Canadian tribes of the neighbourhood of Quebec, gives an account of the matter the exact opposite of that of Governor Denys. The sexual morality of the Indians, we are told by Lescarbot, was formerly far looser than at the time of which the writer speaks, but, owing to the proximity of European settlements and the influence of European ideas, it had become very much more strict and beseeming.[2] Similarly Captain Carver, referring to the practices of the Plains Indians, who were in the habit of lending or exchanging their wives, says that "this custom is more prevalent among the nations which lie in the interior parts than among those that are nearer the settlements, as the manners of the latter are rendered more conformable in some points to those of the Europeans by the intercourse they hold with them."[3] Dr. Currier, after a full review of the present condition of North American tribes in this respect, concludes that "in nothing has the influence of education and Christianity been more positive and noteworthy than in the improvement which has taken place in some localities with regard to marriage and the sexual relations."[4]

The somewhat puerile theory of the Jesuit moral theologians has, with the rest of their doctrines, been revived by Dr. Westermarck, who assimilates the absence of extra-connubial restrictions in primitive societies to prostitution, and suggests that such absence of restrictions is due to corrupting influences exercised by contact with the civilised societies which impose those restrictions. Contact with Europeans can obviously introduce into primitive societies only the social features, customs, standards, and conceptions of European society. It has, among other things, introduced venality and prostitution for profit, which, whatever may be alleged to the contrary, does not exist in primitive societies in the form known to Europeans. But while it can transform the social customs of uncivilised societies into prostitution, European influence cannot establish those customs; it cannot be held responsible for the social organisation of Central Australian aborigines, of Arctic and Melanesian tribes, of proud and warlike Iroquois, Natchez, Masai warriors, of Tibetan societies that have for centuries offered the most desperate resistance to the intrusion of foreign influence. European civilisation has, on the contrary, everywhere broken up primitive social organisations so that it has become scarcely any longer possible for the investigator

[1] See above, p. 34.

[2] M. Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. iii, p. 713.

[3] J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, p. 369.

[4] A. F. Currier, "A Study relative to the Functions of the Reproductive Apparatus in American Indian Women," *Transactions of the American Gynecological Society*, xvi, pp. 275 sq.

to come upon them in an unadulterated form; and it has supplanted them, not only by European prostitution, but also by the correlated institutions and codes of sexual restrictions of which European prostitution and vice are the inevitable complement and consequence.

In Australia, wherever white men were settled in the neighbourhood of the aborigines, wholesale prostitution of the native women took place, and in some districts more than half the children of native women were half-castes.[1] But even that condition of things is not ascribable solely, or even chiefly, to the white men. "Much has been written by the Lutheran missionaries," says Mr. Willshire, "upon the outrages committed by white men taking black women from the aboriginals, and upon the maddening effect the practice has upon the men. Statements of the kind do not deserve much consideration when the habits of the natives are properly understood and weighed. When they desire to propitiate one another, their women are for a time exchanged, and when they are favourably disposed towards any white man they may meet, the first thing that is done is to place the women at his disposal. Moreover, the 'lubras' themselves will go to the white; indeed, willing or not, the men compel females to offer themselves, and will follow white travellers on foot for miles with their women, if the least inducement be held out. The tendency is much increased, amongst the women at least, by the knowledge that white men treat them with kindness."[2] Those customs do not owe their origin to Europeans. During Burke's ill-fated expedition across Australia, large hostile tribes of natives, who had never had any communication with white men, behaved in exactly the same manner towards the members of the expedition, offering them their women in order to entice them out of camp.[3] I have read through most of the official evidence supplied to the House of Commons on the subject of native prostitution to white men, and I have not come upon a single instance of resentment being shown by Australian aborigines at the relations of their women with Europeans. On the other hand, the only mention of such resentment appearing in the reports refers to the case of two native girls who had been brought up at a mission station, and for whom the missionaries selected what they regarded as the

[1] *House of Commons Accounts and Papers*, 1844, vol. xxxiv, "Copies of, and Extracts from, Despatches of the Governors of the Australian Colonies, with Reports of the Protector of the Aborigines," pp. 164, 176, 178.

[2] W. H. Willshire, *The Aborigines of Central Australia*, p. 36. Cf. J. D. Woods, *The Province of South Australia*, p. 398.

[3] Wright's Diary, in "Exploring Expedition from Victoria to the Gulf of Carpentaria, under the Command of Mr. Robert O'Hara Burke," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxxii, p. 518.

most suitable and desirable husbands among their converts. The whole tribe rose in indignation; the elder men declared that the marriages were illegal, and the mission station barely escaped being wrecked by the fury of the indignant and outraged natives.[1] The matrimonial usages which the missionaries sought to introduce were opposed to native Australian tribal law; the sexual licence indulged in by the vulgarest settlers was not. In describing the sexual communism of the central and southern Australian tribes, Dr. Howitt somewhat unnecessarily remarks: "This applies, of course, to purely native custom as it prevailed before the incoming of the white men. The mere immorality resulting from the contact of the two races is not taken into account."[2]

In Polynesia, while girls and women freely offered themselves to the crews of the first European ships, desire to obtain iron and other commodities led to a large increase in such intercourse and transformed it into a system of prostitution. But that was not the character of the sexual hospitality which was offered to early European visitors. In Nukahiva, for example, where such traffic assumed in later years large proportions, the natives in the early days, far from looking for profit from the offer of their women, regarded the acceptance of such offers as a sign of goodwill and brotherhood, and showed their gratitude by overwhelming their guests with presents. "Many parents considered themselves as honoured by the preference given to their daughters, and testified their pleasure by large presents of hogs and fruit, which to them must have been munificent."[3] "The only difference between the corruption of the girls and women formerly and at the present day," says Lieutenant De Bovis, referring to Tahiti, "is that it used not to be venial."[4]

The Moriori of the Chatham Islands are in a much more primitive state of culture than the Maori of New Zealand, and are incomparably more secluded from contact with Europeans. Yet they are stated to have been very much laxer in their sexual relations; and whereas a Maori would not infrequently kill his wife if she were taken in adultery, the Moriori women carried on their amours without fear or restriction, knowing that nothing worse than a beating could befall them as a punishment.[5] In

[1] J. Gunther, in *House of Commons Accounts and Papers*, 1844, vol. xxxiv, p. 158.

[2] A. W. Howitt, "Australian Group Relations," *Smithsonian Report*, 1883, p. 810 n.

[3] D. Porter, *Journal of a Cruise into the Pacific Ocean*, vol. ii, p. 59.

[4] E. De Bovis, "État de la société Taïtienne à l'arrivée des Européens," *Annuaire des établissements français de l'Océanie*, 1863, p. 258.

[5] A. Shand, "The Moriori of the Chatham Islands," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, iii, p. 79; cf. *ibid.*, vi, p. 148.

Hawaii, "till taught otherwise, the natives had not even a word to express chastity in their language; to learn to look upon sensual love as sin was to acquire a lesson as new as it was difficult, for the teaching of ancient custom was universally opposite to such a doctrine. The American missionaries and the native government actuated by the missionaries threw themselves unenquiringly and at once into a crusade against the prevailing licentiousness of the people. Fines, imprisonment, severe labour, and informants were their weapons of warfare. A great apparent change was rapidly effected. They clothed and converted the natives, and they produced not, alas! a regenerated people, but a nation of hypocrites."[1]

The distribution of primitive sexual customs in New Guinea is, as we have seen, inversely as that of European influence.[2] Dr. Finsch has also shown at some length the extravagance of setting down the customs which are established social institutions throughout Micronesia to the occasional visits of a few whalers to those isolated communities.[3] The tribes of the interior districts of the Caroline Islands have, of course, the same customs as those of the coast, yet, Mr. Christian tells us, they "rarely stir abroad, and view with the deepest interest the advent of a white visitor."[4] The 'bachelors' houses' of the Ladrones Islands were not put up, but put down and destroyed by the Spaniards.[5]

In India, in almost every instance where sexual freedom before marriage is recognised within the tribe or caste, it is severely condemned and punished when exercised with members of another tribe or caste;[6] and of the group of tribes where such traditional freedom is most uniformly observed, those inhabiting the Chittagong Hills district, we are expressly informed that it is most openly and generally exercised by the wilder and most inaccessible tribes, and that it is becoming restricted and discouraged among those which have come in closer contact with European civilisation.[7] "The theory," of Dr. Westermarck, says Mr. Gait, "is not in accordance with our experience in India."[8]

Mr. Dudley Kidd is moved to use somewhat stronger language. Those who, posing as authorities, draw from the facts the inference

[1] M. Hopkins, *Hawaii. The Past, Present, and Future of the Island-Kingdom*, pp. 354 sq.

[2] See above, p. 51 sq.

[3] O. Finsch, "Ueber die Bewohner von Ponape," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xii, p. 319.

[4] F. W. Christian, *The Caroline Islands*, p. 219.

[5] C. Le Gobien, *Histoire des Isles Marianes*, p. 225.

[6] See above, p. 21.

[7] T. H. Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong*, p. 47.

[8] E. A. Gait, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. i, "India," p. 248.

that the Kaffir races guarded female purity or entertained any notion of it in their natural state, and have since been corrupted by Europeans, or who rely on other people's defective knowledge to misrepresent and mislead, must, he says, "be either fools or knaves."[1] Yet Africa is probably the region of the uncultured world where European influence, both that of patrons of prostitution and of missionaries who break up native organisation, has been most deleterious. Notwithstanding those circumstances, Dr. McCall Theal declares that "a kraal on the coast was a scene of purity when compared with one in some parts of the interior."[2] Speaking of the Niam-Niam, Captain Anderson remarks: "Those that look upon them as simply unsophisticated and only corrupted by civilisation are vastly mistaken."[3]

Difficulty of distinguishing between Marriage and other Sexual Relations.

Since sexual relations within the prescribed limits of marriage-classes are much more free before than after marriage, it is manifest that the primary purpose of that institution cannot have been the satisfaction of those impulses. Of the Angami Nagas it is stated that "chastity begins with marriage,"[4] and among the tribes of Upper Burma "it is claimed that unchastity after marriage does not exist owing to their freedom of experiment before marriage."[5] Those remarks apply to the majority of uncultured peoples. As Dr. Starcke observes, "if marriage were decided by sexual relations, it would be difficult to understand for what reasons marriages were contracted in those communities in which altogether licentious life is permitted to the unmarried."[6]

[1] D. Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 230.

[2] G. M. MacCall Theal, *The Yellow and Dark-skinned People of Africa South of the Zambesi*, p. 223. Referring to such theories, Mr. M. C. Thomson remarks that they constitute an unwarrantable libel on the settlers, who "feel most deeply the charge of wholesale immorality that has been brought against them. As a matter of fact they are less to blame in this respect than any people I have come across." To speak of "the outraged modesty of the Matabele women," he says, "is absurd; the difficulty is to keep them away from Buluwayo" (H. C. Thomson, *Rhodesia and its Government*, pp. 77, 79).

[3] R. G. Anderson, "Some Tribal Customs in Relation to Medicine and Morals of the Nyam-Nyam and Gour People inhabiting the Eastern Bahr-El-Ghazal," *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratory at the Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum*, p. 243.

[4] D. Prain, "The Angami Nagas," *Revue Coloniale Internationale*, v, p. 492.

[5] C. Morgan Webb, in *Census of India*, 1911, vol. ix, p. 148.

[6] C. N. Starcke, *The Primitive Family in its Origin and Development*, p. 256. "The sexual intercourse between husband and wife," remarks

The sexual freedom which precedes marriage may lead to it; and it has been represented that such freedom may be regarded as a crude way of affording young people an opportunity of effecting a choice of more permanent partners. In many instances those relations may, of course, be followed by a more stable association, but among a large number of primitive peoples there is no relation between the freedom of intercourse which takes place before marriage and the establishment of marriage relations. Among the Bhuiya, an aboriginal race of Chota Nagpur and Orissa, "intimacy between boys and girls of the same village does not commonly end in marriage, for which a partner should be sought from another village."[1] Among the Kumbi, if young people have had intercourse with one another, they are forbidden to marry.[2] In the Caroline Islands, as in every other part of Micronesia, there are no restrictions on intercourse between the unmarried, and the young people take ample advantage of the liberty. It is the custom for them to gather on fine moonlight nights on the beaches of the lagoons and spend the night among the palm-groves. Such pleasures are the chief interest of the young men, who deck themselves in their most showy finery, and spend their time wandering from village to village to attract the attention of the best-looking girls. We are expressly told that they "do not think of marriage," that "marriage is never contemplated," and that it is not until men are getting on in years, and have bidden farewell to youthful passions, that they begin to contemplate marriage.[3] The same description applies to most of the natives of the same region,[4] and the primitive Alfurs of Ceram spend their youth in similar moonlight picnics.[5] As we shall see, associations of a more

Dr. Starcke, "is only one of the matters with which this institution has to do; it is by no means its central point and 'raison d'être.' We are, in some respects, disposed to underestimate the great influence which sexual matters exert on all the concerns of social life, and the attempt is sometimes made to sever it from moral life, as a matter of which we are constrained to admit the practical existence, although, from the ideal point of view, it ought not to be. On the other hand, its influence on primitive communities has been greatly overrated. The sexual instinct must be counted among the most powerful of human impulses, and is often unbridled in its expression, but it is devoid of the conditions which form the basis of the leading tendencies in which man's struggle for existence must be fought out. Since it is so easily and quickly gratified, and so transient, it is not adapted to support the heavy burden of social order" (*ibid.*, pp. 241 sq.).

[1] R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, vol. ii, p. 316.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 27.

[3] E. Metzger, "Die Bewohner der Karolinen," *Globus*, xlix, p. 104.

[4] J. Kubary, "Die Bewohner der Mortlock Inseln," *Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg*, 1878–79, p. 252.

[5] F. J. P. Sachse, *Het eiland Seram en zijne bewoners*, p. 108.

permanent character are very commonly entered into by primitive people in mature age only, and quite irrespectively of the sexual relations that occupy them during their younger years.[1] The economic unions formed by the Australian aborigines when they are between thirty and forty are, of course, quite unconnected with their previous sexual life. Speaking of the Chippewa, Keating expressly notes that the pre-nuptial freedom of intercourse which, as with most American tribes, took the form of nightly visiting, is never indulged in with a view to marriage; formal marriage was entered into by way of negotiations between the families.[2] The women likewise, among North American Indians, "do not seem to have been in any hurry to get themselves married."[3] They took care to avoid, by the use of abortifaciants, any risk of contracting ties for some years.[4] The same anxiety that no permanent connection should result from free intercourse was manifested by both men and women among the Guaycurus and Guanas of Brazil.[5] Among the Masai the risk that pre-nuptial freedom should lead to marriage alliances was very strictly guarded against by tribal law.[6]

Among other peoples indiscriminate pre-nuptial unions may develop into more stable ones, and the husband may be chosen from among pre-nuptial lovers. Thus among the Papuans of the Trobriand Islands of New Guinea "chastity is an unknown virtue. At an incredibly early age they become initiated into sexual life. As they grow up, they live in promiscuous free-love, which gradually develops into more permanent attachments, one of which ends in marriage."[7] Among the Igorots of Luzon the free relations which the girls have with their lovers in the 'olag' are commonly followed, when the girl has become pregnant, by her marriage to the father of the child. But that is by no means the invariable rule, as is, indeed, impossible from the multiple relations of the boys. If

[1] See below, pp. 152 sqq.

[2] W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Sources of the Missouri*, vol. ii, p. 166.

[3] L. Carr, "On the Social and Political Position of Women in Iroquois-Huron Tribes," *Sixteenth Report of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology*, p. 220. Cf. A. de La Hontan, *New Voyages in North America*, vol. ii, p. 454.

[4] A. de La Hontan, *loc. cit.*; W. Smith, *The History of the Province of New York*, p. 49; A. F. Currier, "A Study Relating to the Functions of the Reproductive Apparatus in North American Indian Women," *Transactions of the American Gynecological Society*, xvi, pp. 277 sqq.; G. Gibbs, *Tribes of Western Washington and Oregon*, p. 198; J. Dun, *The Oregon Territory*, p. 70.

[5] G. Jardin, "Sobre os Indios Uaicurus e Guanas," *Revista Trimensal do Instituto Geographico e Ethnographico do Brasil*, xiii, p. 357. Cf. below, p. 28.

[6] See above, p. 25.

[7] B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, p. 53.

the pre-nuptial lover does not desire to marry the girl there is no obligation on his part to do so; and the girl does not suffer in the least thereby, for, on the contrary, her chances of marriage are greatly increased by her having demonstrated her fertility.[1] Similarly among the Tinguianes, another wild race of the Philippines, "it appears that a man may live with his sweetheart and have a child by her, yet leave her without reproach, and marry another better fitted to be his wife."[2] Among the Lolo of Upper Tonkin an experimental marriage is contracted by a girl spending one night with the suitor at his house; she then returns to her home and continues to live the same life of sexual freedom as before. If after a while she goes back to her suitor in a state of pregnancy, she is received as his wife, although he is fully aware that he is unlikely to be the father of the child. If she does not return the engagement lapses.[3] In Cambodia the parents of a girl absolutely refuse to entertain propositions from a suitor for the hand of their daughter unless he has first seduced her; should he suggest marriage before this has been accomplished he is scorned and regarded as a fool.[4] Among the tribes of Upper Burma "before marriage the young people are allowed to consort as they please. In a village there are two or three little so-called bachelors' huts at the disposal of any maiden with any favoured man. If they do not care for each other, they part and no one has a right to interfere. Each is free to experiment with anyone else. If they care for each other they marry."[5] A similar freedom of experiment is common among many peoples without the fact of pregnancy constituting any obligation to marry. Of the natives of the lower Congo, Father Merolla reported that "these people were accustomed to commerce with their wives for some time before they married them, to try if they could like them; and after the same manner the wives were to experiment their husbands."[6] At Quoja, on the West Coast of Africa, it was the custom for girls from the inland districts to come to the coast to seek a husband. A girl would cohabit for ten or twelve days with a bachelor, and then return home. If she bore a son, she would send a message to the man informing him of the fact, and, if he wished to, he

[1] A. E. Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, p. 66.

[2] F. Cooper Cole, *Traditions of the Tinguian*, p. 54.

[3] E. Rocher, *La province chinoise de Yün-Nan*, vol. ii, p. 16. Cf. M. Martini, *Atlas Sinensis*, p. 162.

[4] E. Aymonnier, "Notes sur les coutumes et croyances superstitieuses des Cambogiens," *Cochinchine française: Excursions et reconnaissances*, 1883, p. 199.

[5] J. G. Scott and J. P. Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, Part i, vol. i, p. 407.

[6] J. Merolla da Sorrento, "A Voyage to Congo and Several Other Countries," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. xvi, p. 234.

might enter into negotiations with her parents with a view to marriage.[1] Among the Akamba " free love among the young people usually leads to marriage ; but with his practical disposition the native looks carefully to see that he gets an industrious wife. If the one he chooses is lazy, he continues his connection with her as long as it amuses him, but marries someone else."[2] Among the Munshi of northern Nigeria " a boy may live with a virgin as his wife if he gives her mother ten cloths and a pig, on the understanding that the girl's offspring belong to her family and that, unless he can presently make an equivalent exchange, he must give her up."[3]

Similar customs obtained among the most advanced races of Central and South America. Among the ancient Mexicans a bachelor would request the father of a girl to let him and his daughter live together for some time. If the young woman became pregnant he was under no obligation to marry her, but if he did not, the connection had to be completely severed.[4] The ancient Peruvians had likewise a regular system of trial marriage. The agreement was binding for one year only ; at the end of that period both parties were free to contract other engagements if they so desired.[5] Previous cohabitation was regarded as so essential a preliminary to marriage that a woman who had married without such due preparation was not regarded as respectably wedded, and was liable to have the fact thrown in her face if the marriage did not turn out a happy one. A Peruvian native who, while on a journey through the country, fell in love with a girl and requested her in marriage from her brother, was rejected by the latter on the sole plea that the suitor had not yet seduced the young lady and cohabited with her.[6] The Spanish missionaries complained bitterly that they could not wean the Indians of the province of Quito from the custom of pre-nuptial experiments. " After passing three or four months in this commerce, which they call ' amanarse,' that is, to habituate themselves, they then marry ; and the custom is still very common, having hitherto proved too strong for the joint efforts of the whole body of the clergy to extirpate. Accordingly, the first question at the ceremony of marriage is whether they are ' amanados,' in order to absolve them of the sin before they receive the nuptial benediction."[7] In spite, however, of the efforts of the

[1] O. Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique*, p. 260.

[2] G. Lindblom, *The Akamba*, p. 556.

[3] O. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, p. 303. Cf. F.-J. Clozel and R. Villamur, *Les coutumes indigènes de la Côte d'Ivoire*, p. 279.

[4] A. de Herrera, *General History of the West Indies*, vol. iii, pp. 316 sq.

[5] A. F. Bandelier, *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, p. 147.

[6] P. J. de Arriaga, *La extirpación de la idolatria del Piru*, p. 59.

[7] A. de Ulloa, *Relación historica del viage á la America meridional*, vol. i,

Church, and of the very severe decrees issued by the Spanish authorities against those customs, they are still regularly observed among the Catholic Indians of Bolivia.[1] The Arawak races of Guiana also have the same usages, and, as in other instances, there is no obligation to marry the girl whether she becomes pregnant or not.[2] So again, among the Samoyeds, a wife may be returned to her parents at any time within a year, and the money paid for her is duly refunded.[3] Among the ancient Egyptians, marriages were not definitely concluded until after a 'trial-year.'[4] The usage is constantly referred to in legal contracts, and was so ingrained in the social conceptions of the people that it persisted in Christian times and even after the Arab conquest. A child was commonly born before the actual marriage was concluded.[5]

We thus find every degree of transition between general pre-sexual relations wholly unconnected with prospective marriage, the right of experiment, or 'trial-marriage,' and a recognised freedom of relations between prospective spouses. It is manifestly difficult to draw a line between those customs. With many peoples, the greater development of individual proprietary claims, contact with higher cultures, or actual Christianisation, has led to considerable limitation in pre-nuptial relations, and these have become less free and less open; they have often survived as the acknowledged right to pre-nuptial experiment, or trial-marriage.

It is equally difficult to draw a line of demarcation between such trial-marriages and 'true marriage,' for even the latter is, with the majority of primitive peoples, scarcely more stable. It may in most instances be broken off quite as easily as an experimental union.

If, as is customary in accordance with European conceptions and sentiments, marriage be regarded as essentially a sexual relation, it is, in fact, not always easy in many primitive societies

p. 554; cf. C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, vol. i, pp. 290, 322, 420, 645; P. Ehrenreich, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, p. 65.

[1] A. F. Bandelier, *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, p. 147.

[2] E. F. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 221; R. Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, vol. ii, p. 316.

[3] F. G. Jackson, "Notes on the Samoyeds of the Great Tundra," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv, p. 405.

[4] E. Révillout, *Chrestomathie démotique*, pp. 132 sqq.; Id., "La question du divorce chez les Égyptiens," *Revue Égyptologique*, i, p. 95; J. Krall, *Demotische und assyrische Contracte*, p. 14; *Codex Justinianus*, v. 5. 8; L. Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des Römischen Kaiserreichs*, pp. 223 sqq.

[5] E. Révillout, *Chrestomathie démotique*, pp. 133 sqq.

to distinguish clearly wherein the relationship to which we apply the name differs from previous unrestricted relations. The older travellers frequently reported concerning the savage peoples whom they described that marriage did not exist amongst them. Such statements are repudiated by most modern anthropological writers, for there is generally some kind of association between men and women which may be spoken of as 'marriage.' But a great deal of misapprehension is nevertheless liable to result from the connotations of the term when it is applied to primitive sexual relations. It is, in fact, practically impossible to frame any definition of marriage which will apply strictly to all forms of the relation in uncultured societies, at the same time excluding the most casual sexual congress. Dr. Westermarck has attempted to lay down such a definition, and proposes to regard marriage as "a more or less durable connection between male and female lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of the offspring."[1] But where the whole distinction, as we conceive it, between sex relations which are, and those which are not, marriage turns precisely upon their degree of permanency, the use of such a phrase as "more or less" entirely abolishes the character of a definition.

Something of the difficulty of such a distinction has already been noted in regard to the customs of the North American Indians; the same relations, which are described by some of the old writers as unrestricted licentiousness, are represented by others as a "mode of courtship," and by others as actual marriage. Those associations were in widely varying degrees "more or less durable." It was the custom with all the tribes for a man, when he went out on a prolonged hunting expedition, to arrange for a young woman to accompany him, both for the sake of sexual companionship, and also to assist him with the carrying, cooking, and preparation of the products of the hunt, work which belonged to the sphere of the women. The woman received, of course, a liberal share of the profits, and the whole transaction was on a business footing of mutual advantage. At the end of the expedition the temporary association terminated without obligations on either side.[2] Similarly, young men, who had

[1] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. i, p. 71.

[2] N. Perrot, *Mémoire sur les moeurs*, etc., *des sauvages de l'Amérique septentrionale*, p. 23, referring to the Iroquois and Pawnee. This is called by Perrot "a form of marriage." A contemporary anonymous commentator adds: "All the savages take temporary wives and have others who remain at home with the children" (*ibid.*, p. 173). "A Sauteux," says Grant, "cannot with any degree of comfort support the fatigues of the chase without a female companion to make and mend his shoes, scrape his skins, carry home the meat, pitch the tent, and cook the victuals, with many other domestic concerns which fall to their lot" (P. Grant, "The Sauteux

perhaps no female relatives free to look after them, would engage some young woman to perform the duties of a wife. Thus among the Hurons, "Many of the young men, instead of marrying, keep 'des filles à pot et à feu,' and they live together as they please without this in any way preventing the young man or the young woman from freely visiting now and again their other mistresses or lovers, for such is the custom of the country."[1] In fact, as the Rev. D. Jones puts it, "the women are purchased by the night, week, month, or winter."[2] The relation spoken of as 'marriage' among the Indians, was commonly not much more durable or stable than those associations. "The Delawares and Iroquois," says Loskiel, "have seldom marriages of long continuance, especially if there are no children soon. There are happy and contented couples who live together peaceably and long, but they are the exception. There is no very strong tie between the married people in general, not even the oldest. The family connections of Indians are commonly very extensive on account of their frequently changing wives."[3] The Cherokee Iroquois "commonly change wives three or four times a year."[4] "A large portion of the old and middle-aged men," says Schoolcraft, "have had many different wives, and their children, scattered around the country, are unknown to them. Few women have more than two children by the same father." "Marriage is accounted only a temporary convenience."[5] Separation takes place without any formality. "Those savages are not even able to imagine that there could be any difficulty about the matter."[6] They "laugh at Europeans for having only one wife, and that for life; as they consider that the Good Spirit formed them to be happy, and not to continue together unless their tempers and dispositions were congenial."[7] The transient and unstable character of the 'marriages' of the Indians is the constant theme of lamentations on the part of the early missionaries.[8] And indeed, as will be seen, La Hontan was scarcely

Indians," in L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, vol. ii, p. 321).

[1] F. G. Sagard Théodat, *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons*, pp. 111 sq. Cf. F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. vi, p. 38.

[2] D. Jones, *Journal of Two Visits to some Nations of Indians*, p. 75.

[3] G. H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren*, vol. i, pp. 57 sq., 65.

[4] *Memoirs of Lieutenant Timberlake*, p. 65.

[5] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. v, p. 273.

[6] F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. v, p. 420.

[7] J. Long, *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter*, p. 95.

[8] *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. v, p. 111; vol. x, p. 63; vol. xiii, pp. 169, 187, 253; vol. xiv, p. 261; vol. xv, p. 125; vol. xvi, pp. 41, 65, 87, 251; vol. xvii, pp. 33, 143; vol. xviii, pp. 101, 133, 181; vol. xx, pp. 165, 211, 231; vol. xxi, pp. 135 sqq.; vol. xxiii, pp. 165, 187; vol. xxiv,

exaggerating when stating that " what is spoken of as ' marriage ' amongst the North American Indians would, in Europe, be spoken of as a criminal connection."[1] Of the Oregon tribes we are told, " the marriage tie, if it can be so called, has no force " ;[2] of the Seminoles, " marriage among those Indians seems to be but the natural mating of the sexes, to cease at the option of the interested parties."[3] Of the Athapascan tribes, Father Morice says : " Marriage in the Christian sense of the term is rather a misnomer when intended to designate native unions such as were contracted before the arrival of the missionaries. Cohabitation would be better to the purpose."[4]

It is manifest that it would be extremely difficult, in regard to those sexual customs, to draw anywhere a definite line between irregular intercourse and ' marriage.' There was nothing beyond the ' more or less ' enduring character of the association to distinguish the one kind of relation from the other. There was no ceremony or solemnisation of any kind.[5] The associations which turned out more permanent were not distinguished from the more transient ones by any special contract, agreement, or understanding between the partners or between their families ; for such agreement and understanding existed as much in the one case as in the other. Writers who have set out to give detailed accounts of the marriages of the savages, describe the agreements and negotiations which took place between the families of the respective parties, the mother of the woman being usually the first to take steps in such negotiations. But exactly the same negotiations took place in regard to the most transient and temporary arrangements. In the one case the part which might be played by the respective mothers is called ' negotiations of marriage ' ; in the other it is called ' acting as pimps.' No distinction can be drawn on the ground of economic arrangements or cooperation, for economic

p. 47 ; vol. xxv, pp. 141, 247 ; vol. xxvii, pp. 69 sqq. ; vol. xxviii, pp. 51 sqq. ; vol. xxix, p. 77 ; vol. xxxix, p. 123 ; vol. xlvii, p. 203 ; vol. li, pp. 127, 131, 235 ; vol. liv, p. 179 ; vol. lvii, pp. 69, 121, 135, 145, 165, 181 ; vol. lviii, p. 205 ; vol. lxv, pp. 67, 129 sqq. ; vol. lxviii, p. 143

[1] A. de La Hontan, *New Voyages to North America*, vol. i, p. 456.

[2] G. Gibbs, *Tribes of Western Washington and Oregon*, p. 199.

[3] C. MacCauley, " The Seminole Indians of Florida," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 497.

[4] A. G. Morice, " The Western Dénés, their Manners and Customs," *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, III[d] Series, vii, p. 121. Cf. E. Petitot, *Dictionnaire de la langue Déné-Dindjié*, p. xxiii.

[5] " They have no form of marriage " (D. Jones, *Journal of Two Visits made to some Nations of Indians*, p. 75). Cf. H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. ii, p. 132 ; vol. iv, p. 223 ; vol. v, p. 268 ; W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River*, vol. ii, p. 157 ; E. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, vol. i, p. 230 ; R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, p. 198.

contributions in the form of the products of hunting from the man, and of the products of the field and work in the preparation of clothes, utensils, tents, etc., from the woman, took place whether the association lasted a hunting-trip or a lifetime. Many have given long and detailed accounts of the proceedings leading to marriage. Perrot, for instance, gives several pages of description of the various steps in such proceedings, including a detailed account of 'courtship' by nightly visiting. His contemporary annotator makes the following laconic comment: "Too long-drawn by far."[1] Lieutenant Timberlake, who lived among the Iroquois, says: "Courtship and all is concluded in half an hour without any other celebration, and it is as little binding as ceremonious."[2] In the union of the most permanently married and confirmed old couple, the man acquired no more rights over the children than a casual lover had; the children in either case were part of the mother's family, and not of the father's. The woman continued to have her chief home with her people; the husband might dwell there with her permanently or merely occasionally. There existed no close and continuous bonds binding the man and woman into one family; they continued in every case to be members of two different families. Father Le Jeune remarks: "The bond, so strong, which holds man and wife under one yoke, will be very hard to fasten upon these savages."[3] An early Dutch colonist who lived many years among the Iroquois states that "they live in common without marriage."[4] It would, I think, be difficult for any scientific anthropologist to frame a definition of marriage embodying a distinction between it and transient sexual associations, that should give the lie to the statement.

The same difficulty in drawing a distinction between marriage and other sexual relations is experienced in regard to many peoples in every part of the world. "In general," say Drs. Hose and McDougall, speaking of the Kayan Dayaks of Borneo, "it may be stated that the rite of marriage does not mark so complete a change in the recognised relations of the young couple as with ourselves."[5] That is to put it very moderately, and applies equally to many uncultured races. Not only is there no radical change in the character of the relations, but there is often none in their degree of stability. It is nothing unusual for a Dayak girl of seventeen

[1] N. Perrot, *Mémoire sur les moeurs*, etc., *des sauvages de l'Amérique septentrionale*, p. 179.

[2] *The Memoirs of Lieutenant H. Timberlake*, p. 65.

[3] *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. xiv, p. 261.

[4] John Megapolensis, "A Short Account of the Maquaas Indians in New Netherlands," in E. Hazard, *Historical Collections*, vol. i, p. 322.

[5] C. Hose and W. MacDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, vol. i, p. 170.

to have had three husbands.[1] In the Nicobar Islands marriage, remarks Mr. Boden Closs, "is merely a variation of the Malayan custom of nocturnal visiting."[2] The relation, which is usually entered into in comparatively late life, differs so little from the pre-nuptial state that, when disputes are brought before a European court, "it is sometimes a fine point to decide whether the parties are married or not."[3] Among the aboriginal tribes of Malaya "it is nothing rare to meet individuals who have been married forty or fifty times."[4] The Russian anthropologist, Miklucho-Maclay, gave the following description of marriage among the Sakai: "A girl having been married to a man for some days or weeks goes, with his consent and voluntarily, to live for a shorter or longer period with another man. She thus goes in turn to all the men of the party until she comes back to her first husband; she does not remain with him, however, but continues to engage in such temporary marriages, which are regulated by chance and by her wishes."[5] The description has been repeatedly criticised, but it is substantially confirmed by our latest and most reliable information, and appears to be more accurate than many more edifying accounts.[6] The natives of the Maldive Islands are

[1] S. St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, p. 55.

[2] C. Boden Closs, *Andaman and Nicobars*, p. 238.

[3] R. F. Lowis, in *Census of India*, 1911, vol. ii, p. 100.

[4] M. Bourien, "On the Wild Tribes of the Interior of the Malay Peninsula," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, N.S., iii, p. 80.

[5] N. von Miklucho-Maclay, "Ethnological Excursions in the Malay Peninsula," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch*, No. ii, p. 215.

[6] Dr. Westermarck writes in regard to it: "According to Maxwell (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch*, No. 1, p. 112) the stringency which attaches to the marriage law of the Sakai is astounding, and the punishment for adultery is death, usually carried out by a relative. M. Pleyte, who in a violent attack upon my criticism of Wilken's statements in the first edition of the present work, accuses me of having evaded those relating to the Orang Sakai and the mountaineers of Peling, could thus no longer maintain that these statements are better substantiated than the rest" (E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. i, p. 121). But the 'astounding' reports of Mr. Maxwell are not in accordance with our most reliable and latest information. Mr. Wilkinson, who resides on the spot and is probably the highest living authority on those tribes, says that the Sakai "leave everything to sensual passion and exchange wives from time to time" (R. J. Wilkinson, "The Aboriginal Tribes," *Papers on Malay Subjects*, p. 55). And Signor Cerruti, who gives a very eulogistic and idealised account of the central Sakai, admits that a man and wife may part, on the best of terms, at any moment, and that the wife is usually settled with another man the same day (G. B. Cerruti, *Nel paese dei veleni. Fra i Sakai*, p. 143). The best available evidence, therefore, entirely justifies M. Pleyte's "violent attack" on Dr. Westermarck's statements, which cannot be regarded as validated by the aberrant testimony of Mr. Maxwell.

Mr. Skeat points out that Miklucho-Maclay derived his information from local missionaries and Malays established in the district. That appears

says Mr. Rosset, "very fond of change in the matter of wives. I was told that it often happens that a man would marry and divorce the same woman three or four times in the course of his life."[1] Among the natives of Minahassa, the state of sexual relations "is practically one of free love; a man may leave his wife without any better reason than that he has placed his heart on another woman."[2] Among the Ainu, as formerly among the Japanese themselves, there was no clear distinction in language or in usage between transient liaisons and more durable forms of union;[3] their marriages are "very little more than a conventional union binding for so long only as suited the mutual convenience of the spouses."[4] Among the Chukchi, Mr. Bogoras came upon a man who had been married ten times in three years.[5] Equally frequent changes of partner are the rule among the Samoyeds.[6] Among the Tungus, a man sends his wife back to her people whenever he is tired of her; this frequently happens during the 'honeymoon.'[7] Among the Aleuts "marriage in the European conception of the term, can hardly be said to exist."[8] Throughout Central Asia a man, whenever fancy dictates, "turns his wife out of doors, and takes another"; marriages are contracted for months, weeks, or days,[9] and a woman of thirty who has not had several husbands is an exception.[10] Among the Chevsurs few people are to be met that have not been married more than ten times.[11] Among the Gonds it is difficult to say what is and what is not marriage.[12] Among the Aos "a man separates from his wife whenever he gets tired of her."[13] The laxity of marriage bonds and the frequency of changes

to be a very good source of information. The value of Messrs. Skeat and Blagden's admirable compilation would have been greatly increased if, instead of having being written in England, it had also been the outcome of information obtained directly on the spot.

[1] C. W. Rosset, "On the Moldivian Islands," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi, p. 169.

[2] S. J. Hickson, *A Naturalist in North Celebes*, p. 530; cf. pp. 237 sq., 281.

[3] B. Pilsudski, *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folk-Lore*, pp. 59, 256.

[4] J. Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-Lore*, p. 233.

[5] W. Borgoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 597.

[6] A. G. Schrenk, *Reise nach dem Nordosten des europäischen Russlands, durch die Tundren der Samojeden*, vol. i, p. 477.

[7] B. Laufer, "Preliminary Notes on Explorations among the Amoor Tribes," *The American Anthropologist*, N.S., ii, p. 321.

[8] J. G. Georgi, *Description de toutes les nations de l'Empire de Russie*, vol. iii, p. 129.

[9] N. Prejevalsky, *From Kulga across the Tian Shan to Lob-Nor*, pp. 71, 112.

[10] F. Grenard, *Le Turkestan et le Tibet*, p. 120.

[11] G. Radde, *Die Chewsuren und ihr Land*, p. 90.

[12] V. R. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, vol. ii, p. 131.

[13] J. P. Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, p. 112.

of partners amongst the Khasis are such, says Sir Henry Yule, "that their unions can hardly be honoured with the name of marriage."[1] Among the Paliyans of Southern India "the laws of marriage are so loose that true marriage can hardly be said to exist."[2] The Badagas of the Nilgiri Hills "changed husbands or wives as fancy dictated"; the same people would often come together a second time.[3] Nothing can be said about their marriages, says a missionary, "because they can scarcely be said to have any."[4] The Irulas "have no marriage contract; the sexes cohabit almost indiscriminately, the option of remaining in union or of separating resting principally with the females."[5]

Among the Bushmen "any disagreement was sufficient to cause the separation of the man and the woman, when new connections could immediately be found for both."[6] "Marriages and the bonds of the family, among the Bushmen," says another writer, "are as good as non-existent."[7] Among the Damaras, says Sir Francis Galton, "the spouse was changed almost weekly, and I seldom knew without enquiry who the 'pro tempore' husband of each lady was at any particular time."[8] Among the Marotse, according to M. Lopes, marriage hardly exists; a man and woman unite one day and live together as long as they like, and separate even more easily than they united.[9] Another authority says the same thing, and describes the sexual relations as being no other than a complete state of free love.[10] Among the Baila "women are bandied about from man to man, and of their own accord leave one husband for another. Young women scarcely out of their 'teens often have had four or five husbands, all still living."[11] Among the Wadshagga the women leave their sexual partners whenever they please and take another man; it is not unusual for a young woman to have had ten husbands.[12] In some parts of Guinea the changes of partners

[1] H. Yule, "Notes on the Kasia Hills and Peoples," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xiii, Part ii, p. 624.

[2] Father Dahmen, "The Paliyans, a Hill-Tribe of the Palni Hills (South India)," *Anthropos*, iii, p. 27.

[3] F. J. Shortt, "An Account of the Hill Tribes of the Neilgherries," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, vii, p. 236.

[4] F. Metz, *The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, p. 86.

[5] H. Harkness, *A Description of a singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills*, p. 92.

[6] G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, p. 95.

[7] A. Merensky, *Beiträge zur Kentniss Süd-Afrika*, pp. 67 sq.

[8] F. Galton, *The Narrative of an Explorer in South Africa*, p. 197. Cf. J. Campbell, *Travels in South Africa*, p. 312.

[9] M. M. Lopes, "Usages and Customs of the Natives of Sena," *Journal of the African Society*, vi, p. 364.

[10] E. Béguin, *Le Marotsé; étude géographique et ethnologique*, p. 113.

[11] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, p. 54.

[12] Gutmann, "Die Frau bei den Wadshagga," *Globus*, xcii, pp. 31 sq.

are so frequent that it is not uncommon for the children to be unacquainted with their fathers.[1] Among the Banaka changes of partners are constantly taking place.[2]

Easy and unceremonious changes of partners are "the usual custom among the Eskimo generally"; [3] "a man seldom keeps a wife a number of years." [4] On the east coast of Greenland it is quite common for a boy to have been 'married' three or four times before he has attained the age of puberty.[5] The marriage habits of the natives of Southern America are in general very similar to those which we have noted in regard to the North American Indians. Thus, in speaking of the Botocudos, Mr. Kean remarks that rather than describe their unions as marriages "it would be more correct to say that there are no regular alliances at all, as understood in properly constituted societies. Their unions formed mainly for convenience and the preservation of the tribe, are all of a purely temporary nature, contracted without formality of any sort, dissolved on the slightest pretext, or without any pretext, merely through love of change or caprice." [6] Among the Coroados a common ground for changes of partner is a difference in culinary tastes.[7] The Guaycurus "can scarcely be said to have any marriage. The husband separates from the wife, and the wife from the husband without fear of any dispute, and they accommodate themselves with another partner according to their inclination." [8] Indeed, "the women, among the Guaycurus and the Guanas, may without any exaggeration be said to be common to all the men, and all the men their common husbands. There are few men who have not had three or four wives in the course of five years, and many have had a much larger number in that space of time. The women, in addition, more especially the nobler ones, have one or two lovers who are day and night at their side. The husbands do the same with other women." Their lives are a quick succession of marriages, separations, and re-marriages, in the course of which everyone mates with everyone else, and the same couples

[1] C. Madrolle, *En Guinée*, p. 98.

[2] Von Oertzen, "Die Banaka und Bapuku," in S. R. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeaninen*, p. 38.

[3] J. Murdoch, "Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition," *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 410.

[4] L. M. Turner, "Ethnology of the Ungava District, Hudson Bay Territory," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 178.

[5] F. Nansen, *Eskimo Life*, p. 139; cf. p. 143.

[6] A. H. Kean, "On the Botocudos," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, p. 206.

[7] C. Teschauer, "Die Caingang oder Coroados-Indianer in brasilianisches Staate Rio Grande do Sul," *Anthropos*, ix, p. 22.

[8] P. Lozano, *Descripción chorographica del Gran Chaco*, p. 70.

come together several times.[1] The associations of the Guarani "were not, properly speaking, marriages, but merely concubinage."[2] Among the Fuegians marriage unions are equally unstable. "They join or separate according to the caprice or the interest of the moment."[3] In Hawaii "the bond of marriage, if such the union could be called in strict propriety, was of little value."[4] "There existed a union something like marriage amongst them," says another early observer, "but this seems to have been confined almost wholly to the higher class chiefs. The tie, whatever name we may give it, was at all times extremely loose; in general, everyone's wishes were gratified without any restraint proceeding from the fear of the consequences of jealousy."[5] Much the same description applies to Samoa. "The marriage tie was observed so long as it suited the wish and disposition of either party." Formal marriage was almost entirely confined to chiefs, and a chief sent away his wife whenever he got tired of her.[6] Similar conditions obtained in Tahiti.[7] In New Zealand, "the marriage tie was loose, and the husband could dismiss the wife on any occasion."[8] In the Marshall Islands if a man and a woman live together they are regarded as married, and there is no distinction in their language between marriage and concubinage.[9] Separation and changes of partner are unrestricted and frequent. A young man of twenty-four may have been married eleven times.[10] In New Ireland, says Mr. Rannie, "I have been told by the natives themselves that there is no marriage or giving in marriage. The woman just follows her own sweet will and lives with one man after another."[11] Among the aborigines of Victoria the "numberless choppings and changes make it almost impossible to tell the true paternity of the children."[12]

[1] Gomes Jardin, "Sobre os Indios Uiacurus e Guanas," *Revista Trimensal do Instituto geographico e ethnographico do Brasil*, xiii, p. 356.

[2] P. Hernandez, *Misiones del Paraguay. Organización social de las doctrinas Guaraníes de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. i, p. 85.

[3] L. F. Martial, in *Mission scientifique du Cap Horn*, vol. i, p. 199.

[4] H. Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands*, p. 55.

[5] S. S. Hill, *Travels in the Sandwich and Society Islands*, p. 63.

[6] S. Ella, "Samoa," *Report of the Fourth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, p. 628.

[7] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, vol. i, pp. 273 sq.

[8] Id., *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii*, p. 414.

[9] Senfft, "Die Marshall-Insulaner," in S. R. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien*, p. 434.

[10] Id., "Die Insel Nauru," *Mittheilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten*, ix, p. 106. Cf. Jung, "Aufzeichnungen über die Rechtsanschauungen der Eingeborenen von Nauru," *ibid.*, x, p. 66.

[11] D. Rannie, "New Ireland," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Queensland Branch of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia*, ii, part i, pp. 80 sq.

[12] P. Beveridge, *The Aborigines of Victoria and Riverina*, p. 25.

Such examples might be greatly multiplied. As Dr. Westermarck quaintly puts it, "there are unions which, though legally recognised as marriages, do not endure long enough to deserve to be called so in the natural history sense of the term." [1] Most writers, in speaking of them, are, on the contrary, reminded of the natural history of animals.

The birth of offspring has certainly a consolidating effect upon individual unions. Indeed, it is considered by most uncultured peoples as constituting the consummation and establishment of the marriage relation, and a sexual association is not regarded as a marriage until children are actually born. Thus, for example, among the Tartar tribes of Central Asia, a man "though he take the woman into his house and accompanies with her, yet accounts her not his wife till he have a child by her." [2] Among the Moï of Indo-China, people do not think of marriage until their family is beginning to grow up; and among the Chams "it is by no means infrequent that the children are old enough to take part in the festivities by the day fixed for the official celebration of the nuptials." [3] Among the Wadoba, a Muhammadan tribe of Somaliland, as a Kadi is not usually at hand to register marriages, it is common for couples with children to send their first-born, when he is old enough, to the nearest town to obtain his parents' marriage certificate.[4] In more primitive societies, where no celebrations or juridic formalities of any kind attend the contracting of unions, the regular cohabitation and economic association which is regarded as constituting marriage do not as a rule take place until after the birth of a child. Thus among the Eskimo [5] and the Aleuts [6] no such association is formed until the woman has given birth to a child. We have seen that it was the rule among the Canadian tribes that a man did not have any open relations with a woman, nor presumed to visit her in her home in the daytime, and was nowise recognised by her family as connected with them by marriage, until a child had been born.[7]

[1] E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, vol. ii, p. 396.

[2] Giles Fleycher, "A Treatise of Russia and Adjoining Regions," in *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. xii, p. 578.

[3] H. Baudesson, *Indo-China and its Primitive Peoples*, pp. 55, 254. Cf. E. Aymonier, "Notes sur les coutumes et croyances superstitieuses des Cambogiens," *Cochinchine Française. Excursions et reconnaissances*, 1883, p. 201.

[4] G. A. Haggenmacher, "Reise in Somali-Lande," *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, x, *Erganzungsheft*, No. 47, p. 29.

[5] "East Greenland Eskimos," *Science*, vii, p. 172.

[6] G. A. Erman, "Ethnographische Wahrnehmungen und Erfahrungen an den Küsten des Berings-Meeres," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, iii, p. 162.

[7] See above, vol. i, p. 515. Cf. J. Morse, *A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs*, p. 134.

Similarly, among the Pueblo Indians, a young man, however favourably he may be regarded as a suitable party by the bride's parents, is not even permitted to enter the house until she has borne a child by him. The young woman meets him at night on the terrace or by the entrance of the house, and they spend their nights, so to speak, on the door-mat.[1] Among the Guaycurus and allied tribes of Brazil no bond existed between a man and a woman until a male child was born ;[2] and among the Lenguas of the Gran Chaco "no marriage is considered binding by native law until a child is born."[3] So likewise among the Fuegians, no regular union existed between a man and a woman until after the birth of a child.[4] Among the Todas the expression for 'to be married' is 'to have a son.'[5] The Irulas of the Nilgiri Hills seldom marry a woman before they have two or three children by her.[6] Among the Igorots of Luzon the subject of marriage is not broached until a girl has a child or is pregnant.[7] In Australia, among the tribes of northern Queensland, a woman does not contribute any economic assistance, she neither cooks for a man nor dwells with him permanently until she has had a child by him.[8] Among the Baila of Rhodesia the marriage ceremony is not completed until after the birth of the first child.[9] A woman who has not borne a child is usually treated in primitive societies as an unmarried girl and is called a virgin.[10] On being asked what he called his wife before she had borne a child, a Zuñi Indian will reply that he does not call her anything.[11] The Zulus do not call a woman their wife until they have had a child by her.[12] Sometimes, even in culturally advanced societies, a man is not expected to contribute towards the

[1] M. C. Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 305.

[2] Gomes Jardin, "Sobre os Indios Uiacurus e Guanas," *Revista Trimensal do Instituto geographico e ethnographico do Brasil*, xiii, p. 356.

[3] W. B. Grubb, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land*, p. 214.

[4] P. Hyades and J. Deniker, in *Mission scientifique du Cap Horn*, vol. vii, pp. 377 sq.

[5] W. E. Marshall, *A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, p. 214.

[6] B. C. Ward, "Geographical and Statistical Memoir of a Survey of the Neelgherry Mountains," in H. B. Grigg, *A Manual of the Nilagiri District of the Madras Presidency*, Appendix, p. lxxviii.

[7] E. Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, pp. 68 sq.

[8] W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West Central Queensland Aborigines*, pp. 180 sq.

[9] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking People of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, p. 60.

[10] G. Lindblom, *The Akamba*, p. 144; E. Aymonier, "Notes sur les coutumes et croyances superstitieuses des Cambogiens," *Cochinchine Française : Excursions et reconnaissances*, 1883, p. 193.

[11] A. L. Kroeber, "Zuñi Kin and Clan," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, xviii, Part ii, p. 70.

[12] J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal*, p. 74.

maintenance of his wife until she has borne a child, and up to that time all the expenses of the couple's household are defrayed by the bride's father.[1] Those usages and conceptions pass by imperceptible gradations into the almost universal rule that barrenness of the wife is a legitimate ground for divorce and the refunding of the bride-price, if one has been paid. The Veddahs of Ceylon have the recognised right of returning their wife to her father after a time if she is not found suitable.[2] Among the Tsalisans of Formosa, the husband visits his wife in her parents' home; if no signs of pregnancy follow "her suitor ceases to call, and all familiarity between the couple comes to an end." Both partners are then free to seek a mate elsewhere.[3] Similarly, among the Baele of the Sahara, after the bride-price is paid, the father builds a house by the side of his own for the couple; if after a reasonable time no child is born, the payment made is promptly refunded and the husband departs.[4] Among the Bedawi of the Sinai peninsula a man and woman do not live together until the woman is far advanced in pregnancy.[5]

The association being recognised by the woman's family after the birth of offspring only, it naturally tends to acquire a more durable character after that event. "The marriages of the savages," says Father Le Jeune, "become confirmed only by a similarity of disposition or by the children which God gives them."[6] And that greater stability resulting from the birth of offspring is frequently reported concerning primitive peoples. But it would be incorrect to suppose that this is anything like an invariable, or indeed a general, rule. Marriage unions in primitive societies are frequently as transient after as before the birth of children, and sometimes that event, instead of consolidating the association, is the very cause of its dissolution. Among the Iroquois and the Delawares "sometimes an Indian forsakes his wife because she has a child to suckle, and marries another, whom he forsakes in her turn for the same reason. The women also forsake the men after they have received many presents and knowing they have no more to expect. They then marry another from whom they may expect more."[7] Separation, after the birth

[1] J. Bowring, *The Kingdom and People of Siam*, p. 119; E. Young, *The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe*, p. 98; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, vol. i, pp. 295 sqq.; S. Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 106; G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, vol. ii, p. 177.

[2] See above, p. 47.

[3] J. W. Davidson, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, p. 573.

[4] G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, vol. ii, p. 177.

[5] J. L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, p. 153.

[6] *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. xx, p. 210.

[7] G. H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren*, vol. i, pp. 57 sq.

of children, was, we saw, the rule among all North American Indians, who had children scattered around the country, and unknown to them. "Few women have more than two children by the same father." [1] Among the Senecas,[2] among the Pueblos, a woman, when she was tired of her husband, simply bundled him out of the house, or made a parcel of his belongings and put it outside the door, whether there were children or not.[3] Among the Zuñi, "divorce, if it can be so called, for it is nothing more than a separation, is as easy as marriage, more facile in fact. Most men and most women of middle age have been married to several partners. Even people of mature age change. The majority of the Zuñi have half-brothers and half-sisters scattered through the town." [4] The Indians of California, "when their wife was pregnant or had given birth, changed their residence without taking leave, and married another woman." [5] Among the Déné, "suppose a child had been born to them, divorce was more difficult, but by no means impossible." [6] Of the Guarani of Brazil, an old report states that "their marriages, if one may so call them, have no stability. A husband leaves his wife when he chooses; hence they have children in almost every village. They will stay in one a couple of years, then go to another and re-marry." [7] Among the Payaguas of Paraguay, if the wife thinks she has any cause of offence, she packs up the tent in the canoe, and goes off, followed by the children, leaving their father with what he stands in.[8] Among the Ainu of Japan, children "do not necessitate a more permanent union." [9] Among the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula, if husband and wife find that they do not get on happily together, they part without any quarrel, exchanging the best wishes for their future happiness; the young woman takes the children with her, and is usually settled down in a new home with her progeny and a new husband the same day.[10] Among the Khasis of Assam, marriage associations are dissolved with such frequency that it is

[1] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. v, p. 273.

[2] L. H. Morgan, *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines*, p. 65.

[3] O. Solberg, "Gebräuche der Mittelmesa-Hopi bei Namgebung, Heirat und Tod," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxvii, p. 629.

[4] A. L. Kroeber, "Zuñi Kin and Clan," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, xviii, Part ii, p. 90.

[5] J. A. Mason, *The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians* (*University of California Publications*, x, No. 4), p. 163.

[6] A. G. Morice, "The Western Dénés," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, iv, p. 121.

[7] Father I. Chomé, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. viii, p. 332.

[8] F. de Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale*, vol. ii, p. 132.

[9] R. Hitchcock, "The Ainos of Yezo, Japan," *Smithsonian Report*, 1891, p. 465.

[10] G. B. Cerruti, *Nel paese dei veleni. Fra i Sakai*, p. 143.

quite common for the children not to be acquainted with their father even by name. When asked concerning his father, a Khasi will commonly reply that he is dead, meaning that he knows nothing about him.[1] In the Gilbert Islands, "husband and wife separated on the first quarrel, even after the birth of children." [2] In Samoa "a wife frequently left her husband after a few days or weeks, but separations were quite as common even after husband and wife had lived together for years." [3] Among the natives of northern Papua, separation constantly takes place soon after the first child has been born.[4] Among the Australian aborigines, the women are constantly being repudiated and sent back to their families, or given to the younger men; this happens if anything more frequently after they have borne a family.[5]

The Juridic Conception of Marriage.

It thus appears that in primitive societies the distinction which we find so difficult to draw between marriage and other sexual associations is, in the native mind, held to depend mainly on the fact that offspring is or is not born from the union. But, on the other hand, it is equally clear that the ground for the distinction cannot be the formation of a new group or permanent association between the parents, for such a group is, in the most primitive types of societies, not formed, and little or no greater notion of permanency is attached to unions held to constitute marriage than to those which are not so regarded. In all societies which preserve their matriarchal character the birth of offspring does not impose any necessity, economic or other, for the continued association of the parents, and cooperation between them is rendered no more imperative by the birth of children than by the fact of sexual relations alone. The mother's family, her brothers, and not the child's father, are responsible for the maintenance of the child. The bond between father and offspring is slender, while that between uncle and nephew is much closer and stronger. In the organisation of those societies no new grouping, no 'family' results from the birth of children. The father may not

[1] H. Yule, "Notes on the Kasia Hills and People," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xiii, p. 625.

[2] F. Hartzer, *Les Îles Blanches des mers du Sud*, p. 14.

[3] E. von Hesse-Wartegg, *Samoa, Bismarck-Archipel und Neu-Guinea*, p. 241.

[4] F. Vormann, "Zur Psychologie, Religion, Soziologie und Geschichte der Monumbo-Papua, Deutsch Neu-Guinea," *Anthropos*, v, p. 412.

[5] P. Beveridge, *The Aborigines of Victoria and Riverina*, pp. 24 sq.; E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, vol. ii, p. 322.

live with the mother; he may be merely an occasional visitor. When separation takes place, as it commonly does, the father has no claim and no liability in regard to the children; they remain with the mother and continue to be provided for by her family.[1] Only as a result of somewhat elaborate transactions,

[1] F. Boas, "The Central Eskimo," *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 573; D. Cranz, *The History of Greenland*, vol. i, p. 148; J. F. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. i, p. 73; F. X. Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. v, p. 425; L. H. Morgan, *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines*, p. 65; G. H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren*, vol. i, p. 61; J. Buchanan, *Sketches of the History, Manners and Customs of the North American Indians*, pp. 338 sq.; C. C. Jones, *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, p. 66; O. Solberg, "Gebräuche der Mittelmesa-Hopi," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxvii, p. 628; G. A. Dorsey, *The Mythology of the Wichita*, p. 9; L. Ostermann, "The Navajo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona," *Anthropos*, iii, p. 862; H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. i, p. 277; G. M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 96; Von Kostromitonow, in Wrangell, *Statistische und ethnographische Nachrichten über die Russische Besitzungen, in der Nordwestküste von Amerika*, p. 87; S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 178; F. G. Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*, p. 95; A. L. Kroeber, "Zuñi Kin and Clan," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, xviii, Part ii, pp. 47 sq.; R. H. Lowie and L. Farrand, in F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. i, pp. 809 sq.; J. B. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des isles St. Christophe*, etc., p. 419; T. Belt, *The Naturalist in Nicaragua*, p. 322; F. de Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale*, vol. ii, p. 132; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas*, p. 445; S. Passarge, *Die Buschimänner der Kalahari*, p. 105; D. Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi*, p. 285; L. Magyar, *Reise in Süd-Afrika*, p. 284; A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 206; Id., *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 284; A. Bastian, *Afrikanische Reisen. Ein Besuch in San Salvador*, p. 166; A. H. Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, vol. i, p. 447; B. Cruikshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa*, p. 197; O. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes . . . of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, pp. 145, 234; W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 150; Ibn Batuta, *The Travels*, p. 234. F. Lowe, "Wenjaminow über die Aleutischen Inseln, und deren Bewohner," *Archiv für wissenschaftlicje Kunde von Russland*, ii, p. 476; B. H. Hodgson, "On the Origin of the Kocch, Bodo, and Dhimal People," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xviii, p. 707; P. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, p. 81; H. Yule, "Notes on the Kasia Hills and People," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xiii, Part ii, p. 625; A. K. Forbes, *Ras Mala, or Hindoo Annals of Goozerat*, p. 457; K. M. Panikkar, "Some Aspects of Nayar Life," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlviii, p. 291; J. G. Scott and J. P. Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, vol. i, pp. 382 sq.; T. J. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, vol. ii, pp. 123, 408; G. B. Cerruti, *Nel Paese dei Veleni. Fra i Sakai*, p. 143; A. W. P. Verkerk Pistorius, *Studien over de inlandische huisholding in de Padangsche bovenlande*, p. 45; J. L. van der Toorn, "Aanteekenigen uit het familienleven bij den Maleier in de Padangsche Bovenlanden," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xxvi, p. 209; M. Moszkowski, *Auf neuen Wegen durch Sumatra*, p. 106; A. G. Wilken, *De verspeide geschriften*, vol. i, pp. 318 sq.; J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*,

of indemnities, compensations, and payments by the father, does he acquire, in more advanced social phases, the right to remove any of his children from the maternal group which lays an original claim on them.

It is obvious that in those conditions the relation of individual marriage cannot be based upon the formation of a family-group which, in fact, is not formed. The relation established by the birth of offspring has reference, not to the fact that any new group or association is constituted, but that the husband becomes, by virtue of the circumstance that he is the father of a member of the mother's family, related to that family. He becomes in fact, known as the 'father of the woman's child.' Thus, speaking of the Cree Indians in particular, Sir E. Tylor remarks: "Among these Indians the young husband coming to live with his wife's parents, must turn his back on them, not speaking to them, especially his mother-in-law, being treated thus as a stranger till his first child is born, whereupon he takes its name, and is called 'father of so-and-so,' and henceforth is attached thereby to his parents-in-law rather than to his own parents. That is to say, he is ceremoniously treated as a stranger till his child, being born a member of the family, gives him a status as father of a member of the family." [1] Similarly among the Zuñi, before the birth of a child, the parents neither address one another nor are referred to as 'husband' or 'wife,' and the husband is, as we have seen, not in any way recognised as a relative of the family; but after a child is born he is thereafter called 'his father.' [2] Among the Patagonians, "when a child is named, the father drops his former name and substitutes that of the child, so that the father receives his name from the child and not the child from the father." [3] Those usages are very widespread.[4] They are found to be observed more

p. 300; H. O. Forbes, *A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*, p. 457; A. E. Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, p. 68; W. A. Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, p. 61; A. Senfft, "Die Rechtsitten der Jap-eingeborenen," *Globus*, xci, p. 141; L. de Freycinet, *Voyage autour du monde*, vol. ii, Part i, p. 476; C. Le Gobien, *Histoire des Isles Marianes*, p. 60; J. S. Kubary, *Die socialen Einrichtungen der Pelauer*, p. 38; W. Mariner, *Tonga*, vol. ii, p. 179; J. F. Pfeil, *Studien und Beobachtungen aus der Südsee*, p. 30; R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, p. 267; P. Beveridge, *The Aborigines of Victoria and Riverina*, p. 25.

[1] E. B. Tylor, "On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii, p. 249. Cf. J. Dunn, *The Oregon Territory*, p. 70.

[2] A. L. Kroeber, "Zuñi Kin and Clan," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, xviii, Part ii, p. 70.

[3] G. C. Musters, *At Home with the Patagonians*, p. 177.

[4] E. Petitot, *Monographie des Dénés-Dindjié*, p. 61; J. R. Swanton, "Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haidas," *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. v, Part i, p. 118; H. H. Bancroft, *Native*

especially among peoples who have preserved a matriarchal organisation, but have subsisted among many who have long since adopted patriarchal usages. The custom is a firmly established one among the Arabs. "It was a matter of common usage to address a person on the birth of a son by this form of expression. Thus Mahomet received on becoming the father of a boy the name of Abu'l Kasim from his son." [1] The 'Abu' name, or 'kunyat,' is, in fact, regarded by Muhammadan peoples as their principal name, and takes precedence over a Muslim's numerous other names.[2]

The relation thus established between a man and his wife's family remains unaffected by the circumstance that actual relations between the two may be completely severed; however transitory

Races of the Pacific States, vol. ii, p. 680 (Mayas); G. Kurze, "Sitten und Gebräuche der Lengua-Indianer," *Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft (für Thuringen) zu Jena*, xxiii, p. 28; W. Jochelson, *The Yukaghir*, p. 105; I. L. Bishop, *Korea and its Neighbours*, vol. i, p. 136; W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, vol. ii, pp. 5 sq.; L. A. Waddell, "Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xlix, Part iii, pp. 52, 69; R. P. Cadière, "Coutumes populaires de la Vallée du Nguon-Son," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, ii, pp. 359 sq.; W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, vol. ii, pp. 16 sq.; C. A. Wilken, *De verspreide geschriften*, vol. i, p. 282; W. Marsden, *The History of Sumatra*, p. 286; J. H. F. Kohlbrugge, "Naamgeving in Insulinde," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, lii, pp. 160 sqq.; Th. J. F. von Hasselt, "Gebruik van vermonde taal door de Nufoeren," *Tijdscrift voor taal-, land en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xlv, p. 278; J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, pp. 5, 137, 152 sq., 238, 260, 353, 392, 418, 450; W. van der Miesen, "Een en oder over Boeroe," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, xlvi, p. 444; H. Low, *Sarawak*, p. 249; S. St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, vol. i, p. 208; M. T. H. Perelaer, *Ethnographische beschrijving der Dajaks*, p. 42; C. Hose and W. McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, vol. i, p. 80; W. H. Furness, *Home Life of the Borneo Head-hunters*, pp. 17 sq., 55; G. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, vol. i, p. 75; W. A. Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, p. 55; J. Speeth, *Die Ewe Stamme*, p. 217; M. Merker, *Die Masai*, pp. 59, 235; G. Viehe, "Die Ovaherero," in S. R. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien*, p. 306; S. Molena, *The Bantu, Past and Present*, p. 128; E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, p. 60; El-Tunsy, *Voyage au Darfour*, p. 242; J. Sibree, *The Great African Island*, p. 198; W. Ellis, *History of Madagascar*, vol. i, p. 134; P. W. Schmidt, "Ethnographisches aus Berlinhafen, Deutsch Neu-Guinea," *Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, xxx, p. 28; E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, vol. iii, p. 545.

[1] T. E. Colebrooke, "On the Proper Names of the Mohammedans," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N.S., xi, p. 187.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 186 sqq.; J. G. W. Rosegarten, "Ueber der Vornamen, oder der Kunje, der Araber," *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, i, pp. 297 sqq.

and unstable that association may be, no separation of the parents and no changes of partners can in any way alter the relation of the father to his child's maternal family, once it has been established. The North American Indians, the fugitive character of whose connubial associations is so amply testified, and who may have, from such transient associations with various women, children all over the neighbouring country whom they have never seen, thereby enjoy, nevertheless, the advantages and privileges resulting from their alliances with the various families of their temporary wives. "The family connections of Indians are commonly very extensive on account of their frequently changing wives."[1] Those alliances are nowise severed by the complete dissolution of the relation between father and mother, for they are not an effect of that association, but of the relation of the father to the child who remains a member of the mother's group. And that relation is unalterable and indissoluble.

Those circumstances have unavoidably given rise to misapprehensions on the part of observers and writers who have been more concerned with stretching the facts and conceptions of primitive society on the Procrustes' bed of European ideas and standards than with understanding them; and the resulting confusion is revealed in the consequent inconsistencies. We are sometimes told that the birth of a child renders a union indissoluble. Thus the same writer who describes the utterly transient nature of marriage associations among the Guaycurus and Guanas of Brazil as giving rise to an almost promiscuous communism of the women who, in a short time, pass through the hands of almost all the men in the husband's group, states, nevertheless, that if a woman has a male child, "she does not separate from her husband till death."[2] Yet he also mentions at the same time that a woman having a son by one husband is commonly married to another, while the father of the boy is married to another woman.[3] The writer who makes those mutually contradictory statements is obviously confusing the 'indissoluble' character of the relation established by the birth of a son between the father and the mother's clan —the tribes are strictly exogamous—with a supposed indissolubility of the association between them. The same mistake appears to be made by the Rev. W. B. Grubb concerning the Lenguas of the Gran Chaco, who have very much the same customs, when he states that once a child is born "they are considered to be bound to each other for life."[4] Doubtless, but solely as regards juridic

[1] G. H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren*, vol. i, p. 65.

[2] G. Jardin, "Sobre os Indios Uiacurus e Guanas," *Revista Trimensal do Instituto geographico e ethnographico do Brazil*, xiii, p. 357.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 355.

[4] W. B. Grubb, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land*, p. 214. Such,

kinship, which is independent of any association between the sexual partners. Perrot makes the same kind of statement concerning the North American Indians, and the Illinois in particular, who laughed at the unheard-of notion of any marriage being otherwise than temporary.[1] The duration of the association has nothing to do with the character of 'marriage' conferred upon it by the alliance which it establishes between the families concerned; that social or juridic relation is brought about as completely by the most transient connection as by lifelong cohabitation. In Samoa it was the custom with young men belonging to a chief's family to form temporary unions lasting days or weeks with young women of good family. The union was celebrated in the usual way by exchanges of valuable presents between the respective families, and they were regarded as the most honourable unions into which any Samoan girl could enter and as establishing a valued alliance between the families concerned, although it was fully understood that the union was to be merely temporary. They scarcely ever lasted longer than a few weeks. After their termination the women were absolutely debarred from contracting other alliances; they therefore devoted themselves to the entertainment of strangers and visitors, their function of public prostitutes nowise detracting from the enhanced respectability bestowed upon them by the nominal alliance.[2] In the island of Engano, the connection between the husband and the wife's family is not severed even by the death of the wife; and so real is that relation that if any man marries after his wife's death he must pay compensation to her family. Yet the marriage bond is of the loosest description, and husband and wife separate by mutual consent whenever they please without even making a quarrel of it.[3]

If instead of laying down an 'a priori' definition of marriage in accordance with the conceptions approved in our own society, and applying that arbitrary standard to the usages of primitive people, we adopt the more scientific method of noting what is understood by marriage, as distinguished from other sex relations, by the peoples who draw such a distinction, we shall be more likely to form

no doubt, is the explanation of von Martius' statement concerning the indissolubility of marriage among the Tapuyas (cf. below, p. 281 n[1]).

[1] N. Perrot, *Mémoire sur les moeurs*, etc., *des sauvages de l'Amérique septentrionale*, p. 172. The contemporary annotator of Perrot's memoir appends to his confused remarks on the subject the laconic marginal gloss "Stuff and nonsense!" A few similar examples are adduced by Dr. Westermarck in illustration of the statement that "the birth of a child may make marriage indissoluble" (E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. iii, pp. 287 sq.).

[2] S. Ella, "Samoa," *Report of the Fourth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, p. 626. Cf. below, p. 127.

[3] E. Modigliani, *L'Isola delle Donne*, p. 215.

a just idea of the social history of the institution. Of some peoples it is said that they draw no distinction between marriage and cohabitation, or that the fact of cohabitation constitutes individual marriage.[1] But with the majority of even the most primitive peoples a distinction is drawn, as with ourselves, between the two relations, and the distinctive character of the marriage relation lies with them, as in our own society, in the establishment of a social and juridical relationship. The nature of that juridic foundation of the marriage relation necessarily varies according to social and cultural conditions. Thus, among the Australian aborigines, who usually give a sister or some other female in exchange for a wife, a woman for whom no other female has been given in exchange is not regarded as being "properly married."[2] In a great many societies, down to those of our own barbarian forefathers, a woman is not regarded as being legally married if the usual bride-price has not been duly paid for her.[3] In every instance the sanction of the woman's family, and more particularly of her immediate guardian, but sometimes of all her relatives, is regarded as the essential condition of a valid marriage union.[4] Or, as we have just seen, the relationship to the woman's family may be regarded as 'de facto' established by the birth of a child. Further cultural and social developments may add other conditions to the juridic distinction between what are regarded as regular and irregular relations between the sexes. To the more primitive sanctions which have reference mainly to the assent of the woman's family to the association, other sanctions of a religious or moral nature may in later phases of civilisation become superadded, and the performance of a ceremony may come to be regarded as establishing the relationship. Where, for instance, a lavish feast and entertainment is regarded as an essential element in the conclusion of a marriage, a man who has been unable to afford such an entertainment, if he cohabits with a woman for many years and has a numerous family by her, is nevertheless regarded as not being married and as living in a state of concubinage.[5]

The distinction drawn between individual marriage and other sex relations is thus, in essential respects, of the same nature in primitive societies as in our own. In England at the present day a man and a woman may cohabit in the most devoted manner for fifty years, and rear a family, yet unless the union has been legally registered, they are not married and their children

[1] See above, vol. i, p. 369; vol. ii, pp. 80, 81.

[2] G. Taplin, *The Folklore, Manners, Customs, and Languages of the South Australian Aborigines*, pp. 34, 50.

[3] See below, pp. 220 sq.

[4] See above, vol. i, pp. 541 sqq.

[5] L. S. S. O'Malley, in *Census of India*, 1911, p. 315.

are bastards; whereas the most transient association, or even one not attended with any cohabitation at all, constitutes, if established according to legal requirements, a true and valid marriage. The distinction does not rest upon the association or upon its permanency, or even upon the formation of a family group, but solely upon a juridic and legal transaction and relation. The nature of the distinction is the same in the most primitive societies. It is not the fact of the association, or its duration, but the establishment of a juridic relation which constitutes marriage and differentiates it from relations between the sexes which are not regarded as such. Individual marriage, is, in its origin, not rooted in any form of association between sexual partners, or in any group, or family, resulting from such association, but is, even in its most primitive and rudimentary forms, distinguished as a juridic relation, irrespectively of its stability or of any group or family which may or may not be formed from sexual relations that are not thus juridically established.

There is, however, a difference between the primitive and the advanced view of the distinction. In the latter, not only is the marriage relation a legally constituted one, but all other relations between the sexes have come to be regarded as illegal or illegitimate, and are therefore subject to censure and condemnation. In the primitive form of the relation, while certain relations constituting juridic marriage are regarded as established by a legal act, it does not follow that other relations are therefore regarded as illegitimate, or as a breach of usage, or in any way censurable. Among the North American Indians,[1] the Guaycurus,[2] in the Solomon Islands,[3] abortion and infanticide were freely employed by the young women in order to avoid establishing that juridic relationship which would have constituted a legal bond between the man and the woman's family, and given the former a certain claim upon the woman. The practice was nowise open to condemnation, and the freedom exercised by the woman was in every way as legitimate as the contracting of a juridic connection. Or again, among the Line Islanders and the Hawaiians, juridic marriage served certain specialised economic purposes in regard to the transmission of landed property by inheritance, and was not entered into by the majority of the people who had no interest in such transactions.[4] There is no ground for supposing that, in those instances, the one sort of union was more durable and the other less durable. We are told, on the contrary, that they were all equally transient and loose. The distinction lay in the juridic conditions attending

[1] See above, pp. 29, 71.
[2] See above, p. 28.
[3] See above, p. 54.
[4] See above, vol. i, pp. 520 sq.; vol. ii. pp. 51, 83.

those unions, and not in the degree of their durability. Very commonly, and in quite primitive societies, the juridic relation is not established until relatively late in life, on the ground of purely economic considerations;[1] but sexual relations not so established, that is to say, pre-nuptial relations, are not in any way regarded as irregular or derogatory. A tendency, however, must inevitably develop, apart from all other factors and considerations, for a juridically established relation to cause a depreciation in the esteem in which relations not so established are held; the correlative of a sanctioned and legitimate union comes in time to be an unsanctioned and illegitimate one, although that opposition did not originally exist. Several other causes have, as we shall see, brought about the condemnation and suppression of extra-connubial relations between the sexes, but the juridic character of the sanction upon which individual marriage is founded has also been a contributory cause which has helped to render all other relations illegitimate and morally censurable, and to give to marriage the character which it has ultimately acquired of the sole recognised form of sexual association.

[1] See below, pp. 152 sqq.

CHAPTER XIV

PRIMITIVE JEALOUSY AND LOVE

Masculine Jealousy in Uncultured Races.

IT has been supposed that exclusive personal claims over women arose originally in the most primitive human societies in consequence of masculine jealousy; and Dr. Westermarck considers that the force of that sentiment affords, 'a priori,' "the strongest argument against ancient promiscuity."[1] Jealousy is, indeed, the most violent, intense, and characteristic psychological manifestation associated with sexual love, and Dr. Westermarck's argument is apt to appeal strongly to those who are unfamiliar with the analysis of psychological and anthropological facts. The sexual jealousy of the male, in the form in which we know it, is undoubtedly derived, like all strong sentiments, from fundamental primitive instincts; but the bearing of those sentiments and instincts upon the inferences that have been drawn from their operation must depend upon the nature of the claims which that jealousy has in view, and on the form which the sentiment may assume. The emotion of jealousy may be related to a variety of entirely different objects. Even the most cursory enquiry into the subject shows clearly that, although instincts of sexual jealousy may be quite as strong in primitive humanity as in civilised societies, or even stronger, the claims to which they have reference differ so completely from those which inspire the jealousy of a romantic lover that 'a priori' arguments founded upon those sentiments are devoid of validity or relevance.

The loose and inadequate psychological analysis which has often done duty in the interpretation of ethnological data is nowhere more apparent than in regard to the manifestations of sexual jealousy in primitive humanity. The subject has suffered from an initial cause of misconception owing to the almost universal assumption that a sentiment corresponding to what is generally

[1] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, 4th edition, p. 117.

understood by jealousy exists, and is, indeed, strongly developed, in animals, an assumption which can claim the support of the high authority of Darwin. I have, I think, shown that the notion rests on a misconception.[1] The sexual instincts of male animals consist of sexual hunger. The striving to satisfy that hunger, like the striving to satisfy food-hunger or any other desire or need of the organism, gives rise to self-defensive instincts whenever the satisfaction of the impulse is imperilled by competitors. Male animals will accordingly, when occasion demands, battle with rivals for the opportunity of satisfying their sexual instincts, in the same manner as they will battle with competitors to obtain or retain possession of a prey or a territory. When their hunger, nutritional or sexual, is satisfied, when they are sated or spent, they are indifferent to rivalry. If the opportunity of satisfying their sexual hunger is assured they are also quite indifferent to the behaviour of other individuals. Those manifestations have been included under the term 'jealousy' in reference to animals. But the word as usually employed has an entirely different connotation. The sentiment which it denotes is understood to have reference to a particular individual as its object, and to be the correlative of choice, preference, and attachment in regard to that individual; and it is, of course, that character only which could have any bearing on individual sexual association. Of that individual scope of the sentiment there is not a trace in animal psychology. Animal jealousy, which is the correlative not of choice, but of sexual hunger, has no reference to individual mating, but is, on the contrary, most conspicuous where such mating is absent and sexual relations are promiscuous. As a factor in determining social organisation, animal jealousy would have effects entirely different from those which it has been supposed it would produce. For, since it has reference to opportunity of sexual satisfaction and not to individual preference, its natural outcome in human social conditions would be organised collective rights, or sexual communism, and not individual association.

The feelings of jealousy manifested by the men in the lower cultural stages of human society are identical in their scope with the jealousy exhibited by male animals. Statements to the effect that the men of a given race of savages are 'extremely jealous,' are exceedingly common. Manifestations of jealousy are, in fact, much more marked and conspicuous in the lowest savages than in civilised man, and the pronounced character of those manifestations is in general inversely proportional to the cultural position of the race. That this should be so will be seen to be inevitable when it is considered that the dangers of losing a woman altogether

[1] See above, vol. i, pp. 180 sqq.

are much greater in uncultured than in civilised societies. In the latter, although men are incomparably more sensitive to anything that may excite their feelings of jealousy, gross material precautions to guard women are seldom taken and scarcely any manifestation of those feelings may be witnessed. The savage, on the contrary, is under the necessity of guarding his women at all times against strangers and against his own fellow-tribesmen, and where any personal claims to a given woman are established, those claims can only be enforced by constant precautions and watchfulness. But the fears of the savage have reference to risks and dangers quite different from those which may excite the fears of the civilised man.

Mere statements that the men in a given uncultured society are jealous are of scarcely any value. If the term 'jealousy' be understood in its current acceptation, the misconception to which those statements are liable to give rise is illustrated by the self-contradictions which generally characterise them. Thus, Mr. Curr asserts that among the Australian aborigines a husband is "very jealous"; [1] yet on the next page we are told that he will often "prostitute his wife" to his brothers or to visitors.[2] The psychological phenomenon to which Mr. Curr refers is manifestly not sexual jealousy as commonly understood by ourselves. "Although the men are apt to become passionately jealous," says Mr. Wilhelmi, "if they detect their wives transgressing without their consent, yet of their own accord they offer them and send them to other men, or make an exchange for a night with some of their friends." [3] In MM. Hyades and Deniker's monograph on the Fuegians, in which a chapter is specially devoted to 'Psychology,' those observers state in one place that the Fuegians "are extremely jealous"; [4] but we are told on the next page that "jealousy is unknown among the unmarried, whether young men or young women." [5] The men of Radak, in the Caroline Islands, were, Moerenhout says, "extremely jealous." Pre-nuptial licence, exchange of wives, and extreme licentiousness were, however, habitual amongst them. Moerenhout explains the inconsistency by adding that "the jealousy of the men was for the most part a

[1] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, vol. i, p. 109. Cf. C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, vol. i, p. 226.

[2] E. M. Curr, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[3] C. Wilhelmi, "Manners and Customs of the Australian Natives, in particular of the Port Lincoln District," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Victoria*, v, p. 180.

[4] P. Hyades and J. Deniker, *Mission scientifique du Cap Horn*, vol. vii, p. 378; cf. p. 239. A similar statement is made by C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, vol. i, p. 125.

[5] P. Hyades and J. Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

jealousy of authority, and there is no idea of virtue or honour."[1] Similar confusing inconsistencies are commonplaces in reports concerning jealousy in uncultured races. Dr. Westermarck informs us that jealousy is a characteristic of the Tlinkit, the Aleuts, the Hawaiians, the Nukahivans,[2] all these being peoples whose sexual customs are collective. The Eskimo are also instanced by Dr. Westermarck as manifesting jealousy. The exchange of wives is habitual among them. This is done often as a matter of convenience. Thus, if from some reason a man's wife is unable to accompany him on a hunting party, he will exchange her for the wife of some man who is staying behind. An Eskimo once told Captain Rasmussen that the only cause of unpleasantness between himself and his wife was that she was averse to receiving other men. "She would," he complained, "have nothing to do with anyone but him—that was her only failing."[3] It is obvious that the use of the same term to denote those sentiments and the passion of an Othello arises from a mental confusion as great as that which it is liable to produce, and that it is not conducive to scientific accuracy.

Like animal jealousy, the jealousy manifested by the males in primitive society has reference to the opportunity of satisfying sexual desire, and not to the sentiments with which any particular female is regarded. Dr. Westermarck, who has revised with great caution the wording of the somewhat extravagant assertions in earlier editions of his work, now states that "there is one characteristic common to sexual jealousy in all its forms, namely, that it is an angry feeling aroused by the loss, or the fear of the loss, of the exclusive possession of an individual who is the object of one's sexual desire."[4] It would be difficult to express more accurately what the jealousy manifested among primitive human races is not. Savage jealousy has reference neither to "exclusive possession" nor to "an individual who is the object of one's sexual desire." There appears to be no ambiguity or obscurity on that score in our ethnological evidence. It is not the loss of exclusive sexual possession, it is not the loss of a particular individual, far less any idea of defilement from her intercourse with other men, which arouses the fears or the anger of the savage; it is the actual and complete loss of a woman regarded as a means of sexual satisfaction, and also, if not indeed chiefly, in her economic aspect. The offences which

[1] J. A. Moerenhout, *Voyages aux îles du Grand Océan*, vol. ii, p. 65.
[2] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. i, pp. 306, 307, 309.
[3] K. Rasmussen, *The People of the Polar North*, pp. 64 sq.
[4] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. i, p. 302.

commonly appear in our reports under the loose appellation of 'adultery,' consist very generally not in seduction of a man's wife, but in her abduction. It is not the infringement of claims to exclusive sexual possession which is resented, but dispossession; and the anger of the primitive husband at the loss of his wife is at once and completely allayed by his being presented with another woman or the wherewithal to acquire one.

Among the Australian aborigines any feelings of 'jealousy' on account of the loss of a woman are invariably "mollified by the substitution of another female," for the jealous blacks are "not particular to a shade." [1] Captain Tench tells us of a jovial Australian native who was in the habit of visiting the newly established settlement which was to become the present city of Sydney. He was fond of expatiating upon the merits of his wife, and appeared to be deeply attached to that gifted lady. Some time later Captain Tench asked him how his beloved wife was getting on. "Oh!" replied the Australian, "she has become the wife of Cotbee. But," he added with an air of triumph, "I have got two big women to compensate for her loss!" He was obviously the gainer.[2] In northern New Guinea, if a woman runs away with a lover, her husband applies to her family, who either refund the bride-price paid for her or supply him with another woman.[3] In New Britain the men, who are stated to be "fiercely jealous," never have any hesitation in parting with their wives to anyone who is prepared to refund the expenses incurred in acquiring them.[4] In the New Hebrides adultery is only resented by the husband if it deprives him of the services of the woman.[5] In Samoa the abduction of a wife was, we are told, frequently the cause of tribal wars; but mere seduction was thought very little of, and was not regarded as a serious offence.[6] Among the Záparos of Ecuador, when a man runs away with another man's wife, he remains in concealment, being careful, however, to keep in touch with affairs in the village; as soon as he learns that the woman has been replaced, he returns without fear of unpleasant consequences

[1] W. Westgarth, *Australia Felix*, p. 68.

[2] W. Tench, *A Complete Account of the Settlement of Port Jackson in New South Wales*, p. 55.

[3] C. Keysser, in R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, vol. iii, p. 87.

[4] B. Danks, "Marriage Customs of the New Britain Group," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvii, p. 293; R. Parkinson, *Im Bismarck-Archipel*, p. 99.

[5] F. Speier, *Two Years with the Natives in the Western Pacific*, p. 235.

[6] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 266.

and fully assured that the husband, having made good his loss, will bear no grudge.[1] Among the Gilyak, apart from recognised group-marriage rights, the women are very ready with their favours. Gilyak husbands take scarcely any notice of their wives' infidelities, so long as their liaisons do not appear to be serious. But if a woman leaves her home and absconds with a lover, it is a quite different matter; the husband raises a great hue and cry, his ire and indignation are most violent, and no effort on his part is spared to bring back the faithless wife.[2] Among the Kirghis the only claim of an injured husband on the abductor of his wife is that he shall either refund the bride-price paid for the woman or else supply another.[3] So likewise among the western Tartars, a wife is at once ceded to another man if the latter refunds the bride-price paid by the husband.[4] Among the Tungus conjugal fidelity is little observed; if a lover's attentions to a man's wife become too frequent and persistent, the husband comes to an arrangement with him by which the wife is relinquished to the lover on his supplying another woman from his own family.[5] Of the Mishmis of Bengal Colonel Dalton remarks that the men attach no importance to their wives' fidelity. "They take no cognisance of their temporary liaisons so long as they are not deprived of their services. If a man is dispossessed of one of his wives, he has a private injury to avenge, and takes the earliest opportunity of retaliating, but he cannot see that the woman is a bit the worse for a little incontinency."[6]

In the Congo, among the Kuku, if a woman leaves her husband and goes to live with another man, the husband goes to the latter and offers him the choice of restoring the purloined woman or of refunding the bride-price which he has paid for her, whichever he prefers.[7] Among the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast, if the seducer of a woman refunds to her husband the bride-price which has been paid for her, he incurs no blame or grudge on the part of the husband, and is free to take the woman.[8] Among

[1] A. Simson, "Notes on the Záparos," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vii, p. 505; Id., *Travels in the Wilds of Ecuador*, p. 172.

[2] N. Seeland, "Die Ghiliaken (auf der Insel Sachalin)," *Russische Revue*, xxi, p. 226.

[3] I. Koslow, "Das Gewohnheitsrecht der Kirghissen," *Russische Revue*, xxi, p. 472.

[4] J. G. Georgi, *Description de toutes les nations de l'Empire de Russie*, vol. ii, p. 23.

[5] Id., *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 47.

[6] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 19.

[7] J. Vander Plas, *Les Kuku*, p. 231.

[8] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 283. Cf. B. Cruikshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast*, vol. ii, p. 199.

the tribes of the Ivory Coast any man has a recognised right to take away another's wife if he pays the established price.[1] Similarly, among the Warega of the Congo, every woman, whether single or married, is on the marriage market, for a man can always obtain another man's wife provided he offers an adequate price.[2] Among the southern Bantu, "if anyone sin with a woman and then wishes to have her, she is willingly delivered to him if he will pay what she cost."[3] The rule is, indeed, general that a woman is free to leave her husband for a lover if the bride-price is duly refunded. No additional compensation is claimed, and it is a recognised principle that no grudge shall be borne after the settlement has been effected.[4] Among the Bangala, if a man's misconduct with another man's wife is persistent, an exchange of wives is effected.[5] The seducer of the wife of a chief among the Medge of the Congo is liable to be cruelly mutilated and put to death; but if he supplies two new wives he incurs neither blame nor punishment.[6] Similarly in Madagascar the penalty for seducing the wife of a reigning prince is fixed at eight oxen, or an equivalent value. On due payment of the fine the seducer's character is entirely cleared, and no displeasure is shown towards him by the husband. Should he, however, be unable to pay compensation, he must, if possible, supply one of his female relatives as a

[1] F.-J. Clozel and R. Villamur, *Les coutumes indigènes de la Côte d'Ivoire*, p. 459.

[2] C. Delhaise, *Les Warega*, p. 171.

[3] F. André Fernandez, in G. M. McCall Theal, *Records of South-East Africa*, vol. ii, p. 143.

[4] E.g., J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xv, p. 345; A. H. Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, vol. i, pp. 469 sq.; C. Partridge, *The Cross River Natives*, p. 256; A. G. Laing, *Travels in the Timannee, Koorando, and Soolima Countries*, p. 366; J. B. Douville, *Voyage au Congo*, vol. i, p. 286; C. van Overbergh, *Les Basonge*, p. 270; P. A. Talbot, "The Buduma of Lake Chad," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xli, p. 247; F. Goldstein, "Die Frauen in Haussa-fulbien und in Adamusa," *Globus*, xciv, p. 63; H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. i, p. 194; J. Roscoe, *The Bagesu and other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate*, pp. 35, 144; H. Labouret, "Mariage et polyandrie parmi les Dagari et les Oulé," *Revue d'ethnographie et des traditions populaires*, i, p. 279; C. T. Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers therein*, p. 75; R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, vol. ii, p. 446, vol. iii, p. 219; A. G. Schrenk, *Reise nach den Nordoste der Europäischen Russland durch die Tundren der Samojeden*, vol. i, p. 480; F.-C. Cole, *The Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao*, p. 192; A. Guinnard, *Trois ans d'esclavage chez les Patagons*, p. 127.

[5] J. H. Weeks, "Anthropological Notes on the Bangala of the Upper Congo River," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix, p. 442.

[6] A. Hutereau, *Notes sur la vie familiale et juridique de quelques populations du Congo Belge*, p. 81.

substitute.[1] Among the Dagari and the Uhle, "adultery is common, but is seldom regarded as a sufficient ground for divorce unless the woman runs away with her lover and refuses to return home to her husband."[2] Similarly among the Dinka a husband is neither entitled to divorce his wife for adultery nor to exact any compensation unless the woman actually refuses to continue to live with him.[3] Among the Zande of the same region, all that is required by an injured husband from the seducer, or rather the abductor, of his wife, is that he shall provide him with a new wife.[4] The principles that are universal in uncultured societies obtained amongst our Anglo-Saxon forefathers within Christian times. A law of King Aethelbert (A.D. 560–616) provides as follows: "If a freeman lie with a freeman's wife, let him pay for it with his 'wer-geld' and provide another wife with his own money and bring her to the other."[5]

The inconsistencies common in reports concerning uncultured people, among whom various forms of sexual communism obtain, and who are nevertheless stated to manifest fierce resentment at unsanctioned sexual intercourse on the part of their wives, become intelligible when it is borne in mind that such unsanctioned relations constitute a menace to continued possession of the woman, while authorised relations do not. With most primitive peoples the act of depriving a man of his possessions by craft or stratagem is not regarded as morally condemnable, but is rather admired as a proof of superior resourcefulness; on the other hand, the greatest honesty is as a rule observed in keeping faith when any agreement, however informal, is entered into.[6] The abduction of women, even from tribal brothers, is

[1] J. Richardson, "Tanala Customs, Superstitions, and Beliefs," *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, No. ii, p. 93.

[2] H. Labouret, "Mariage et polyandrie parmi les Dagari et les Oulé," *Revue d'ethnographie et des traditions populaires*, i, p. 276.

[3] O'Sullivan, "Dinka Laws and Customs," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xl, p. 188.

[4] R. G. C. Brock, "Some Notes on the Zande Tribe as found in the Meridi District, Bar-el-Ghazal Province," *Sudan Notes and Records*, i, p. 258.

[5] 'The Laws of King Æthelbirht," *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, vol. i, p. 4.

[6] See, for instance, the remarks of Mr. E. W. Nelson concerning the morality of the Eskimo. Thieving, at least from Europeans, is with them quite habitual, but, on the other hand, they can be trusted to pay the last penny of any debt they may have incurred. Traders are perfectly secure in allowing them the fullest credit, while an Eskimo will not scruple to rob the same person if he has an opportunity to do so by stealth (E. W. Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i, pp. 293 sq.). Or again, it is remarked of the Zulus that "in matters of trust—often tacit—fidelity is shown amongst themselves which would be remarkable where written contracts were in

exceedingly common in primitive societies, especially where male dominance is established and the patrilocal form of marriage obtains. Thus it is remarked with reference to the Athapascan tribes of North America, that "no husband would ever consider himself secure in the company of his wife, as he was liable to see her any day snatched away from him." [1] One of the reasons which the Australian aborigines adduce as an excuse for their polygamy is that an ample reserve of wives is an indispensable provision against the constant liability to loss of one or two.[2] In societies of a more matriarchal type, as well as in many patriarchal societies, the woman is perfectly free to leave her husband and join the man she prefers, and even where such a right is not recognised a rival has no difficulty in abducting a woman who is willing. On the other hand, the sanction of the husband, asked and obtained, pledges a tribal brother or a guest not to abuse the privilege by abducting the woman. Father Charlevoix asserts that the Iroquois were extremely jealous, although they themselves utterly denied that "they were given to such eccentricity." [3] The discrepancy is readily accounted for when it is perceived how completely their conceptions of their claims on their women differed from those which are correlated to European sentiments of jealousy. "The Indians," says Hunter, "claim the sole disposal of their wives; and although in many instances they devote them to the sensual gratification of their friends without ascribing the least impropriety to the transaction, yet they regard a voluntary indulgence of passion on their part as an unpardonable offence." [4] Many North American Indians were wont to cut, or bite, off the nose of a woman convicted of adultery; [5] though it appears that the disfigurement was inflicted

force" (*The Natives of South Africa*, edited by the South African Native Races Committee, p. 37).

[1] A. G. Morice, art. "Déné," in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iv, p. 637.

[2] J. Browne, "The Aborigines of Australia," *The Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle*, 1856, p. 538.

[3] F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. vi, p. 38.

[4] J. D. Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, p. 299.

[5] F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. v, p. 420; Father Marquette, in J. G. Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 48; L. Hennepin, *Description d'un très-grand pays*, p. 39; J. Dunn, *The Oregon Territory and the British North-American Fur Trade*, p. 70; J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior of North America*, p. 375; H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. i, p. 236; E. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, vol. i, p. 233; J. Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of North America*, pp. 168 sq.; E. D. Neill, "Memoir of the Sioux," *Macalister College Contributions*, 1889, p. 229; J. Adair, *The History of the North American Indians*, p. 145; J. Morse, *A Report to the Secretary of*

on the woman for actually running away and not merely for unsanctioned intercourse;[1] but the same peoples freely lent their wives to fellow-clansmen or strangers.[2] Thus we are told that "in spite of their jealousy, the Sioux, in order to show friendship to those they love, offer them their wives. It is an insult to refuse, and they look at it in this way. But if after he has had acquaintance with their women by consent of the husband, anyone wishes to renew it without his making the offer a second time, such one would be killed, even were he the husband's best friend."[3] Similarly among other tribes of the plains, for a woman to submit to a stranger's embraces "without the consent of her husband or brother is a cause of great disgrace and offence"; but the husband and brother will "for purposes of civility and gratitude present to a stranger their females and be gratified by their attention to them."[4] "It does not appear," says Sir Alexander Mackenzie, with reference to the Crees, "that chastity is considered a virtue or that fidelity is believed to be essential

War of the United States on Indian Affairs, p. 135; D. W. Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America*, p. 343; J. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, vol. ii, p. 308; Maximilian Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America*, vol. ii, p. 350; A. L. Kroeber, "The Arapaho," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, xviii, p. 13. Disfigurement by amputation of the nose appears to have suggested itself to quite a number of peoples as a fitting punishment for adultery. It has been reported of the Itzepas of Mexico (H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. ii, p. 466), of the Gonds and Korkus (J. Forsyth, *The Highlands of Central India*, p. 245), of the tribes of the Chittagong Hills (T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of Southern India*, p. 245), and of Nepaul (T. Smith, *Narrative of Five Years' Residence in Nepaul*, vol. i, p. 304); of the tribes of Manipur (A. Fytche, *Burma, Past and Present*, vol. i, p. 349), of the Pathans (W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, vol. iv, p. 169), the Afghans (T. L. Pennell, *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier*, p. 192), and of the Hindus themselves (R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, vol. iv, p. 525). It was practised by the Samoans (G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 179), the Ashantis (W. Hutton, *A Voyage to Africa*, p. 319; J. Beecham, *Ashantee and the Gold Coast*, p. 127), and is said to have been practised by the ancient Egyptians (Diodorus Siculus, i. vii), by the ancient Scandinavians ("Uplands-Lagen," Aerfdae Balkaer, vi, in C. J. Schlyter, *Corpus Juris Sueo-Gotorum Antiqui*, vol. iii, p. 190), and the English ("The Laws of King Cnut," *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, vol. i, p. 174). It was practised by the Southern Slavs (F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, pp. 569 sq.), and by the Chevsur of the Caucasus (P. Radde, *Die Chevsuren und ihr Land*, p. 90).

[1] F. X. de Charlevoix, *loc. cit.*

[2] See above, vol. i, pp. 609 n[2], 644 sq., 636 n[5]; vol. ii, p. 35.

[3] E. D. Neill, "Memoirs of the Sioux. A Manuscript in the French Archives now for the first time published," *Macalister College Contributions: Department of History, Literature and Political Science*, No. 5, p. 229.

[4] M. Lewis and W. Clarke, *History of an Expedition to the Sources of the Missouri*, vol. i, p. 161.

to the happiness of wedded life. Though it sometimes happens that the infidelity of a wife is punished by the husband with the loss of hair, nose, and perhaps life, such severity proceeds from its having been practised without his permission, for a temporary exchange of wives is not uncommon and the offer of their person is considered as a necessary part of the hospitality due to strangers." [1] Unsanctioned intercourse alone constitutes 'adultery' in primitive society, for since the sanction of the husband can as a rule be readily obtained, to neglect to do so is evidence of an intention to deprive him of his wife. It can therefore cause no surprise that unsanctioned intercourse is fiercely resented, and such resentment affords no indication that the sentiment has reference either to exclusive sexual possession of the woman or to her being an object of individual preference. "A man," remarks Dr. Starcke, "willingly surrenders his wife to others; his jealousy is only aroused when she acts independently in permitting access of strange men without his will or knowledge. Hence the rule may be laid down that jealousy was only excited when the man was afraid that he should lose his wife." [2]

The ground on which many primitive and isolated tribes are described as being "extremely jealous" is that on the approach of strangers they carefully hide their women. The reason is that they are afraid lest the women should be taken away from them, as would certainly be the case if the strangers were a party from a hostile tribe. The natives of Easter Island, when first visited by Captain Cook, hid all save a score of their women, so that none were seen by the Europeans.[3] But, having learned that the white men had no desire to take away their women, those same islanders, when visited only a few years later by La Pérouse, pressed their women upon the visitors with annoying persistence, and sought out and dragged forward any girls who hung back.[4] Among themselves "pre-nuptial unchastity was common, and after marriage the husband was at liberty to lend or sell his wife to another for as long a term as he wished, receiving her back without detriment to the self-respect of any concerned." [5] The 'jealous' fears of the savage are entirely dispelled from the moment he is assured that his women are not going to be carried away by the stranger. Like many primitive peoples, the Tapiro pygmies of the Nassau Mountains, Dutch

[1] A. Mackenzie, *Voyage from Montreal on the River St. Laurence*, p. xcvi.
[2] C. N. Starcke, *The Primitive Family*, p. 255.
[3] G. Forster, *A Voyage round the World*, vol. i, p. 577.
[4] *Voyage de La Pérouse*, vol. ii, pp. 97, 105 sq.
[5] F. L. Gray, "Easter Island," in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. v, p. 131.

New Guinea, hid their women at the approach of travellers. Mr. Wollaston and his party, who were very anxious to see the women, could not succeed in getting a sight of them. This was chiefly owing to the action of the white-haired headman of the tribelet, whom no offer of gifts could induce to allow the women to be brought forward. "The other men were willing enough to produce the women, and several times were on the point of fetching them, but were always prevented by the old man. . . . They had no reason to distrust us when we assured them that our only wish was to see the women, and I think the reason for keeping them hidden was the presence of the Papuans who accompanied us from Parimau. The supply of Papuan women is very scanty, and it is likely enough that the men would seize any chance of abducting a Tapiro woman, as indeed they boasted of having done."[1] In much the same manner certain Papuans, on being taken away from their tribe to be trained as interpreters, were utterly depressed and refused to take any food, for, as it turned out, they were persuaded that the British officials intended, according to Papuan usage, to fatten them up and eat them.[2] The wild Veddahs of Ceylon exhibit conspicuous manifestations of jealousy. So watchfully are their women guarded that it is difficult for a European, and much more for a Singhalese, to catch a glimpse of them. A Veddah absolutely refused the request of Dr. Sarasin to let him see his wife. At last, however, he said he would have no objection to doing so provided the European traveller did the same.[3] M. Moszkowski had similar difficulties in inducing the Veddahs to let him see their women. They, however, consented to do so after he had succeeded in convincing them, by producing a photograph and by solemn assurances, that he already possessed a wife of his own, and had no intention of abducting a Veddah lady.[4] The Veddahs are in deadly fear lest their women should be taken from them. They exhibit even fiercer jealousy as regards their dogs, and have been known to murder a man whom they suspected of having bewitched one of those animals.[5]

[1] A. F. R. Wollaston, *Pygmies and Papuans*, p. 206. Cf. H. H. Romilly, *Letters from the Western Pacific*, p. 233: "The men were frightened, and all the women were being sent into the bush. Isues took a message to say that we were friends. . . . I was glad to see plenty of women sitting in front of their houses, which showed that the message sent ashore was believed."

[2] W. N. Beaver, *Unexplored New Guinea*, p. 39.

[3] P. and F. Sarasin, *Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen in Ceylon*, vol. iii, p. 462.

[4] M. Moszkowski, "Bei den letzten Weddas," *Globus*, xciv, p. 135.

[5] J. Bailey, "An Account of the Wild Tribes of the Veddahs of Ceylon," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, N.S., ii, p. 287.

The jealousy ascribed to the Fuegians is also manifested in regard to their dogs no less than with reference to their wives; indeed we are told that "their dogs are dearer to them than their women."[1] The enigmatic jealousy, so suddenly developed, according to MM. Hyades and Deniker, on their contracting marriage ties,[2] will become more comprehensible on a closer enquiry into the circumstances. There is a general consensus of testimony to the effect that affection between the men and their wives is very slight. Their unions are actuated by considerations of economic interest; "conjugal affection does not exist."[3] The men, as we have seen, are very violent in their temper, and beat their wives on the slightest occasion.[4] It is a prevalent practice amongst them to steal one another's wives. A man will lie in wait for a woman, and, if he finds himself alone with her, will order her to follow him. When a man's wife has thus been abducted by another, the husband does not, as a rule, blame or reproach her; indeed, he is said to commend her for the obedience and submission she has shown to a member of his sex. His anger is entirely directed towards the abductor.[5] Should he come upon him, he gives him, if he is able, a sound thrashing. The punishment is of small moment, and has no deterrent effect; a gallant in the habit of indulging in such abductions treats the risk with indifference, and is nowise restrained from continuing the practice.[6] If the erring wife, after a temporary absence from this cause, returns to her former husband, he is only too glad to receive her, and no notice is taken of the aberration.[7]

[1] D. Lovisato, "Appunti etnografici con accenni geologici sulla Terra del Fuoco," *Cosmos di Guido Cora*, viii, p. 150.

[2] See above, p. 99. The account of the sex relations of the Fuegians given by Captain L. F. Martial, the commander of the French Horn expedition, is much more scientific than that of the official scientists attached to the mission. Unlike the latter, he gives the grounds for his conclusions. "Several travellers," he says on this subject, "represent the Fuegians as exceedingly jealous of their wives. This is not confirmed by the information which we have gathered." The hiding of the women and children on the first appearance of strangers cannot, he points out, be regarded as a manifestation of sexual jealousy (*Mission scientifique du Cap Horn*, vol. i, pp. 198 sq.).

[3] D. Lovisato, *op. cit.*, p. 146; G. Bove, *Patagonia. Terra del Fuoco. Mari Australi*, p. 132; C. R. Gallardo, *Los Onas*, p. 212. MM. Hyades and Deniker have some sentimental phrases to the contrary (*Mission scientifique du Cap Horn*, vol. vii, pp. 238 sq.), but the unreliability of those authors on sentimental as well as on other questions is frequently exhibited (cf. below, p. 273; above, vol. i, p. 470 n[2]).

[4] See above, vol. i, p. 341.

[5] C. R. Gallardo, *Los Onas*, pp. 221 sq., 224.

[6] L.-F. Martial, in *Mission scientifique du Cap Horn*, vol. i, p. 199. Cf. C. R. Gallardo, *loc. cit.*

[7] L.-F. Martial, *loc. cit.*

Outbursts of temper against the wife do, however, occasionally take place on such occasions, and the man may maltreat her so violently as almost to kill her.[1] This is stated to be extremely rare.[2] Should, however, the woman die as a result of such maltreatment, the husband becomes the object of blood-revenge on the part of her people; the murderer is looked upon by everyone with indignation and the whole clan exerts itself to kill him.[3] There is no recognised punishment for adultery.[4] From those facts it would appear that what is spoken of as 'adultery' in reference to the Fuegians is in reality abduction. Extra-connubial intercourse is exceedingly common amongst the married women, who are said to be very lascivious.[5] "Fidelity is very rare in Fuegian marriages, and morality is low."[6] Fuegian men say that no woman is ever faithful to her husband; each one nevertheless professes to believe that his own wives are the exception.[7] Polyandry is prevalent; it is quite common for several husbands to share the same woman.[8] Exclusive sexual possession and extra-connubial intercourse would thus appear to be regarded by the Fuegians with indifference.

The ascription of jealousy to the Australian aborigines would seem, after what we have had occasion to note of their habits and customs, not the least startling among the many strange statements of which they have been the object. But it should be remembered that native Australia, where the services of the women are monopolised by the older men and where "abduction and elopement are merely ordinary amenities of married life,"[9] is the very place where we might expect to find conspicuous manifestations of animal jealousy, or rather of a jealousy which is, properly speaking, economic rather than sexual. The confusion which commonly arises when no such distinctions are drawn is illustrated by the remarks of Mr. N. W. Thomas in his polemics concerning the 'pirrauru' custom of

[1] C. R. Gallardo, *Los Onas*, p. 220; P. Hyades and J. Deniker, *op. cit.*, vol. vii, p. 378.

[2] L.-F. Martial, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 199.

[3] C. R. Gallardo, *op. cit.*, pp. 220 sq., 225; P. Hyades and J. Deniker, *op. cit.*, pp. 240 sq. Cf. G. Bove, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[4] P. Hyades and Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

[5] T. von Bischoff, "Bemerkungen über die Geschlechtsverhältnisse der Feuerlander," *Sitzungsberichte der königliche Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Mathematisch-physikalische Classe*, 1882, p. 246; C. R. Gallardo, *op. cit.*, p. 143; J. Bove, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

[6] L.-F. Martial, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

[7] C. R. Gallardo, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

[8] J. M. Beauvoir, *Los Shelknam, indigenos de la Tierra del Fuego*, p. 207.

[9] N. W. Thomas, *Kinship Organisations and Group Marriage in Australia*, p. 139.

the Dieri. Commenting on the statement of Dr. Howitt that 'pirrauru' partners are allotted without consulting their wishes or inclinations, he remarks that "if, as is stated, there is a good deal of jealousy between 'pirraurus,' especially when one of them (the male) is unmarried, it is difficult to make the two statements fit in with one another." [1] Mr. Thomas's perplexity over this supposed obscurity in Dr. Howitt's account evidently arises from his being unable to conceive that 'jealousy' can be anything else than the correlative of a personal choice and attachment. But if the term were strictly confined to that acceptation, the same 'obscurity' with which Mr. Thomas charges Dr. Howitt must be ascribed to the vast majority of our ethnological reports, and we should have to abandon altogether the use of the term in reference to nearly all uncultured peoples, and certainly with reference to the Australian aborigines. No fact has, so far as I know, been adduced concerning them pointing to any other form of jealousy than that arising from the fear of a loss that can be made good by the substitution of another female. The older men, who monopolise those females, are naturally anxious that the younger men shall not run away with them, as they are commonly in the habit of doing. "As women are of great value," says Sir George Grey, "not only on account of the personal attachment which they might be supposed to excite, but from the fact of all the laborious tasks being performed, and a great part of the food of the family being also collected by them, every precaution is taken to prevent them from forming acquaintances which would be likely to terminate in their abduction." [2] So long as there is reasonable security that sexual relations with other men will not lead to loss of the woman, Australian husbands are entirely indifferent. Apart from the numerous facilities for such harmless intercourse which their communistic customs afford, little notice appears to be taken even of unsanctioned relations when they are unattended with the risk of abduction. At night, when the old men are sitting round the fires, says Mr. Oldfield, the whole neighbourhood of the camp resounds with the low whistles which are the recognised signals of invitation of the younger men to the women to come and join them. Yet the older men, who are perfectly well aware of the meaning of those signals, do not interrupt their conversations on that account, and take no notice whatever of their wives' "little irregularities of conduct." [3] Since no Australian native would dare to wander far

[1] N. W. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

[2] G. Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions in North-West and Western Australia*, vol. ii, pp. 255 sq.

[3] A. Oldfield, "On the Aborigines of Australia," *Transactions of the*

from camp after dark, such assignations are unattended with risks of abduction. "The gins," says Mr. Hill, "are never very faithful to their lords, not that the said lords care very much, at least that is what I think." [1]

Prevalent Indifference as regards Connubial Fidelity.

In spite of the natural anxiety caused by the constant danger of losing their wives altogether to which men are exposed in primitive societies, and of the very general misapprehension which has so often led observers of those manifestations of animal jealousy to describe savage men as "extremely jealous," there is an abundance of more significant statements concerning the remarkable indifference noticed in this respect, and many of those statements refer to the lowest and most primitive stages of culture. Among the Bushmen, according to Lichtenstein, "infidelity to the marriage contract is not considered a crime, and is scarcely regarded by the offended party." [2] Among the Bechuana adultery is taken very little notice of, and "not much stress is laid upon it." [3] "Their indifference to the conduct of the women is very astonishing to any traveller." [4] Among the southern Bantu generally, adultery was regarded as a venial offence; every woman had an acknowledged lover. "It might be thought that the framework of society would fall to pieces if domestic life were more immoral"; yet the tribes

Ethnological Society, N.S., iii, p. 251. Cf. W. H. Willshire, *The Aborigines of Central Australia*, p. 28.

[1] S. Hill, "Ceremonies, Customs and Foods of the Myoli Tribe," *Science of Man*, 1901, p. 25.

[2] H. Lichtenstein, *Reisen in südlichen Afrika*, vol. ii, pp. 81 sq. Cf. G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, p. 95; J. E. Alexander, *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, vol. ii, p. 21; A. Merensky, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss Süd-Afrikas*, pp. 67 sq. On the other hand, H. von François (*Nama und Damaraland, Deutsch-Süd-Afrika*, p. 237) and S. Passarge (*Die Buschimänner von Kalahari*, p. 106) state that adultery may lead to murder. But it would appear that their statements as regards the miserable surviving remnants of a hunted race in modern times refer chiefly to intercourse with Bantu and strangers. Hahn, however, mentions an instance of a Bushman murdering both his wives for no other reason than that he had got tired of them (T. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentoten," *Globus*, xii, p. 306). The balance of reliable testimony as to the attitude of the Bushmen in their original state accords with those above mentioned. Dr. G. M. MacCall Theal represents the Bushmen as having been very jealous (*The Yellow- and Dark-Skinned Peoples of Africa South of the Zambesi*, p. 47); but, as we shall have occasion to note elsewhere, his account of the Bushmen contains other inaccuracies (see below, p. 299).

[3] W. C. Willoughby, "Notes on the Totemism of the Becwana," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv, p. 307.

[4] C. R. Conder, "Natives of Bechuanaland," *ibid.*, xvi, p. 81.

of the interior exceeded in laxity those of the coast.[1] Throughout British Central Africa, says Sir Harry Johnston, infidelity is treated with indifference; "the natives regard it with the same amount of emotion as they would the stealing of their fowls or corn in lieu of buying them."[2] Among the Bagesu of East Africa "there was little jealousy between men on account of women."[3] Among the Pygmies of the Congo "adultery does not seem to be greatly resented."[4] Among the tribes of the Upper Congo generally "adultery is not regarded as a crime."[5] Among the Krumen of the Ivory Coast "it is rare to find a husband really jealous of his wife."[6] In the Sherbro country of Sierra Leone adultery is an everyday occurrence, and is regarded with entire indifference.[7] The Fogni of West Africa "are little jealous, and attach no importance to the fidelity of their wives."[8] Among the Jaba of Nigeria "a woman may leave her husband for a time to live with another man without rebuke";[9] and among the Bassa "adultery was considered of little moment."[10] Among the negroes of the French Sudan adultery is extremely common and is regarded as of little importance. The injured husband gives his wife a thrashing, after which they are once more the best of friends. Should she desert him, he quietly proceeds to the hut of her lover and endeavours to bring her back. Should she prove obdurate he appeals for assistance to her father. Adultery is not a ground for divorce.[11] The Tuareg "are quite impervious to jealousy."[12] Among the natives of Darfur "jealousy is rare." If a husband, on coming home, finds another man alone with his wife, he takes no cognisance of the incident unless he happens to detect them 'flagrante delicto.'[13]

Among the wilder tribes of Canada, in the neighbourhood of the western lakes, the women "do not scruple to dishonour the nuptial bed, which is sometimes punished with stripes, and more frequently

[1] G. McCall Theal, *Records of South-East Africa*, vol. vii, p. 434.
[2] H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 412.
[3] J. Roscoe, *The Bagesu and other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate*, p. 35.
[4] H. H. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, p. 674.
[5] E. Slosse, "Le chemin-de-fer du Congo: En avant avec la brigade d'étude," *Le Congo illustré*, iii, p. 77.
[6] F.-J. Clozel and R. Villamur, *Les coutumes indigènes de la Côte d'Ivoire*, p. 498.
[7] "Leben in den Faktoreien bei Sherbro," *Globus*, xlvii, p. 249.
[8] H. Hecquard, *Voyage sur la côte et dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique occidentale*, p. 125.
[9] O. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes*, etc., *of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, p. 103.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[11] L. Tauxier, *Études soudanaises: Le Noir du Yatenga*, pp. 245, 249.
[12] Ibn Batuta, *Travels*, translated by S. Lee, p. 234.
[13] Muhammed Ibn-Uman El-Tunsy, *Voyage au Darfour*, p. 212.

with a gentle reprimand." [1] Among the Tupi tribes of Brazil adultery approaching to promiscuity is general; "the most grievously offended husband never goes farther in his revenge than a squabble with his wife, and that of very short duration." [2] Father d'Anchieta says that, although adultery is habitual, he never heard in the whole of Brazil of an adulterer being killed by an offended husband. They are, he says, absolutely indifferent to the conduct of their wives.[3] Of the Tocantin tribes of the Maranhão region we are told that "they are jealous of their daughters, but very little of their wives." [4] Among the Conebo tribes of the upper Amazon, unfaithful wives "are not punished or driven away." Nor does the husband say anything to their lover; but at the next 'chicha' feast, when everybody is somewhat intoxicated, he makes a small cut on his scalp with a flint-knife. They remain the best of friends, and no grudge is borne. Most of the men have such curious little incisions on their scalps.[5] Among the Charruas "adultery has no other consequence than a few blows which the offended party inflicts on the wife's accomplice; and this only happens in the event of his catching them in the act." [6] The Guarani tribes "are ignorant of jealousy." [7] Among the Indians of Rio Pilcomayo, quarrels about women are entirely unknown.[8]

The Aleuts "leave their wives in complete liberty, and the latter do the same as regards their husbands." [9] The Kamchadals are equally indifferent to the conduct of their wives,[10] and so are the Gilyak.[11] "The Samoyeds are extraordinarily tolerant in their marriages; infidelity on both sides is an everyday occurrence, for the passion of jealousy appears to be wholly unknown to those apathetic hyperboreans." [12] Among the Mongol tribes of Central

[1] G. Keith, "The Filthy Lake and Ground River Indians," in L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, vol. ii, p. 115.

[2] "Noticia sobre os Indios Tupinabas, sens costumos, etc.," *Revista Trimensal de Historia e Geographia*, i, p. 20.

[3] J. d'Anchieta, "Informação dos casamentos dos Indios do Brasil," *ibid.*, viii, p. 256.

[4] G. F. P. Ribeiro, "Memoria sobre as nações gentias que presentemente habitan o continente do Maranhão," *ibid.*, iii, p. 186.

[5] W. Curtis Farabee, "Indian Tribes of Eastern Peru," *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Anthropology and Ethnology*, vol. x, p. 102.

[6] F. de Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale*, vol. ii, p. 23.

[7] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 60.

[8] E. Nordenskiöld, *Indianerleben*, p. 87.

[9] J. G. Georgi, *Description de toutes les nations de l'Empire de Russie*, vol. iii, p. 129.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 89 sq.

[11] N. Seeland, "Die Ghiliaken," *Russische Revue*, xxi, p. 226.

[12] A. G. Schrenk, *Reise nach dem Nordosten des europäischen Russlands durch die Tundren der Samojeden*, vol. i, p. 479.

Asia " adultery is not even concealed and is not regarded as a vice." [1] Among the Hazarah of Afghanistan the wives enjoy complete liberty and the husbands are not jealous, though " their Afghan enemies pretend that they profit largely by their indifference." [2] Among the Kafirs of Hindu-Kush " cases of infidelity are extremely common, and they show none of the jealousy of their wives found in old Mohammedan countries." [3] " When a woman is discovered in an intrigue, a great outcry is made, and the neighbours rush to the scene with much laughter. A goat is sent for on the spot for a peace-making feast between the gallant and the husband. Of course the neighbours also partake of the feast ; the husband and wife both look very happy and so does everyone else." [4] Among the Hemza " infidelity is not regarded as an offence." [5] Among the Jats of Baluchistan a husband " sets absolutely no store on the chastity of his wife. It is a common saying that a tribesman who puts his camel to graze with a Jat becomes thereby the master of the Jat's wife." If a stranger casts his eye on the wife, the husband makes it a point to disappear discreetly ; if when returning home he sees a pair of shoes outside the door, he gives loud warning of his presence in order to afford the visitor an opportunity to depart.[6] Among the Gadba, a shepherd caste of Northern India, if a man seduces another's wife, " the husband goes to him with a few friends and asks whether the story is true, and, if the accusation is admitted, he demands a pig and some liquor for himself and friends as compensation. When these are given, the matter ends." [7] Among the Aheriya of the north-western provinces " a husband may put away his wife for repeated infidelity, but a single lapse, provided the paramour is of the same caste, is not seriously regarded " ; and among the Barwar, husbands " take no offence at adultery." [8] Among the Binol, an aboriginal tribe of the Panjab, " infidelity on the part of husband and wife is thought little of, and divorce is practically unknown." [9] Among the Chamars of Bengal " adultery is scarcely recognised as an offence ; a woman may go and live openly with other men and her husband

[1] N. Prejevalsky, *Mongolia*, vol. i, p. 70.

[2] J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys and Wanderings in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan and Beloochistan*, p. 194.

[3] J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo-Koosh*, p. 77.

[4] G. S. Robertson, *The Káfirs of the Hindu-Kush*, p. 533.

[5] J. Biddulph, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

[6] D. Bray, in *Census of India*, 1911, vol. iv, " Baluchistan," Part i, pp. 107 sq.

[7] R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, vol. iii, p. 11.

[8] W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, vol. i, pp. 58, 213. Cf. p. 224 (Chipis).

[9] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 213.

will take her back afterwards." [1] The primitive Todas of the Nilgiri Hills do not appear to comprehend the notion of adultery; in spite of their dignified manners and great courtesy, they can hardly conceal their scorn for European ideas on the subject.[2] Among their neighbours, the Badagas, a wife can openly carry on an intrigue with any member of the tribe with entire impunity.[3] Among the Kunnuvans of the extreme south of India a married woman may "bestow her favours on a paramour without hindrance." [4] And among the Parivarams of the same district adultery within the caste is openly recognised and tolerated.[5] Among the Man of Upper Tonkin "adultery is common, but is regarded as being a matter of little importance"; [6] and the same thing is stated of the Moï.[7] Among the Binua of the Malay Peninsula "adultery is neither infrequent nor regarded with sufficient detestation." [8] Among the Chiwan of Formosa all sexual relations are extremely loose, and the men, we are told, "are not very jealous." [9] In the Philippine Islands the women "do not hesitate to commit adultery because they receive no punishment for it." [10] Among the Visayas adultery was habitual and husbands were utterly indifferent to the conduct of their wives.[11] Among the Pintados the payment of a small indemnity was all that was needed to soothe the feelings of an injured husband.[12] Among the Ainu of Japan "adultery is not considered a crime." [13] According to Scheube, a fine is imposed for such transgressions in the same manner as for theft. The amount of the fine is proportional to the length of time during which the illicit relations have lasted, which probably means the time during which the husband has actually been deprived of his wife's company, and would therefore refer to abduction rather than seduction. If the culprit has

[1] R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, vol. ii, p. 412.

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 529 sq.

[3] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. i, p. 105.

[4] *The Madura Manual*, Part ii, p. 34.

[5] *Madras District Gazetteers, Madura*, vol. i, pp. 102 sq.

[6] M. Abadie, "Les Man du Haut Tonquin," *Revue d'Ethnographie et des Traditions populaires*, iii, p. 211.

[7] H. Besnard, "Les populations Moï de Darlac," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, vii, p. 74.

[8] J. R. Logan, "The Orang Binua of Johore," *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, i, p. 263.

[9] W. Joest, "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Eingeborenen der Insel Formosa," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 1884, p. 61.

[10] M. de Loarca, "Relación de las Yslas Filipinas," in E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, 1493–1898, vol. v, 118.

[11] F. Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen*, p. 236.

[12] G. F. Gemelli Careri, *Giro del Mondo*, vol. v, pp. 85 sq.

[13] A. H. Savage Landor, *Alone among the Hairy Ainu*, p. 295.

not sufficient money to pay the fine, he takes up a collection in the village, and his fellow-villagers freely give their contributions for the deserving object.[1]

The Alfurs of Ceram do not resent the adultery of their wives.[2] In the Marshall Islands the men show no manifestations of jealousy; a quarrel over a woman is an exceedingly rare event amongst them.[3] In the Island of Rook "adultery is very common; as long as it is not actually seen it is nothing. If a husband discovers his wife with a lover, there is much noise, but action seldom follows. In one instance only was a wife known to have been beaten."[4] The Pelew Islanders "did not appear to be in any degree jealous."[5] Among the natives of the Mekeo district of British New Guinea adultery is common and is not looked upon as a serious offence.[6] In the New Hebrides the young men openly make love to the wives of the older men, and "the husband does not seem to mind much, provided the woman continues to work well for him."[7] In Tahiti "jealousy is an unknown sentiment";[8] and in Raratonga "adultery is of daily occurrence."[9] Among the Moriori of the Chatham Islands adultery is so lightly regarded by the husbands that the wives are entirely undeterred from freely pursuing their amours as they please.[10] Among the Maori, who took a much more serious view of adultery than most Polynesians, "in general the offence can easily be compounded for."[11]

Primitive Duels.

There is no evidence of any other form of jealousy in the most primitive human societies than the animal jealousy which is the correlative of sexual hunger, and not of claims to exclusive sexual possession or individual preference. But there is nevertheless a profound difference between the manifestations of that animal

[1] B. Scheube, "Die Ainos," *Mittheilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, iii, p. 238.

[2] A. van Ekris, "Jets over Ceram en de Alfoeren," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, N.V., i, p. 201.

[3] A. Senfft, "Die Insel Nauru," *Mittheilungen aus der deutschen Schutzgebiete*, ix, p. 106.

[4] P. Reina, "Über die Bewohner der Insel Rook," *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, N.F., iv, p. 358.

[5] G. Keate, *An Account of the Pelew Islands*, p. 215.

[6] C. Kowald, in *Annual Report on British New Guinea*, 1892–93, p. 63.

[7] F. Speier, *Two Years with the Natives in the Western Pacific*, p. 235.

[8] L. A. de Bougainville, *Voyage autour du monde*, p. 87.

[9] W. Gill, *Gems from the Coral Islands*, p. 14.

[10] A. Shand, "The Moriori People of the Chatham Islands," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, lii, p. 79.

[11] W. Brown, *New Zealand and its Aborigines*, p. 35.

jealousy in human societies, however primitive, and among animals. In human societies there always exist means of establishing understandings and guarantees, and there are bonds of fellowship and brotherhood which are absent and impossible among animals. Hence primitive humanity, owing to its social character, is not under the same necessity to secure the satisfaction of its sexual instincts by sheer competitive struggle; the manifestations of animal jealousy are accordingly far less pronounced than among animals, because man can obtain a guarantee against loss which an animal cannot obtain. There is thus between the operation of sexual hunger in primitive human social groups and among animals the same momentous difference as in regard to the operation of food-hunger. Animals tear their closest associates and even their sexual mates to pieces in the struggle for food; the member of the rudest and most primitive social group will starve rather than not share his food with his fellow-members.[1] Those circumstances constitute the fundamental differentiating character between human society and animality. So likewise in no human society, however primitive, is a lawless scramble for the possession of females to be found. The stealing of wives from fellow-clansmen is, it is true, constantly going on in those uncultured societies where patrilocal marriage obtains. But those abductions are scarcely ever carried out by open violence, and the resulting disputes between the men do not take the form of a brute contest between jealous males.

Among the Australian aborigines, where such stealing of wives is habitual, the dispute is usually adjourned until some convenient time when a tribal gathering takes place. The matter is referred to the tribal elders, who tell the men that they may fight it out. The fight takes place in the presence of the assembled tribe, but no one interferes, and "the belligerents take care not to give a mortal blow, because they are both aware of the consequences to themselves at another time."[2] It is customary in such contests to request politely the opponent to strike first.[3] All such duels are in fact engaged in deliberately under fixed rules, and are more of the nature of competitive trials of strength than of mortal combats, the opponents not being permitted to employ their full means of attack. Among the Eskimo, if a husband and a lover quarrel about a woman, they are not allowed to use weapons, but must settle the trouble with their fists or by wrestling, the victor taking

[1] See below, pp. 493 sqq.

[2] R. H. Mathews, "Australian Tribes, their Formation and Government," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxviii, p. 945. Cf. C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, vol. i, pp. 205 sq.

[3] R. Hill and G. Thornton, *Notes on the Aborigines of New South Wales*, p. 3.

the woman.[1] The dispute, says Dr. Kroeber, "was decided by a wrestling match which was peaceable and conclusive."[2] The Comanches, when fighting such duels, have their left arms tied together.[3] The Slave Indians fight their duels by pulling one another's hair until one party gives way.[4] Among the Caribs, if men quarrelled about a woman, they never used weapons.[5] The Charruas of Brazil, says Azara, settle any dispute about women with their fists. "They never make use of weapons in these duels, and I never heard that anyone was ever killed. Blood, to be sure, is often shed, for they hit each other on the nose, and occasionally knock out a tooth."[6] Among the Botocudos the kinsmen of the disputants join in the fray. "The champion of the offended party proceeds to strike his adversary until he is tired of hitting; the victim, who has remained entirely on the defensive, then begins in his turn to engage in reprisals with all his might. The two combatants then take a rest, and two more engage in a similar combat. Those extraordinary duels, which remind one of nothing so much as of a Punch-and-Judy show, continue until the champions of both sides have exhausted their strength and courage. The fight ceases at the signal given by the leader of the offended party, and both parties retire covered with blood and bruises."[7] Similar combats are usual among the wild tribes of eastern Brazil. Thus among the Parparos, Guasparos, and Mendicinos duels are fought with sticks loaded with a stone. The rivals stand with their feet together and their heads down, and strike one another in turn. "He who strikes first is counted the more fearful and weaker"; they accordingly stand for a long time "like dunghill cocks" before they dare to strike.[8] The Kamchadals adopt similar methods; they challenge one another to fight with sticks, each hitting in turn, and they loyally abide by the result of the contest.[9] Such duels or competitive trials of strength are similar to those which take place as a pre-

[1] E. W. Nelson, "The Eskimo of Bering Strait," *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i, p. 292.

[2] A. L. Kroeber, "The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, x, p. 301.

[3] J. R. Swanton, in *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. ii, p. 145.

[4] W. H. Hooper, *Ten Months in the Tents of the Tuski*, p. 303.

[5] A. N. Cabeza de Vaca, *Relación de la jornada que hizo á la Florida*, p. 536.

[6] F. de Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale*, vol. ii, p. 16.

[7] J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil* vol., i, p. xiii. Cf. Maxmilian Prince of Wied-Neuwied, *Travels in Brazil*, pp. 323 sq.

[8] Nicholas del Techo, "The History of the Provinces of Paraguay, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata, etc.," in Churchill, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. iv, p. 800.

[9] G. W. Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka*, p. 348.

liminary to marriage and a test of the combative powers and endurance of candidates for matrimony.[1] It would be difficult to imagine anything more unlike a lawless scramble; those regulated contests bear no resemblance to the struggles and combats of animals for the possession of females, and no instance of such a struggle is in fact known in a primitive human community. The abduction of women is a common cause of inter-tribal feuds and wars; but that is an entirely different thing from an internecine struggle for females. Instead of a struggle between the males for the satisfaction of sexual hunger, exactly the opposite is found; primitive society is characterised by every form of communistic adjustment in regard to sexual relations, and the member of a group who is unable to procure a female companion is assisted in every way by other members, in the same manner as he is provided with food if unable to obtain any by his own efforts. The effects of animal jealousy are thus much less crude in primitive humanity than among animals.

Variable Manifestations of Primitive Jealousy.

That, of course, does not mean that sexual hunger and animal jealousy are less developed in the human race, for in all sharing of sexual partners the husband's access to the woman and his possession of her labour are not endangered, and 'jealousy' is therefore not aroused. No surrender of the woman is involved in such communism, and reciprocity is of the essence of the transaction. Among the Yao of Nyasaland the uneasiness caused to a husband by the repeated misconduct of his wife with another man is set at rest by the offender lending his own wife to the injured husband for a number of nights equal to the number of occasions on which misconduct has taken place.[2] Sometimes the jealous feelings of the husband on account of his wife's adultery are appeased by an amicable understanding whereby he and the lover agree to share the wife. Thus in Madagascar, if a man found his wife in flagrant misconduct, her lover might offer to share the household expenses as well as the wife, and any jealousy on the part of the husband was usually set at rest by the offer.[3] In New Zealand

[1] See below, pp. 202 sqq.

[2] C. H. Stigand, "Notes on the Natives of Nyasaland, North-East Rhodesia and Portuguese Zambesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii, p. 122.

[3] A. and G. Grandidier, *Histoire physique, naturelle et politique de Madagascar*, vol. iv, Part ii, p. 155.

it sometimes happened that when unpleasantness arose between two men on account of the adultery of the one with the other's wife, the matter was settled by both becoming the woman's recognised co-husbands.[1]

Animal jealousy, which is the only form of the feeling manifested by primitive humanity, thus differs very profoundly from the sentiment of sexual jealousy as we understand it. The latter is the correlated product of a long evolution of social relations and sentiments. Dr. Hartland has said that "personal ownership has been the seed-plot of jealousy," [2] and he has admirably shown by a large series of examples that jealousy, in the sense which we attach to the word, does not exist in primitive society, and has developed in relation to the establishment of individual claims to ownership in sexual relations. Even Dr. Hartland's proposition does not, however, distinguish sufficiently. Every form of jealousy, whether that of a dog with reference to a bone, or of the most romantic lover with reference to his mistress, is the correlative of a claim to ownership of some sort. The difference does not lie in the fact that such a claim is advanced, for wherever there is jealousy there must needs be a claim, but in the nature of the claim and in the form of possession to which it has reference. In the most highly developed form of the sentiment of sexual jealousy the object of desire, and therefore of jealousy, is much more than even exclusive sexual access. The lover's jealousy is aroused to almost the same degree by a thought or a feeling in the object of his desire which is inconsistent with the exclusive attachment which he looks for, as by an act of actual infidelity. The latter inflicts a mortal wound not only because it threatens the loss of what he claims as exclusively his own, but because it constitutes a manifestation of the actual and complete loss of the mental possession which he claims. So much is this the case that even actual infidelity may conceivably lose its sting in certain circumstances when there is assurance that it has implied no loss of sentimental attachment. Such sentiments and such claims are devoid of meaning in the lower phases of human culture; no such mental possession is either looked for or imagined. These and other much simpler constituents of the complex feelings included in our connotation of the term 'jealousy,' are products of the development of varied claims and conceptions, and cannot exist previously to the establishment of the correlated claims.

The claims in regard to which jealousy is manifested depend to a large extent upon the established usages of the social environ-

[1] E. Best, "Maori Marriage Customs," *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, xxxvi, p. 28.

[2] E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, vol. ii, p. 102.

ment; a man claims as a right what the law, current custom and opinion entitle him to claim. His feelings are wounded, quite apart from any fear or anger which he may entertain, by his not receiving the same consideration as is generally expected by other men in the same community. Of the Australian aborigines, Sir Baldwin Spencer and Mr. Gillen remark that "for a man to have unlawful intercourse with any woman arouses a feeling which is due not so much to jealousy as to the fact that the delinquent has infringed a tribal custom." [1] Orientals who are in the habit of keeping their women secluded and veiled are convinced that sentiments of jealousy are very poorly developed among Englishmen who permit their wives free social intercourse with other men, even though they go shamelessly unveiled. The conduct of European women, in fact, appears perfectly scandalous to many uncultured barbarians, and to civilised peoples whose customs differ from ours.

Ethnological literature is replete with instances of tribes belonging to the same race and living in the same neighbourhood, whose customs in regard to the observance of connubial fidelity are radically different; yet it cannot be supposed that those differences are due to innate diversities of temperament and character. Thus, for example, the Koryak, who are divided into two branches according to their means of subsistence, the Sedentary or Maritime Koryak, and the Nomadic or Reindeer Koryak, present in their customs the two most pronounced extremes of extravagant prudery and jealousy on the one hand, and of boundless licentiousness and indifference to exclusive possession on the other. The Reindeer Koryak are puritans of the most exaggerated type. "Contrary to the custom of all neighbouring tribes, Koryak girls must have no sexual intercourse before marriage." [2] Their tables of prohibited degrees are very extended and include relations by marriage; sororal polygyny is forbidden.[3] Their mythology and traditional tales show that those ideas are of comparatively late development.[4] They are so fiercely jealous that on a mere unjust suspicion, a man will kill his wife, and any solid ground for suspecting her of having a lover will lead to both being disembowelled. So obsessing is the men's jealousy that the women, after marriage, are obliged to become utter sluts in their appearance, to dress in rags and refrain

[1] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 106.

[2] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 80; W. Jochelson, *The Koryak* (*Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. vi), pp. 134 sq.

[3] W. Jochelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 736 sq.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 738; M. A. Czaplicka, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

from combing their hair or washing their faces, and they even bedaub themselves with dirt in order to destroy any dangerous seductiveness which their countenances might possess. If a woman were to devote the most simple attention to her toilet she would at once be suspected of entertaining a desire to attract strange men, and her life would be in danger.[1] The Maritime branch of the same nation, on the other hand, go to the opposite extreme. Not only are their customs as regards exchanges of wives and other communistic usages similar to those prevalent among allied races, but "the caresses bestowed upon their wives are a source of gratification to the husbands." They are said to be in the habit of positively pestering Russian officials, such as the postman on his rounds through the country, to lie with their wives; and, far from this being done from mercenery motives, they "overwhelmed him on his return with presents because a son had been born from the transient alliance." [2]

Among some tribes of Land Dayaks in the interior of Borneo connubial fidelity is said to be regarded in a much more serious light than is usual among primitive races, and among the majority of tribes of the same race. The husband, in the Punan tribe, has the right to cut off the head of both wife and co-respondent, and should he fail to do so, the duty of acting as executioner devolves upon the woman's brother. In the Bukat tribe the husband is also bound to behead his erring wife; but he has no opportunity of deriving much satisfaction from the proceeding, for the woman's brother is in turn obliged to cut off the injured husband's head.[3] A consideration of the customs and character of those people makes clear the grounds of that severe view of adultery, and shows that it is not a manifestation of an abnormally fierce passion of jealousy. The Land Dayaks are noted for their rigorous sense of honesty; none of those people is ever known to steal or to tell a lie. In their conceptions a thief will in the next life have to carry the stolen goods on his head throughout eternity, exposed for ever to scorn and ridicule. A promise or a contract is with them absolutely sacred; they are never known

[1] S. P. Krasheninnikoff, *The History of Kamschatka*, pp. 223 sq.; J. G. Georgi, *Description de toutes les nations de l'Empire de Russie*, vol. iii, p. 98. Something of the same sentiment has been noted among the Hindu: "A woman who appears clean in public on ordinary occasions may pretty confidently be taken for a prostitute; such care of her person would indeed be considered by her husband as totally incompatible with modesty" (F. Buchanan, *Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, vol. i, p. 107).

[2] A. Erman, *Travels in Siberia*, vol. ii, p. 530. Cf. S. P. Krasheninnikoff, *op. cit.*, p. 224; J. G. Georgi, *loc. cit.*

[3] C. Lumholtz, *Through Central Borneo*, vol. i, pp. 217 sq.

to break one, and "you can trust their word more completely than that of the majority of common white people." It follows that a breach of the marriage agreement is regarded in the same light as would be the breach of any other contract. On the other hand, sexual relations outside marriage are unrestricted; and so little of fierce and suspicious jealousy is there in their nature that, in the Kenyah tribe, a man will quite usually allow his wife to join a hunting party of other men, as a cook, for several days and nights. His trust is not betrayed; the woman sleeps aside, separate from the men; she is respected, and no impropriety takes place.[1] The view taken of the sacredness of the marriage contract by those Dayaks thus appears to be very similar to that of the Poggi Islanders, who are a byword for their entire indifference to sexual morality, and who, until marriage takes place on the verge of old age, live in a state of unrestricted promiscuity. When, however, a man and a woman announce that they are married, each is treated by members of the opposite sex with the utmost respect, and infidelity is out of the question.[2] Some Dayak tribes take quite a different view of marriage obligations. In the Sidin district, for example, the loan of wives to friends is a regular and recognised practice.[3] Dr. Houghton speaks of the great prevalence of adultery among the Land Dayaks of Upper Sarawak.[4] Of the tribes of the Dusson, Murung and Siang districts, Dr. Schwaner writes: "The marriage tie is regarded in very many cases merely as a convenient way of satisfying one's desires for a longer or shorter time. The married pair separate as easily as they enter into new lightly contracted unions. Connubial fidelity is in the eyes of both parties a chimera; and dissoluteness is so deeply rooted that, speaking of the larger communities, especially where, as in Siang, the number of women is considerable, it would be more correct to say that the men enjoy communistically those pleasures which the weaker sex is able to afford them, than that marriages are contracted and founded on hard and fast rules."[5] The development of jealousy

[1] C. Lumholtz, *loc. cit.*, and pp. 74 sq.

[2] P. A. M. Hinlopen en P. Severin, "Verslag van een onderzoek der Poggi-Eilanden," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, iii, p. 327.

[3] C. Kater, "De Dajaks van Sidin," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xvi, p. 185.

[4] E. P. Houghton, "On the Land Dayaks of Upper Sarawak," *Memoirs read before the Anthropological Society*, iii, p. 200.

[5] C. A. L. M. Schwaner, "Aanteekeningen betreffende eenige maatschappelijke instellingen en gebruiken der Dajaks van Doesson, Moeroeng, en Siang," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, i, p. 220. Among the Land Dayaks of Sirambau adultery is common and is usually settled by a fine of twelve rupees (S. St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, vol. i, pp. 165 sq.).

thus depends to a large extent upon the prevailing conception of the claims which a man is entitled to advance. We have already noted the interesting observation of Dr. Westermarck that "among many polyandrous peoples the men are expressly stated to be remarkably little addicted to jealousy." [1]

In those relatively very advanced societies where personal and aristocratic despotism has become established, the infringement of sexual claims is often avenged with a severity which bears no relation to the sentiments with which a woman is personally regarded. In Africa seduction of the wife of a king or chief, and even the mere fact of accidentally touching her person, is sometimes punished with death. King Alvaro Nsinga-Nkanga of Angola had a man executed for giving a leaf of tobacco to one of the royal wives, although he had gone no farther than to place the leaf on a stone at a respectful distance.[2] The King of Dahomey had several thousands of wives, his acquaintance with each of them being extremely limited; "he lies with her twice or thrice, after which she is obliged to live a nun." Nevertheless, adultery with one of these ladies is a most serious penal offence, and they are very strictly guarded. When they go abroad they are preceded by a warning bell, or by a crier bidding every man 'Stand clear,' and every wayfarer is obliged either to fall with his face to the ground or to turn aside while they pass.[3] Among the Abron of Ivory Coast the king usually accumulates through legacies and from other sources a harem of some sixty or a hundred wives; but he seldom keeps more than about ten actually with him, the rest being sent back to their relatives. They nevertheless continue to be officially regarded as his wives, and are subject to the same rules as regards conjugal fidelity as those which are his wives 'de facto.' Adultery with one of these ladies is punished with a heavy fine. In fact such fines constitute the chief item of the royal revenue. Every time that the monarch feels the pinch of a depleted privy-purse, he sends officials carrying the royal mace to visit his consorts. The ladies, being desirous to keep on good terms with their lord,

[1] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. iii, p. 206.

[2] G. C. Claridge, *Wild Bush Tribes of Tropical Africa*, p. 84.

[3] W. Smith, *A New Voyage to Guinea*, pp. 200 sq.; W. Bosman, "A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea," in Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, vol. xvi, p. 480. The example is cited by Dr. Westermarck as an illustration of the jealousy of primitive humanity (E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, 1901, p. 120). But even in the very unprimitive dynasty of Dahomey, the seclusion and guarding of wives is a quite recent innovation, and the royal women previously had complete freedom to intrigue as they pleased (see below, vol. iii, p. 32). The plebeian husbands of the princesses of Angola were also preceded by a bell warning all women from their path (L. Degrandpré, *Voyage à la côte occidentale de l'Afrique*, p. 113).

usually make a point of denouncing four or five men each. As their word is taken as all-sufficient evidence of the imputed crime, the injured feelings of the king are soothed by an overflowing exchequer.[1] The punishments inflicted by despots for adultery, or suspected adultery, with their wives are often atrocious. The laws of the ancient Peruvians provided that if a man were guilty of adultery with one of the innumerable wives or concubines of the Inca, or even of attempting such a crime, "he should be burnt alive together with the woman herself, should she be guilty; his parents, sons, brothers, and all other near relatives were to be killed, and even his flocks slaughtered; his native town or village was to be depopulated and sown with salt, the trees were to be cut down and all the houses destroyed."[2] African kings gouged out the eyes of the guilty parties and also of their relatives, and cut off the breasts of the women;[3] the victims were sometimes compelled to eat their own amputated members;[4] women were thrown into the river.[5] In Ashanti a man guilty of adultery with one of the countless nominal wives of the king was either castrated or buried alive.[6] In other instances the guilty parties were chopped up into mince.[7] In the Congo, among the Baluba, adultery with a chief's wife was punished with ingenious refinements of torture: a large and fierce locust was introduced into the rectum of the culprit, whose bowels were torn and devoured.[8] We hear of a Kashmiri prince who was in the habit of boiling his unfaithful wives alive.[9] In Tonkin an adulterous princess was trodden to death by elephants.[10] Such penalties are punishments for lese-majesty rather than for adultery. In the Congo the seducer of a chief's wife is burnt alive; that of a commoner's wife merely pays a small fine.[11] Among the Niam-Niam seduction of the wife of a chief is punished with horrible mutilations; but among ordinary people "a present of cloth or

[1] F.-J. Clozel and R. Villamur, *Les coutumes indigènes de la Côte d'Ivoire*, pp. 200 sq.

[2] A. de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista della provincia del Peru*, p. 479. Cf. Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, vol. i, pp. 300 sq.

[3] W. Bosman, "A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea," in Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, xvi, p. 485; D. Campbell, *In the Heart of Bantuland*, p. 51; P. Colle, *Les Baluba*, vol. ii, p. 803; G. Pirie, "North-East Rhodesia," *Journal of the African Society*, vi, p. 47.

[4] D. Macdonald, *Africana*, vol. i, pp. 202 sq.

[5] J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara, or Banyoro*, p. 63.

[6] H. C. Monrad, *Gemälde der Küste von Guinea*, p. 65.

[7] H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 669.

[8] P. Colle, *Les Baluba*, vol. ii, p. 803.

[9] G. T. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir*, vol. ii, pp. 72 sq.

[10] J. Richard, "History of Tonquin," in Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix, p. 722.

[11] R. P. Van Wing, *Études Bakongo*, pp. 217, 218.

beads, or spears invariably acts as a salve on the outraged feelings of the husband." [1] In the Marshall Islands adultery with the wife of a chief is said to have been punished with death, and, what is more notable, a chief's wife had also the right to punish the paramour of her husband in like manner; but among the rest of the population adultery was of daily occurrence, was thought nothing of, and was not punished at all.[2]

Conceptions of what is required to maintain and satisfy the 'honour' of chiefs and kings in this respect vary curiously. In New Caledonia a woman who has once been the wife or bride of a chief is debarred from ever marrying any other man; but she is at liberty to have as many lovers as she pleases, and in fact becomes what we should call a common prostitute.[3] The same rule for the protection of the honour of chiefs obtained in the Caroline Islands.[4] It was likewise observed in Samoa. Samoan chiefs discarded their wives whenever they tired of them, often after a few days of marriage. The ladies were thereafter established in a public building and devoted to the entertainment of visitors and strangers. If, however, a chief from another district took a fancy to one of these public women and eloped with her, the insult to her official husband frequently gave rise to a declaration of war and could only be wiped out in blood. If a commoner dared to take the same liberty and marry one of the ladies, his fate was sealed, and he was clubbed to death.[5] In those instances it is the official relation of marriage, and not the fact of extraneous sexual relations which is regarded as inflicting a lesion on the honour of the noble husband.

The damage to the honour of a cuckold husband constitutes, quite irrespectively of the sentiments with which he may regard his wife, an enormous part of barbaric jealousy and of the elements handed down from barbarism which enter into the composition of the sentiment with which adultery is regarded among civilised peoples. Among the Lango of Uganda no notice is taken of occasional infidelity, but the persistent and continuous misconduct of the wife is liable to bring down ridicule upon the husband, who accordingly resents the open flouting of his authority. "In-

[1] H. Reynolds, "Notes on the Azandé Tribe of the Congo," *Journal of the African Society*, iii, p. 241.

[2] A. Brandeis, "Ethnographische Beobachtungen über die Narau Insulaner," *Globus*, xci, p. 76.

[3] V. de Rochas, *La Nouvelle Calédonie et ses habitants*, p. 229.

[4] O. Finsch, "Über die Bewohner von Ponapé," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, iii, p. 317.

[5] W. T. Pritchard, "Notes on certain Anthropological Matters respecting the South Sea Islanders," *Memoirs read before the Anthropological Society*, i, p. 324.

fidelity as such is not necessarily a ground for divorce, but rather the loss of reputation resulting therefrom." [1] Of a society so imbued with patriarchal principles and the conception of the absolute proprietary rights of the husband over his wife as is the highest Brahmanical society of India, Father Dubois remarks: "Adultery, though it is considered shameful and is condemned by Brahmanical law, is punished with much less severity in their caste than in many others. So long as it is kept secret, it is regarded as a matter of small importance. It is the publicity which is the sin. If it becomes known, the husbands are the first to contradict any gossip that may be current, in order to avoid any scandal or disagreeable consequences." [2] The natives of Hindu-Kush "take no notice of a wife's infidelity if, when it comes to their knowledge, they are able to disguise the knowledge from others; but should they learn it through a third person, a bloody vengeance is inflicted." [3] Among the Wadshagga of East Africa, a man who informs a husband that his wife has committed adultery is liable to a fine equal in amount to that inflicted upon the seducer.[4] According to an old Chinese writer, if anyone reported to a Tungus the infidelity of his wife, the injured husband killed not only the wife's lover, but also the informant, whom he regarded as the chief offender against his honour.[5] Much the same conceptions obtained among the most cultured nations of Europe. A seventeenth-century Spanish poet expressed in the following manner the feelings of his countrymen in the matter:—

Queremos bien las mujeres
Mas mucho más el honor.—

"We love our wives well, but our honour very much more." [6] In Italy the adultery of a woman had sometimes to be wiped out in blood. But, remarks Burckhardt, "it is highly significant as to the real motive of those deeds that, besides the husband, also the woman's brother, and her father, considered themselves entitled, nay in duty bound, to avenge their honour; jealousy has therefore nothing to do with those acts, moral feeling little, and the wish to avoid ridicule was the chief factor." [7] The impunity which the law allowed in cases

[1] J. H. Driberg, *The Lango, a Native Tribe of Uganda*, p. 164.
[2] J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, vol. i, p. 313.
[3] J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo-Koosh*, p. 77.
[4] C. Dundas, "Native Laws of some Bantu Tribes of East Africa," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, li, p. 245.
[5] H. J. von Klaproth, *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*, p. 86.
[6] Cited by A. Castro y Rossi, *Discurso acerca las costumbres publicas y privadas de los Españoles en el siglo xvii*, p. 149.
[7] J. Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, vol. ii, p. 171.

of homicide of a wife's lover was based upon the standards of honour rather than on consideration for the force of jealous sentiments. The Statute of Tivoli excused the killing of a lover not only when found in unlawful intercourse with a man's wife, but also with the offended relative's daughter, his mother, his sister, or his daughter-in-law.[1] The same conceptions obtain in several Eastern countries. Thus among the Druses of the Lebanon, if a woman committed adultery, she was sent back by her husband to her family, together with a dagger. The woman's relatives sat in judgment over her, and if found guilty, she was put to death, her elder brother being usually the executioner.[2]

The 'honour' of the husband becomes the honour of the woman. Among the Maori, if a woman of good family misconducted herself, her relatives and friends would sometimes make a raid upon the injured husband and his father, stripping their fields bare and eating all their pigs, in order to avenge the lesion which their own honour was thought to have suffered.[3] Among the Moï of Indo-China, if a woman commits adultery, she and her paramour incur no punishment, but a heavy fine is imposed on the husband for not keeping a better guard on his wife's honour.[4] Similarly among the Baganda, if a wife commits misconduct, it is her husband who is fined.[5]

Penalties for Adultery.

"The prevalence of jealousy in the human race," says Dr. Westermarck, "is best shown by the punishments inflicted for adultery."[6] Although we may concur with the remark, which Dr. Westermarck has thought it advisable to withdraw from his revised edition, a consideration of those punishments is far from affording any support to the hypothesis that individual marriage is the oldest social institution of the human race and arose from the operation of masculine claims to proprietary rights over females. If adultery were an offence against such a primary relation, we should expect the offence to be universally, or almost universally, regarded with more horror than any other social transgression, whereas so far is this from being the case that even in English law at the present day adultery is not an indictable offence. If the severity of the reprobation attaching to an offence

[1] J. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 380. Cf. *Digesta*, xlviii. v. 23.
[2] J. L. Farley, *Modern Turkey*, p. 130.
[3] E. Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, p. 219.
[4] H. Baudesson, *Indo-China and its Primitive Peoples*, p. 88.
[5] J. Roscoe, *Twenty-five Years in East Africa*, p. 96.
[6] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, 4th ed., p. 121.

against a social institution or relation be accounted a valid indication of the antiquity of that institution or relation, the clan and not the family must then be accounted the more primitive and fundamental institution; for breach of the law of clan-exogamy, that is, the crime of incest, is beyond all comparison regarded with greater horror and punished more severely than adultery, or offences against individual marriage; whereas if the latter were the primary institution, and derived from fundamental instincts of animal origin, the reverse ought to be the case. In the vast majority of uncultured societies which have retained a fairly primitive organisation the dangers and penalties attaching to adultery are trifling. Where the offence is not regarded with indifference it often leads to nothing more serious than a brief outburst of temper followed by an amicable settlement. Those outbursts of temper which may, on the spur of the moment, lead the angered husband to impulsive acts, such as the disfiguring of a woman by cutting off her nose, are subject to social restraints. Among the Mandans, Prince Maximilian of Wied could only learn of one instance of the kind in the whole tribe.[1] Such acts committed in a moment of unguarded passion are often speedily regretted. Among the tribes of the Afghan frontier European surgeons are often resorted to with a view to remedying the disfigurement produced in a transient fit of temper. An Afghan warrior who had thus disfigured his wife, but had soon after made up the quarrel, brought her to an English surgeon and enquired the price of fitting her with a new nose. The damage was rather extensive, and he was informed that it would be necessary to order the article from Europe, and that the cost would be 30 rupees. There was a silence, during which he was obviously weighing the situation; on being questioned, he pointed out that for 50 rupees he could obtain a brand-new wife.[2] In Ashanti, where the same practice of disfigurement is said to have obtained, the majority of the women disfigured by the amputation of ears or lips had suffered those injuries for the crimes of betraying secrets or of eavesdropping.[3]

Similarly a man may kill his wife or her lover in a fit of anger. The act is sometimes excused as being committed under extenuating circumstances; but very generally tribal law discourages such a lenient view. In most societies in the lowest stages of culture the man who kills his wife or his rival for adultery is exposed to the blood-revenge of their relatives in the same manner as for

[1] Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America*, vol. ii, p. 350.

[2] T. L. Pennell, *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier*, pp. 193 sq.

[3] E. T. Bowdich, *Mission to Ashantee*, p. 252.

homicide on any other ground.[1] In societies with a fairly developed jurisprudence, homicide in cases of adultery is excused in special circumstances only, and when it can clearly be shown to have been an unpremeditated act due to a momentary impulse. Thus in Java, in pre-Islamic times, "a man having received information that his wife had committed adultery was restricted from believing it, even if told so by credible witnesses, unless he found her in the act. He might then deprive her of her life. If, however, she escaped and concealed herself among friends or neighbours, it was not lawful to put her to death, but, on complaint being made by the husband, she was prosecuted and punished according to the circumstances of the case." The penalty was then a small fine.[2] Among the Pasema natives, the seducer of a married woman might be killed by the husband if found within the house, but the husband was not excused for killing him outside the house, even if he found him in the very act.[3] Similarly, according to Burmese law, "if a person who commits adultery with another man's wife is found and caught in the bedroom, he may be elbowed and struck, and if he even dies there is no damage nor crime; on the other hand, if the man, after leaving the bed, arrives near the threshold, there is no right to strike him. If he is elbowed or struck, the striker is liable to pay damages for assault."[4] In Cambodia a husband is excused if he kills his wife's lover when discovered in the act, provided he kills his wife at the same time; if he kills the lover and not the wife, the matter is treated as a case of murder.[5] In Afghanistan a man is excused if he kills his wife's lover when caught 'flagrante delicto'; in any other circumstance the homicide is treated as murder.[6] Among the Arapahos a husband was restricted by tribal law from entering a hut where his wife was in the company of a lover "because he might do them an injury."[7] Among the Bodo and Dhimal, homicide in cases of adultery is not excused or condoned in any circumstances.[8]

[1] Cf. above, p. 110 (Fuegians), p. 123 (Bukat Dayak). See also, A. Skinner, "Notes on the Plains Crees," *The American Anthropologist*, xvi, p. 72.

[2] T. S. Raffles, *The History of Java*, vol. ii, Appendix liii. A similar account is given of the customary law in Sumatra (J. Marsden, *The History of Sumatra*, p. 229).

[3] G. J. Gersen, "Oedang-oedang, of verzameling van voorschriften in de Lematang-Oeloe en Ilir en de Pasemah-landen," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xx, p. 142.

[4] J. Jardine, *Notes on Buddhist Law*, iii, *Marriage*, p. ii.

[5] E. Aymonier, *Le Cambodge*, vol. i, p. 91.

[6] T. L. Penell, *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier*, p. 193.

[7] A. L. Kroeber, "The Arapaho," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, xviii, p. 13.

[8] B. H. Hodgson, "On the Origin, etc., of the Kocch, Bodo, and Dhimal People," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xviii, Part ii, p. 719.

The statement that adultery is, or was at some unspecified former time, punished with death cannot in many cases be accepted without the greatest caution and scepticism. There is not in lower cultures any well-authenticated instance of death being the ordinary legal penalty for adultery, except as an act of despotism on the part of tyrannical autocrats. In societies which have not advanced so far as to delegate judicial authority to a recognised ruler or council, adultery and homicide are regarded as private torts which concern the individuals and the families affected, and they are not punished by collective action. The statement, therefore, can mean nothing more than that homicide under the circumstances is regarded as excusable; but since homicide itself is in those societies a private concern and not an object of tribal legislation, it is difficult to see that the statement means anything. Speaking of the East African Bantu, and in particular of the Akikuyu, Akamba, and Atheraka, of whose juridical views he has made an extremely detailed study, the Hon. C. Dundas says: "I have heard it asserted, and it is an assumption which one is prone to accept, that the law empowered a man to kill another caught in the act of adultery with his wife. I have been assured by all three tribes that this is not the case. It was certainly regarded as a justification which would not lead to continued hostilities, but it did not exempt from compensation. . . . Even defence of a man's life did not exempt him from liability for homicide; I am therefore convinced that the killing of an adulterer was not permitted under any circumstances." As a matter of fact the recognised penalty for adultery is with those tribes a payment of ten goats.[1] So again, the Negritos of the Philippines "continually assert that adultery is punishable by death; but closer questioning usually brought out the fact that the offender could buy off. Only in case he is destitute is it likely to go hard with the offender."[2] Among the Wayao and Mang'anja of Nyasaland the girls are told that if they are unfaithful to their husband he will kill them; but the threat appears to be similar to that by which any prohibition is emphasised with children. It goes, we are assured, "a little beyond the truth."[3] The assertion of a native, when asked what he would do if he found his wife in adultery, that he would kill her paramour, is often but a hyperbolic trope to signify that he would be, or would consider it his duty

[1] C. Dundas, "The Organisation and Law of some Bantu Tribes of East Africa," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlv, p. 274.

[2] W. A. Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, p. 62; cf. p. 61. They similarly assert that theft is punishable by death; "but as a matter of fact it is never done" (*ibid.*, pp. 62 sq.).

[3] D. Macdonald, *Africana*, vol. i, p. 126.

to appear, very angry. Even the Tuareg, whose licentiousness is notorious and among whom adultery is habitual and jealousy said to be unknown, answer, when asked what they would do in case of their wife's adultery, that they would kill the culprits. But when pressed as to whether any instance of such an occurrence is known, they have nothing to say.[1] Western ignorance has long supposed that the Turks, upon whom it has fastened a quite fantastic reputation for fierce jealousy, punish with death the adultery of their wives. But "the old story about the sacks filled with such degenerate beauties being sunk into the river where it is deepest are the illusions of the romanticist." As a matter of fact, adultery among Turkish women, which is nearly as frequent as among Western women, is usually dealt with by the obvious procedure of divorcing the woman and marrying another, and is regarded with the habitual Muslim philosophy.[2] Although bald and quite unintelligible statements that "the penalty for adultery is death" abound, there is a remarkable scarcity of concrete instances. It is perhaps in reference to African peoples that the statement is most frequently met with; but in point of fact adultery is, throughout Africa, most usually compensated for by a fine.[3] "This," says Post, "is the regular penalty for adultery

[1] M. Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar*, p. 19. Cf. the statement of Duveyrier (*Les Touaregs du Nord*, p. 429).

[2] S. S. Cox, *Diversions of a Diplomatist in Turkey*, p. 527. Cf. E. De Amicis, *Constantinople*, p. 234.

[3] E.g., G. MacCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol. vii, p. 434; Id., *Ethnography and Condition of South Africa*, p. 265; D. Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, pp. 230 sq.; A. Kropf, *Das Volk der Xosa Kaffern*, p. 85; J. Maclean, *A Compendium of Kaffir Laws and Customs*, pp. 65 sq.; L. Magyar, *Reisen in Südafrika*, vol. i, p. 414; R. F. Burton, *Zanzibar: City, Island, and Coast*, vol. i, p. 419; H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 412; C. Dundas, "History of Kitui," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xliii, p. 516; K. R. Dundas, "The Wawanga and other Tribes of the Elgon District of British East Africa," *ibid.*, xliii, p. 53; W. E. H. Barrett, "Notes on the Customs and Beliefs of the Wa-Giriama, etc., British East Africa," *ibid.*, xli, pp. 21 sq.; G. Lindblom, *The Akamba*, p. 158; J. Roscoe, *The Bagesu and other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate*, pp. 35, 127; C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 18; J. L. Krapf, *Reisen in Ost-Afrika*, vol. i, p. 414; J. Halkin, *Les Ababua*, p. 525; F. Gaud and C. Overbergh, *Les Mandja*, p. 284; R. Schmitz, *Les Baholoholo*, p. 187; H. H. Johnston, *The River Congo*, p. 404; J. J. Monteiro, *Angola and the River Congo*, vol. i, p. 243; E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, "On the Ethnology of the South-Western Congo State," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii, p. 140; Id., "Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Huana," *ibid.*, xxxvi,p. 287; G. C. Claridge, *Wild Bush Tribes of Tropical Africa*, p. 205; Mgr. Le Roy, "Les Pygmées," *Missions Catholiques*, xxix, p. 258; P. Van Wyng, *Études Bakongo*, p. 218; W. Bosman, "A Description of the Coast of Guinea," in Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, vol. xvi, p. 420; E. Foa, *Le Dahomey*, p. 192; H. Klose, *Togo unter deutscher Flagge*, p. 255; Oertzen, "Die Banaka und Bafuku,"

in every part of Africa." [1] The fine imposed is often quite trifling: it may amount to one goat, or one chicken.[2] Among the Ewe of Togo the usual penalty amounted to two cowry-shells, value sixpence.[3] Adultery is accounted slightly cheaper in Abyssinia; "the utmost extent of reparation to be recovered in a court of justice for the most aggravated case of seduction is but fivepence sterling." [4]

The claim for compensation for breach of established matrimonial rights may easily degenerate into a means of exploitation. "It is covetousness and a spirit of revenge rather than jealousy," says Waitz, "which in such cases impels the negro to prosecute the guilty." [5] Among some tribes it is usual for husband and wife to go halves in the fines obtained for the adultery of the former.[6] Quite commonly husband and wife act in concert in enticing victims into 'adultery,' and in some parts of Africa false and frivolous charges are so often concocted that it is not safe for a man even to brush past a woman lest a suit be brought against him by the husband for 'adultery.' [7] The abuse is particularly

in S. R. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien*, p. 52; F. Mademba, "Die Sausanding Staaten," *ibid.*, p. 90; G. Tellier, "Kreis Kita," *ibid.*, p. 176; J. E. Beverley, "Die Wagogo," *ibid.*, p. 215; C. Wandrer, "Die Khoi-Khoin, oder Naman," *ibid.*, p. 325; L. Marx, "Die Amahlubi," *ibid.*, pp. 357 sq.; F.-J. Clozel and R. Villamur, *Les coutumes indigènes de la Côte d'Ivoire*, pp. 85, 102 sq., 151, 174, 200 sq., 315, 376, 439, 756, 771; T. Brisley, "Some Notes on the Baoule Tribe," *Journal of the African Society*, viii, p. 299; A. ffoulkes, "Fanti Marriage Customs," *ibid.*, p. 47; J. S. Gallieni, *Voyage au Soudan Français et Pays de Ségour*, p. 438. J. Kohler, "Das Banturecht in Ostafrika," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xv, p. 27.

[1] A. H. Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, vol. ii, p. 73.

[2] G. Lindblom, *The Akamba*, p. 158; R. P. Colle, *Les Baluba*, vol. ii, p. 803.

[3] J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, p. 120.

[4] Graham, "Report on the Manners, Customs and Superstitions of the People of Shoa," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xii, Part ii, p. 636.

[5] T. Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, vol. ii, p. 115.

[6] L. Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika*, vol. i, p. 281; C. van Overbergh, *Les Bangala*, p. 380.

[7] E. W. Smith and A. H. Dale, *The Ila-speaking People of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, p. 73; J. Macdonald, "Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religion of South Africa," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix, p. 270; M. M. Lopes, "Usages and Customs of the Natives of Sena," *Journal of the African Society*, vi, p. 382; Gutmann, "Die Stellung der Frau bei der Wadschagga," *Globus*, xcii, p. 32; "Leben in der Faktoreien bei Sherbro," *ibid.*, xlvii, p. 249; P. B. Du Chaillu, *Expeditions and Adventures in Equatorial Africa*, p. 51; M. Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 435; E. Foa, *Le Dahomey*, p. 192; W. Bosman, "A New Description of Guinea," in Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, vol. xvi, p. 420; B. Cruikshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa*, vol. ii, p. 199; A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking People*, p. 286; F.-J. Clozel and R. Villamur, *Les coutumes indigènes de la Côte d'Ivoire*, p. 241; J. S. Gallieni, *Voyage au Soudan Français et Pays de*

common on the Guinea Coast. The husbands "make great gain of their wives, and 'tis with this view that they marry many, who are so faithful that when they have admitted a spark, they immediately acquaint their husbands, who directly fleeces him. Some pretend to be unmarried and so impose on the stranger, who, as soon as the affair is over, is undeceived by the appearance of the husband, in the same manner claiming his wife as the bullies in Europe do."[1] In many cases where such compensation is eagerly sought the transaction is, however, liable to be misconceived when interpreted in the light of European ideas. Among the natives of Great Bassam, for instance, when a woman has yielded to a lover, it is usual for her to go to her husband and make a free confession. He is nowise angry with her, but reports the matter to the chief, and obtains the fine due to him. The people, says Hecquard, do not regard the matter as an exploitation, and maintain that it is nothing but a fair proceeding; the husband, having paid the bride-price for his wife, it is only just, they argue, that he should be in part refunded when anyone else makes use of what he has paid for.[2] Among the Wataveta the husband has not the slightest objection to his wife having as many lovers as she pleases, and the latter make love to her under his very eyes; all that he claims is that the customary fine shall be faithfully paid to him. Wataveta husbands are said to be "affectionate and kindly in their family relations," and to love their wives dearly.[3] Among the Bashamma of Nigeria, although adultery is not common, it is customary to pay the fine in advance; the business details of the transaction being thus disposed of, the co-respondent is then free to commit misconduct.[4] Where legal usage does not favour large damages, the husband often does not trouble to bring legal proceedings against the offender. Thus among the Ibo-speaking peoples, "although Ibo law recognises adultery as an offence which may be punished by a fine, this is in practice rarely exacted."[5] In some parts of the Ivory Coast the matter is usually amicably settled by treating the injured husband to a drink.[6]

Ségour, p. 438; Gillier, "Les Banda," *L'Afrique Francaise*, 1913, Supplement, p. 353.

[1] W. Smith, *A New Voyage to Guinea*, p. 220.

[2] H. Hecquard, *Voyage sur la côte et dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique occidentale*, pp. 68 sq.

[3] H. H. Johnston, *The Kilima-njaro Expedition*, p. 433.

[4] O. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates, and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, p. 52.

[5] N. W. Thomas, *Anthropological Report on the Ibo-speaking People of Nigeria*, Part i, p. 67.

[6] F.-J. Clozel and R. Villamur, *Les coutumes indigènes de la Côte d'Ivoire*, p. 201.

Monetary compensation is held to wipe out entirely the injury done to the husband by the seducer of his wife. Thus among the Patagonians, "from the moment that a husband has received compensation, he is forbidden to make even an allusion to his wife's illicit conduct; he would be liable to be reprimanded by the family if, after such a settlement, he in any way maltreated her on that account." [1]

Other offences on the part of a wife are frequently regarded as being more serious than adultery. Thus, for example, among the Bechuana, if a wife is given to stealing or is suspected of witchcraft, divorce is inevitable and the woman is returned to her family; but if she is guilty of adultery she gets off with a thrashing.[2] Among the Mandja and the Baholoholo, a wife may be divorced for being a bad cook or an inefficient housekeeper, but not for adultery.[3] Among the Todas a woman can be divorced if she is a fool, but not if she commits adultery.[4] Among the Baiswar, a Rajput tribe of the hill country of Mirzapur, "the offence of adultery is dealt with much less severely than that of eating with another caste." The official tribal punishment for adultery consists in reciting a portion of the 'Bhagavata' and in taking a bath in the Ganges.[5]

Tribal law among the most primitive peoples is very far from supporting claims to exclusive possession, or even to the undisputed continuance of a man's possession of a woman. Among the patriarchal Australians a man who has no wife has a recognised right to challenge one who has several, and to compel him, if he can, to surrender one of them.[6] Among the Sakai of Sumatra, if a man elopes with another's wife, and the injured husband can discover the pair, the wife is bound to return to him. But if the eloping pair is not discovered within seven days, they are free to return to the village, and the first husband loses all claim to the woman, who is thenceforward regarded as the legal wife of the seducer.[7] Similarly, among the Gilyak of Sachalin, if a woman absconds with a lover, and the husband does not succeed in bring-

[1] A. Guinnard, *Trois ans d'esclavage chez les Patagons*, p. 128.

[2] W. C. Willoughby, "Notes on the Totemism of the Becwana," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv, p. 307.

[3] F. Gaud and C. van Overbergh, *Les Mandja*, p. 284; R. Schmitz, *Les Baholoholo*, p. 189. Among the Busoga also "bad cooking was a sufficient reason for a man to drive his wife away and send her back to her parents" (J. Roscoe, *The Bagesu and other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate*, p. 112).

[4] W. Francis, *The Nilgiris* (*Madras District Gazetteers*), vol. i, p. 150.

[5] W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, vol. i, p. 127.

[6] See below, p. 268.

[7] M. Moskowski, *Auf neuen Wegen durch Sumatra*, p. 105.

ing her back within a year, his claim to the woman is considered to have lapsed.[1] Again, among the Creek Indians, if a man absconded with his neighbour's wife, the injured husband and his relatives took up arms and set off in pursuit; but if they returned unsuccessful and laid down their arms, they were debarred by tribal law from taking further action in the matter. If the absconding pair stayed away until the annual tribal feast, they might then return in perfect safety, and no one had the right to interfere with them, the woman being regarded as the lawful wife of the co-respondent.[2] Among the Khapariya of North-Western India a wife cannot be divorced for persistent adultery until she has been warned and admonished on three separate occasions,[3] and the same rule is observed by the Bharia of Jubbulpore.[4] Among the Dinka a man is not permitted either to divorce his wife or to claim any compensation for simple adultery.[5] Of several peoples we are told that "adultery is not punishable," or that they have no laws against adultery.[6]

Far from lending any countenance to the moral doctrines of seventeenth-century theology, the usages and juridic customs of uncultured societies appear to be wholly irreconcilable with those theories. Not only do the sentiments and instincts manifested by primitive peoples not constitute, as Dr. Westermarck supposes, a strong argument in support of those moral doctrines, but no facts in the domain of ethnology and social science rule them more definitely out of court. For it is quite impossible to suppose that, had individual possession of females and the claims of masculine jealousy been the chief factors in laying the foundations of human society, indifference to those claims and to flagrant breaches of them should be so general in the lower cultures, where every primal social sentiment of early humanity has struck roots so deep as to be for ever ineradicable. In no instance does there exist evidence in those societies of other than purely animal, undetermined, and

[1] N. Seeland, "Die Ghilyaken," *Russische Revue*, xxi, p. 128.

[2] C. C. Jones, *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, pp. 66 sq.

[3] W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, vol. iii, p. 161.

[4] R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, vol. ii, p. 247.

[5] O'Sullivan, "Dinka Laws and Customs," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xl, p. 188.

[6] W. B. Grubb, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land*, p. 103 (Lenguas); C. C. Jones, *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, p. 68 (Cherokees); J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Marschallinsulaner," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xiv, p. 445 (Marshall Islanders); O. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes*, etc., *of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, pp. 81 (Chamba), 108 (Gade); E. Slosse, "Le chemin-de-fer du Congo," *Le Congo Illustré*, iii, p. 77 (Congo tribes).

undifferentiated sentiments of jealousy that are in no way correlated with claims to exclusive sexual possession of a given individual; and the part played by those animal feelings in primitive, but social, humanity is shown by the evidence of ethnological facts to be far less important than we might otherwise be disposed to assume. Even the savage or barbarian who is in a position to enforce proprietary claims sees generally no objection to waiving them. If personal ownership has been the seed-plot of jealousy, the growth of the sentiment has been surprisingly slow, and the seed has not germinated in that soil until after it has been fertilised by psychological products to which whole ages of human culture have contributed. More, in fact, is implied in the fully developed sentiment, in the exclusiveness of possession to which it lays claim, and in the personal and individual character which differentiates it from the undiscriminating animal instincts of the male, than any established proprietary rights which can be bestowed or protected by the social order.

Sexual Emotion.

The chief element in the connotation of the term 'jealousy' is, with us, precisely that reference to a determinate individual which is lacking in animal jealousy; it is the correlative not of sexual hunger, but of sexual selection and personal preference. The qualities which may determine such an individual selection vary within wide limits, from purely physical characters to the most subtle grounds of mental and spiritual affinity or attraction, and they may also include characters of a quite different order, such as social status and economic desirability. A considerable amount of controversial difference of opinion has existed since the eighteenth century as to the emotional forms which sexual attraction may take in primitive humanity and as to whether savages are capable of romantic passion. Such controversies could scarcely have arisen had the same amount of attention been devoted to elucidating the psychological nature of those emotions and sentiments. The development of that type of traditional sentiment which is spoken of as romantic will be referred to elsewhere, and it will be seen that it is the product of very recent cultural processes. The character of sentiments associated with sexual attraction varies, as already noted, enormously in different countries and different periods. A writer on the subject points out that the type of romantic emotions and sentiments depicted and experienced less than a hundred years ago by Stendhal is extremely rare and almost

impossible at the present day.[1] To many it may seem inconceivable that an order of sentiments which plays so fundamental a part in human life, which overrules and absorbs all others, which to the individual who is under their influence is the all-in-all of existence, sentiments upon which life and death depend, sentiments which spring from the very deepest primal forces and supreme impulses of life, can be subject in any degree to the influences of the cultural environment. That misapprehension arises from overlooking the most fundamental fact in regard to the psychology of those sentiments. They are assuredly, like all strong emotions and feelings, manifestations of primal instincts; they are the manifestations of the strongest primal impulse that actuates life. But the form which they assume in cultured humanity is not due to the direct operation of that impulse and those instincts, but, quite on the contrary, *to their repression.*

The functional biological end of those instincts is in man and woman their satisfaction in the act of reproduction. If that satisfaction is directly achieved without impediment, and there is no repression of those instincts, their unchecked operation must necessarily be entirely confined to that object; the primal instincts cannot in those circumstances affect and actuate other psychic activities, assume other forms, or become 'sublimated.' Such modifications or transformations can arise only from the withholding of functional satisfaction, from repression of the biological impulses. It is from the overwhelming force of those instincts that all forms of sentiments connected with sexual attraction derive their overmastering character; but the form which those manifestations will assume depends upon the nature of the outlet which is afforded to those forces by social and other circumstances. It is precisely because those vital forces are so fundamental and strong, that they are ready to avail themselves of any outlet which is offered, and to assume any form which social environment and cultural heredity may impart. The sexual instincts are the most transformable, the most malleable, the most variable of all instincts, because they are the strongest and invariably potent. Let them but be repressed, let their direct aim be denied them, let the biological outlet be closed, and they will assume unrecognisable forms, from the depths of vice to the highest exaltations of art and of religion. M. Kostyleff sets down the noticeable decay of romantic emotion in the relations between the sexes at the present day, as compared with what appear to us the fulsome sentimental platitudes of, say, the mid-Victorian era, to the greater physical activity of

[1] N. Kostyleff, "Sur la formation du complexus érotique dans le sentiment amoureux," *Revue philosophique*, 1915, p. 176.

contemporary life, and in particular to the development of sport, which serves as an outlet for energy diverted from the sexual channel.[1] But the chief cause appears to lie in reality in the much greater freedom of social intercourse between the sexes. The young man and young woman brought up in close and guarded seclusion from social intercourse with the opposite sex, who never met except under the primmest conventional rules of regulated proprieties, were inevitably foredoomed to fall into the depths, or rise to the heights, of a sentimental emotion which would be a source of merriment to their modern counterparts enjoying daily liberty of free converse and unfettered social intercourse.

In European societies the sexual instincts are repressed and denied their direct outlet at the very time when their operation is most insistent and powerful, and their whole subsequent character is, for the individual, determined, namely, on their first appearance at puberty. They are consequently compelled to find other outlets and assume other forms; that repression results, in European civilisation, in various forms of nervous disturbance, in romantic passion, in religious phenomena, in masturbation, in vice, manifestations which are for the most part unknown in primitive societies where no such repression exists. We are, of course, nowise concerned here with judging whether such effects are desirable or not; they include some of the most deplorable features and some of the highest and most exalted products of our culture. Some of the latter are, however, no less artificial in character for being admirable in our eyes. Dr. Stanley Hall notes that, in looking up the scanty references to romantic love in scientific literature, he finds it almost invariably referred to as a pathological condition. "In six leading contemporary alienists," he says, "I find the following definitions of love as described in novels: 'emotive delusion,' 'fixed-idea,' 'rudimentary paranoia,' 'psychic neurasthenia from emotional obsession,' 'epierotic symptoms of hereditary degeneracy.'"[2] One may disagree with the professional psychologists in viewing all romantic sentiments as pathological, but, without being in any way cynical, it would be a failure to apprehend the most fundamental facts to regard the forms which those sentiments have assumed in European culture as other than products of special social and cultural conditions, and as therefore in a sense artificial and abnormal. The overflowing of the sexual impulses into every channel of psychic activity and the production of the 'emotive delusion,' or 'fixed idea' of the alienist, are the

[1] N. Kostyleff, *loc. cit., et seq.*

[2] G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence and its Psychology*, vol. ii, p. 115.

direct outcome of the damming up of those impulses. Their concentration upon one individual as their object also results from the restrictions imposed upon their operation, and is directly proportional to the measure in which those restrictions operate and are accepted. An individual of the opposite sex becomes the exclusive object of the sexual and mating instincts either because that individual affords the readiest available object of sexual attraction, or because of some particular order of qualities, whether physical, mental, social, or merely opportune ; all other characters, however undesirable, being exalted and adapted by the ' blindness ' of the confined impulses. Apart from the greater discrimination as regards such attractive qualities which results from varied and advanced culture, that culture and the enormous differentiation which goes with it produce a real diversity which does not exist in simpler societies ; the scope of sexual selection is greatly extended, while at the same time its operation is greatly restricted. All those conditions and their accumulated effect depend upon the restrictions and repressions to which the sexual impulses are subject in civilised society. The personal character of sexual attraction is not the cause of monogamic society, but is, on the contrary, its product.

Those conditions are absent in primitive societies. The instincts are unrepressed. If it be, for argument's sake, supposed that primitive man is as susceptible to such sentiments as the most romantic European lover, only the most feeble and rudimentary manifestations of such sentiments could nevertheless be ascribed to him ; for there exist in primitive societies none of the barriers, none of the delays, none of the repressions in regard to the satisfaction of sexual instincts which afford, in cultured societies, an opportunity for their transmutation. There is no process of inhibitional transformation at puberty. The development of aesthetic tastes, the ' sublimations ' by which the repressed instincts are enriched through the play of imagination and all the contributions which it is able to gather from the cultural environment, have no opportunity of transforming those instincts by offering them a vicarious outlet and supplanting the direct form of their operation. That radical difference was expressed long ago by Rousseau more clearly perhaps than by many a more modern writer. " Being confined to the purely physical aspect of love, and fortunate in being ignorant of those preferences which irritate the passions and increase the difficulties in the way of their satisfaction, savage men," he says, " must needs feel less frequently and less powerfully than we do the ardours of temperament ; and consequently disputes amongst them are less frequent and less cruel. Imagination, which plays havoc amongst ourselves, has no power over the mind of the

savage; each awaits peacefully the impulse of nature, yields to it without exercising choice, with more pleasure than fury, and, the need being satisfied, all desire is extinguished."[1] The profound differences which exist in the relations between the sexes in primitive societies and in our own is illustrated by the fact that throughout those societies the kiss is unknown. Were the fact disputable, it would doubtless have been asserted that kissing is part of the nature of man, and that it is impossible to believe that there existed a time when such a spontaneous form of caress was unknown to human beings; for exactly the same forms of reasoning apply here as in regard to the sentiments of sexual love or of jealousy as we know them. The reason why the kiss is unknown to primitive humanity is that preliminaries to sexual relations are unknown.[2] For the same reason the development of emotional tenderness is rendered impossible by the fact that there does not exist in primitive societies any pre-nuptial state corresponding to a period of courtship.[3]

It has been noted as a somewhat remarkable fact that North American Indians, whose eloquence is of a quality that will bear comparison with the oratory of ancient and modern Europe, who possess no mean gifts of poetic imagination embodied in story and song, can offer no specimen of erotic literature. What is regarded as the staple theme of poetry and story is among them con-

[1] J.-J. Rousseau, "Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité parmi les hommes," *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. i, p. 548.

[2] It has sometimes been suggested that the form of salutation known as 'rubbing noses' is equivalent, among savages, to kissing. But those who make the suggestion are probably unacquainted with the procedure. 'Rubbing noses' is a misnomer; the noses are not rubbed, but pressed together at the tip, the performers stooping forward and remaining perfectly motionless for a considerable time. It is done very solemnly, and to be carried out in the best form should be accompanied by the shedding of tears. It has been stated that among Eskimo 'rubbing noses' is a form of affectionate caress; it certainly is nothing of the kind in Polynesia and in Africa, and I should therefore very much doubt that it is different among the Eskimo. 'Rubbing noses' is not a caress, but a salutation, and no sensual idea attaches to the procedure, which is always carried out very solemnly and ceremoniously. The idea underlying it, there can be no doubt, is the establishing of contact. In Polynesia it is resorted to as commonly, and indeed more commonly, between men or between women, than between persons of opposite sex.

[3] E.g., G. T. Basden, *Among the Ibos of Nigeria*, p. 68: "Courtship as such does not exist"; W. Marsden, *The History of Sumatra*, p. 265: "But little apparent courtship precedes marriage"; A. S. Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, p. 179: "Courtships were rare and short when they did occur"; H. Timberlake, *Memoirs*, p. 65: "Courtship and all is concluded in half an hour."

spicuous by its absence; they have no love-songs.[1] The Polynesians, who are described as voluptuous and are a long way from being psychologically primitive, who have a rich and flexible language and a store of imaginative myths and songs, are in the same case. There are a couple of Samoan stories referring to sexual affection, but it is post-nuptial, not pre-nuptial.[2] A well-known Maori tale, the story of Hine-Moa, appears to be a solitary instance of a Polynesian love-story; it contains little that can be interpreted in terms of our notions of romantic love, and would seem to illustrate rather the 'swayamvara' usage of which we find traces among the Maori than romantic attachment.[3] Of the Ababua of the Congo it is noted that they have no love-songs.[4]

Suicide among Primitive Races.

As evidence of the existence of romantic love among primitive races it has been adduced that suicide sometimes takes place when the wishes of a man or woman are thwarted. But suicide for all sorts of absurdly frivolous reasons is exceedingly common among all primitive peoples. The readiness with which savage men, and more especially savage women, kill themselves appears altogether strange to us. The chief reason lies probably in the fact that, while the mind of individualistic civilised man is constantly projected into the future and occupied with schemes, primitive man, like the child, is destitute of foresight and lives almost entirely in the present; hence the impulse of the moment, however trifling in itself the object of it may be, determines action uncounteracted by any far reaching consideration.[5] When taken to task for not administering any correction to their children, the American

[1] F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. v, p. 417; W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Sources of St. Peter's River*, vol. i, p. 134. Cf. A. C. Fletcher, "Indian Songs and Music," *The Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xi, p. 100.

[2] G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 102.

[3] G. Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, pp. 146 sqq.

[4] J. Halkin and E. Viaenne, *Les Ababua*, p. 265.

[5] In a large number of cases of suicide in children, examined by Dr. Durand-Fardel, the motive was that the child had been scolded or punished by parents or teachers (M. Durand Fardel, "Études sur le suicide chez les enfants," *Annales Médico-psychologiques*, 1855, p. 61). From the day's paper on my table, I transcribe the following paragraph: "Shortly after being reproved by his mother for a mischievous prank, John Nicholson, aged 12, was found hanging with a piece of cord tied round his neck, from a bedstead in his parents' house." Another instance I noted lately was of a little girl who drowned herself because she had lost a pair of scissors that had been lent to her by her mother.

Indians told the Jesuit missionaries that, if they were to punish them, the children would in all probability kill themselves.[1] An old Dakota woman committed suicide because her granddaughter had received a thrashing from her father.[2] American squaws, says Lafitau, go and kill themselves if spoken to crossly.[3] In the Trobriand Islands, off New Guinea, a young man has been known to commit suicide because his wife had smoked all his tobacco.[4] A native of the Gilbert Islands hanged himself because he had been scolded by his wife.[5] Among the Banyoro a woman will hang herself if her husband finds fault with the cooking of his dinner.[6] There is in every part of the uncultured world a curious disposition to commit suicide from an idea of the annoyance and trouble which the deed will cause to the survivors. The natives of Savage Island are extremely prone to commit suicide and, "like angry children, they are tempted to avenge themselves by picturing the trouble that they will bring upon the friends who have offended them."[7] Among the North American Indians, says Schoolcraft, "the very frequent suicides committed in consequence of the most trifling disappointments or quarrellings between men and women are not the result of grief, but of savage and unbounded revenge."[8] "Married women often kill themselves by taking poison to revenge themselves of evil treatment received from their husbands by thus casting upon them the reproach of their death."[9] Among the Goajiros, if a man quarrels with his wife, the latter often goes and hangs herself "from a spirit of revenge," for, according to Goajiro custom, the husband is obliged in such a case to pay for her a second time, and the woman thus exults in the trick she is playing on her spouse.[10] Among the negroes of the French Sudan men very commonly commit suicide "to spite their wives."[11] On the Gold Coast the practice is a quite prevalent one and has often been noted. "Should a person commit suicide, and before doing so attribute

[1] *Relations des Jésuites*, 1657, p. 36.

[2] E. D. Neill, "Dacota Land and Dacota Life," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, i, p. 285.

[3] J. F. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. i, p. 603. Cf. G. Mallery, "Pictographs of the North American Indians," *Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 132.

[4] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 238.

[5] A. Krämer, *Hawaii, Ostmikronesien und Samoa*, p. 334.

[6] J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara, or Banyoro*, p. 66.

[7] Basil H. Thomson, *Savage Island*, p. 109. Cf. E. Tregear, in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, ii, p. 14.

[8] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. v, p. 272.

[9] *Relations des Jésuites*, 1657, p. 36.

[10] H. Candelier, *Rio Hacha et les Indiens Goajires*, p. 210.

[11] A. Petit, "Un suicide chez les Noirs," *Revue d' Ethnographie et des Traditions populaires*, i, pp. 113 sq.

the act to the conduct of another person, that other person is required by native law to undergo a like fate. The practice is called 'killing oneself upon the head of another.'" [1] The annoyance which a woman may cause by committing suicide is readily understood when it is noted that among the Bagesu, for instance, "if a wife hanged herself in her house, the husband was accused of being the cause. He was despoiled of all his possessions and his house was broken down." [2] The Tlinkit of Alaska likewise commit suicide in order to expose a person to the revenge of their relatives.[3] The Votyak were in the habit of playing the same trick on those with whom they quarrelled.[4] Often a Chuvash goes and hangs himself over his enemy's front-door.[5] The same mode of venting one's spite is not uncommon in India.[6] Colonel Tod relates how four astute Brahmans committed suicide in order to evade the payment of their taxes; the official who had made the demand was universally looked upon by the population as a murderer.[7] Suicide is often connected with the fundamental belief that the ghost of a deceased person has a great power of plaguing those survivors against whom it has a grudge. In Nukahiva a wife would commit suicide to spite her husband, the ghost of an angry woman being particularly dreaded.[8] In New Zealand "women frequently committed suicide on their inclinations being thwarted or their stubbornness resisted." [9] "No more marked alteration in the habits of the natives has taken place," says Mr. Maning, "than the great decrease of cases of suicide. In the first years of my residence in the country it was of almost daily occurrence. When a man died it was almost a matter of course that his wife, or wives, hung themselves. When the wife died, the man very commonly shot himself. I have known young men, often on the most trifling affront or vexation, shoot themselves; and I was acquainted

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 302. Cf. T. E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*, pp. 256 sq., 259 n.; W. W. Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 554.

[2] J. Roscoe, *The Bagesu and other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate*, p. 41.

[3] A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit Indianer*, p. 222.

[4] M. Buch, "Die Wotjäken," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, xxi, pp. 611 sq.

[5] Lebedew, "Die simbirikischen Tschuwaschen," *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland*, ix, p. 586 n.

[6] R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, vol. ii, p. 259; S. R. C. Temple, "The Folklore in the Legends of the Panjab," *The Indian Antiquary*, xxix, p. 167.

[7] J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han*, vol. i, p. 511.

[8] L. Tautain, "Étude sur la dépopulation de l'archipel des Marquises," *L'Anthropologie*, ix, p. 103.

[9] J. S. Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, vol. i, p. 158.

with a man who, having been for two days plagued with toothache, cut his throat with a very blunt razor without a handle, as a radical cure, which it certainly was. I do not believe that one case of suicide occurs now for twenty when I first came into the country. Indeed, the last case I heard of in a populous district occurred several years ago. A native owed a few shillings, the creditor kept continually asking for it; but the debtor somehow or other never could raise the cash. At last, being out of patience, and not knowing anything of the Insolvent Court, he loaded his gun, went to the creditor's house and called him out. Out came the creditor and his wife. The debtor then placed his gun to his own breast, and, saying 'Here is your payment,' pulled the trigger with his foot and fell dead before them." [1]

It would manifestly be very difficult to infer from acts of suicide so frivolously indulged in the depth or intensity of the sexual attachments in reference to which they may be committed. Mr. Gibbs mentions that among the western tribes of America many instances occur of young women destroying themselves at the death of their lovers; but he is, nevertheless, emphatic in stating that there is usually little real affection.[2] In the numerous suicides of adults of both sexes amongst the Melanesians and Papuans, observes Herr Detzner, "every heroic motive is lacking. The momentary despair caused by the natural or violent death of wife or husband, the complete lack of energy to take up the battle of life singly, alone induce those resourceless people to take the step, and love for the deceased, which in our sense of the word is unknown to them, lends no higher, hallowing significance to the wretched deed." [3] The practice of 'suttee' is, as we have seen, voluntarily and eagerly observed by women in all parts of the world; [4] but it could not be inferred from the suicide of a Chinese, Fijian, or Dahomian wife on the corpse of her part-husband that her attachment was more profound and intense than that of a European widow.

The examples and anecdotes which have been collected by several writers with a view to demonstrating the existence of romantic sentiments among primitive peoples are instructive as showing the opposite of what those writers intend to suggest. Considering the trivial and transient motives which habitually lead to suicide among uncultured races, it would not be surprising to find a large number of such suicides to be caused by the desires

[1] Pakeha Maori (F. E. Maning), *Old New Zealand*, pp. 166 sq.

[2] G. Gibbs, *Tribes of Western Washington and North-Western Oregon*, p. 198.

[3] H. Detzner, *Vier Jahre unter Kannibalen*, p. 198.

[4] See above, vol. i, pp. 329 sq.

of young men and women and their momentary fancy for some person of the opposite sex having been thwarted; the fact, in view of the character of primitive suicides, would prove little or nothing as to the nature of the sentiments involved. Yet there is a remarkable and conspicuous scarcity of such instances, even when the accuracy of the reports ascribing the suicide to disappointed love is accepted without question. Dr. Lasch has collected a considerable number of examples of "suicide from erotic motives among primitive peoples," [1] and Dr. Westermarck has also exercised his industry in the same direction; [2] but by far the larger proportion of such instances, taking them at their face value, have no reference whatever to 'erotic motives.' The majority of suicides from such amatory, as from all causes, occurs in women; and almost invariably the reason mentioned is not that the woman was disappointed from being unable to become united to a lover, but that she revolted against being compelled to marry an old and objectionable suitor.[3] Thus we are told, as an illustration of suicide from 'erotic motives,' that girls in Dahomey commit suicide rather than be put in the harem of the king; [4] that Samoyed girls kill themselves rather than be handed over to an old man.[5] Among the Basutos, it is said, almost the only motive for suicides was the fact of being compelled to enter into a distasteful marriage.[6] Dr. Lindblom tells us that "more than one Kamba girl, sold by an avaricious father to some rich voluptuary, has taken her life by hanging herself with her leather strap"; and he expressly notes that "it is said" that the same thing has happened because of unrequited love, but "this is very rare." [7] In Fiji likewise girls would often kill themselves rather than be handed over to an objectionable and repulsive, but wealthy suitor.[8] The fact that the Badaga girls of the Nilgiri Hills, who enjoy unrestricted sexual freedom both before and after marriage, sometimes poison themselves with opium when betrothed against their will to an

[1] R. Lasch, "Der Selbsmord aus erotischen Motiven bei den primitiven Völkern," *Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft*, ii, pp. 230 sqq.

[2] E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. ii, p. 232; Id., *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. iii, pp. 102 sq.

[3] Cf. S. R. Steinmetz, "Suicide among Primitive Peoples," *The American Anthropologist*, vii, p. 55.

[4] W. Bosman, "A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea," in Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, vol. xvi, p. 480; W. Smith, *A new Voyage to Guinea*, p. 201.

[5] B. von Struve, "Einiges über die Samojeden im Norden von Sibirien," *Das Ausland*, 1880, p. 777.

[6] H. T. Wangemann, *Die Berliner Mission im Bassuto Lande*, p. 41.

[7] G. Lindblom, *The Akamba*, p. 556; cf. p. 78.

[8] C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, vol. iii, p. 97; A. Brewster, *The Hill Tribes of Fiji*, p. 163.

old man, is adduced as evidence of 'erotic motives.'[1] We are, in fact, told that "very little provocation is needed to induce a Badaga woman to destroy herself."[2] Among the Indians of the Izanna River, in Brazil, when a girl was disinclined to marry an old man to whom she had, according to the custom of the country, been allotted in infancy, it was not usually the damsel who committed suicide, but her mother, from shame at the undutiful behaviour of her daughter.[3] Among the Plains Indians girls frequently rebelled against their being handed over to an unacceptable suitor by their parents. "The girl yields and goes to be his slave, or she holds out stoutly, sometimes taking her own life as the alternative."[4] "Not a season passes," says Mrs. Eastman, "but we hear of some Dakota girl who puts an end to her life from the fear of being forced to marry someone she dislikes."[5] A writer in a standard work of reference on ethnology declares that his conviction as to the prevalence of romantic passion among the North American Indians rests upon his having heard that they have a place called 'The Lover's Leap' in America. The name was given by the early colonists to a cliff on the banks of the Mississippi from which the daughter of a chief was said to have thrown herself in the presence of the whole tribe in order to avoid being married to an old man to whom her father was determined to give her. There is no mention in most of the numerous versions of the tale, which dates from European days, of a lover.[6] The evidence afforded by suicide among uncultured peoples is certainly striking: suicide commonly takes place from absurdly trivial motives, yet when it is sought to produce instances of it in illustration of the existence of romantic love passion, the writers who undertake the task are obliged to fall back upon

[1] K. Graul, *Reise nach Ostindien, über Palastina und Egyptien*, vol. iii, p. 290.

[2] J. F. Metz, *The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills, their Social Customs and Religious Notions*, p. 75.

[3] A. Thévet, *La cosmographie universelle*, vol. ii, p. 932.

[4] S. R. Riggs, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Dakotah Language*, p. 206.

[5] M. H. Eastman, *Dacotah, or Life and Legends of the Sioux*, p. 169.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 65 sqq.; H. T. Finck, *Primitive Love and Love Stories*, pp. 605 sq.; G. Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians*, vol. ii, p. 143. Other instances of the suicide of women to escape being married against their will are reported from Chili (C. Ochsenius, *Chile, Land und Leute*, p. 119), from Melanesia (R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 243 sq.), from Arabia (R. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, pp. 156 sq. n.). The latter example takes us considerably beyond the sphere of peoples who may be considered as primitive in this respect; but Dr. Lasch does not stop there in his evidence of romantic love; he adduces the case of Chinese girls who kill themselves rather than be married at all (see below, p. 332).

entirely irrelevant examples. It would be difficult to demonstrate more concretely the rarity of those sentiments in primitive humanity.

As evidence of romantic attachment among uncultured peoples it has been adduced that marriage is sometimes brought about by the elopement of the couple. The term 'elopement' certainly suggests romance, but the associations of the word constitute practically the whole of the connection that may be discovered between the usages to which it is applied in primitive societies and passionate love. Elopements, or abductions, are extremely common among all Australian aboriginal tribes, and are the customary mode of obtaining a wife amongst some, such as the Kurnai; but nothing could well be more opposed to any suggestions of romance than the procedure. In describing it Dr. Howitt thinks it necessary to have recourse, according to Victorian usage, to the decent disguise of Latin. Before bringing home his blushing bride, it was the custom to perform a ceremony in which the companions of the Romeo were the chief actors: "Postridie in loco quodam idoneo, a castris remoto, juvenes delecti a gente ejus abductam seriatim strupraverunt. Postea autem abductoris primi femina omnino habebatur."[1] We shall have to return to the subject of elopement in considering the various means of obtaining wives in patrilocal marriage; when not a mere form, or a means of obtaining better terms in dealing with the relatives of the woman elopements in uncivilised societies are, like suicide, far more often the result of the young woman's dislike for an elderly and repugnant suitor or husband than of personal attachment on her part to any particular youth; and the eloping lover is, as often as not, accepted for the sake of the elopement, rather than the elopement for the sake of the lover.[2]

Primitive Love.

Numerous and emphatic testimonies to the lack of strong sexual attachment among primitive peoples could be cited;[3] but such abstract judgments on psychological states are of little scientific value. The whole of our ethnological information as to the conditions of the relations between the sexes in uncultured

[1] L. Fison and W. H. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 200 sq.

[2] E.g., J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal*, pp. 57 sq.; W. T. Prichard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p. 135; M. Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones*, vol. ii, p. 207; W. H. Brett, *The Indian Tribes of Guiana*, p. 354; H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. iii, p. 238; A. Schreiber, *Die Battas in ihren Verhältnisse zu den Malaien von Sumatra*, p. 37.

[3] See above, vol. i, pp. 125 sqq.

societies, where nothing exists corresponding to the repressions imposed upon these sexual instincts and to the prolonged preliminaries of courtship in civilised societies, renders impossible the attribution to primitive humanity of sentiments developed under those conditions. The utter indifference to the individual attractions of a prospective wife, where the acquisition of such a wife is undertaken irrespectively of any acquaintance, is almost as unintelligible to civilised man, as are the romantic sentiments of the latter to the savage. Relations between the sexes mean, in primitive society, sexual relations; language knows no more disguise in the matter than do feelings and instincts, and even where the force of those instincts is very moderate, the realism of the form which all advances assume is crude.

That in uncultured societies above the lowest levels personal preference and an emotional state analogous to what we term 'falling in love' do occasionally exist among the young people appears probable; but these sentiments, owing to the unfavourable conditions for their development, seem to have no depth and no stability. Thwarting of individual desires, even though it may, like the most frivolous annoyance, occasionally lead to impulsive acts of suicide, appears in general to inflict little disappointment. Speaking of the Sauteux Indians, the trader Peter Grant reports: "They are not insensible to the charms of love, though indeed not so subject to its empire as Europeans are in general. Here the disappointed lover can bear the indifference of his mistress with the calmest fortitude."[1] "They are altogether strangers to the blind fury which we call love," says La Hontan speaking of the Hurons, whom he claimed to know intimately in this respect. "They content themselves with a tender friendship that is not liable to all the extravagances that the passion of love raises in such breasts as harbour it. In a word they live in such tranquillity that one may call their love simple good will. Their friendship is firm, but free from transport."[2] With reference to the Yakut, Miss Czaplicka remarks: "Probably what passes with him as the tender passion as often as not accompanies the marriage arranged by his elders with a young woman of suitable social standing, quite often the only one he has the opportunity of becoming intimate with. And the destined bride, long accustomed to the prospect of marriage with this particular eligible, accepts the situation without question, dresses her furry best, behaves and looks her conventional best, and passes by way of a more or less elaborate ceremony into the state of life that

[1] P. Grant, "The Sauteux Indians," in L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, vol. ii, p. 319.

[2] A. de La Hontan, *New Travels in North America*, vol. ii, p. 38.

convention and her respectable guardians have pleased to call her to." [1]

When we conclude, as both psychological and ethnological facts compel us to do, that sentiments of romantic love play no part in the motives that lead to the association of the sexes in primitive society, that conclusion does not by any means imply that primitive man is incapable of affection or of attachment. The reverse is, on the contrary, the truth. Other things being equal, there is probably a greater disposition to whole-hearted, if perhaps less deep and constant, affection in primitive than in civilised man. The whole structure of primitive human society rests upon such sentiments. "Affection, with the savage," justly remarks Miss Kingsley, "is not so deeply linked with sex; but the love between mother and child, man and man, brother and sister, woman and woman, is deep, pure and true." [2] To any individual whom he has no cause to distrust, whom he feels he can confide in, the savage at once becomes devotedly attached with a child-like, trustful affection. The admixture of such affection with the sexual impulse in man is one of the elements, and certainly the most valuable and the most stable element in sexual love; it is the direct manifestation of transferred maternal instincts, and the true basis of the mating instinct. That affection is entirely distinct from, and has no relation to, erotic sentiment, save by association and artificial combination of the two. Of such affection primitive humanity is eminently capable, and it is with it much more definitely dissociated from sex than is possible amongst ourselves. It has already been noted that children betrothed in infancy and brought up together are commonly bound together by the strongest attachment.[3] But such attachment, dissociated from sexual instincts, is the sequel and not the preliminary to companionship in primitive societies. Not being associated with the repression of sexual instincts, which either are not yet developed or are satisfied as soon as they become urgent, such affectionate attachment does not, as with us, have the opportunity of becoming intimately blended with those instincts; it remains wholly distinct from them—as with those savages who are tenderly affectionate towards their wives and share them with any lover [4] or co-husband. The post-nuptial affection that grows out of companionship and common interests is a different sentiment from sexual love; and thus it is that the sentiment which is "not linked with sex" is quite compatible with complete absence of jealousy,

[1] M. A. Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 103.
[2] M. Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 142.
[3] See above, vol. i, pp. 246 sq.
[4] See above, p. 135.

and that the wife who is dearly loved and " a constant and trusted companion " will be lent to a friend. That affection is a conspicuous feature of polyandrous families ; Tibetan families are noted for the devotion and tenderness which exists between brothers and wives ;[1] and the greatest harmony is apparent in Toda families, between husbands, wives, and other sexual associates.[2] Primitive man is as prone as civilised man to sensual desire ; he is equally capable of tender affection ; what is unknown to him is the intimate combination of the two. Even among Oriental peoples sexual love has an entirely different character from that which it bears in European conceptions. Speaking of the Arabs, an observer so sympathetic as Burckhardt remarks : " The passion of love is indeed much talked about by the inhabitants of towns, but I doubt whether anything is meant by them more than the grossest animal desire." No Arabian love-poetry takes account of any other aspect.[3] Throughout the East sexual attraction is in fact looked upon frankly as purely physical, and no conception appears to exist that it can mean anything else. Its consummation is sexual possession, not continued companionship. Our fiction and our drama, the association of love with marriage, are unintelligible to the Japanese.[4] The synthesis between the sexual instincts and other orders of sentiments has scarcely taken place in any Oriental nation.

Late Marriage.

Although sexual life begins, with savages, incredibly early and boys commonly marry at puberty or shortly after, the resulting associations are, as we have seen, generally of so transient a character as to differ little from those which are casually entered into before formal marriage, and " though legally recognised as marriages, do not endure long enough to be called so." [5] The decay of sexual life takes place correspondingly early, and a man of thirty may be regarded as past his prime. It is usually when the sexual instincts are thus on the wane and in relatively mature years that sexual associations acquire greater stability and that true attachment may manifest itself. In the lower stages of culture, love in its most genuine form is an attribute not of youth, but of age,

[1] S. Turner, *An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo lama*, p. 350.

[2] W. Ross King, " The Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills," *Journal of Anthropology*, 1870–71, p. 32.

[3] J. L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, p. 155.

[4] Cf. Lafcadio Hearn, *Out of the East, Reveries and Studies in New Japan*, pp. 91 sqq.

[5] See above, p. 84.

and is manifested in the affection of an elderly man for an old woman. Concerning the Eskimo, whose rapid succession of transient matrimonial alliances is notorious, we have testimonies to the affection between elderly couples. "Affection comes as a result of living together." [1] "The older they grow, the more they love one another;" [2] and the wife of an old Eskimo may become "the constant and trusted companion of the man." [3] Among the American Indians man and wife grow more affectionate as time goes on and as children increase.[4] The Tocantins of Brazil "accept marriage rather for the sake of freedom than for love"; but "if an Indian does not love his wife, he at least looks upon her as a friendly and useful companion." [5] Young couples, among the Matacos, are constantly changing partners; "the men of more mature years do not divorce their wives so readily, although a caprice is sufficient to lead them to do so without scruple." [6] Among the Ibos of West Africa, though "love usually has no part in native courtship, later a substitute for love may develop, consisting of a certain amount of affection or favour bestowed by the husband on the wife." [7]

Even such unions as are by tribal custom recognised as marriages are quite commonly not entered into by the men until mature age. The individual marriages of the Australian aborigines, concerning which so much zealous controversy has taken place in support of the doctrine of innate mating instincts, are, after all, an institution of advanced life and not the sexual union of active young males; in some districts it is rare to find a married man under forty,[8] and one is scarcely found anywhere under thirty.[9] In the Solomon Islands most men formerly married late in life, and many remained unmarried.[10] In Fiji, youths of princely families contracted

[1] K. Rasmussen, *The People of the Polar North*, p. 65.

[2] J. Crantz, *The History of Greenland*, vol. i, p. 160.

[3] C. F. Hall, *Arctic Researches and Life among the Eskimos*, p. 568. Cf. J. Murdoch, "Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition," *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 413.

[4] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. iii, p. 236; Le Jeune, in *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. xx, p. 210.

[5] I. B. Moura-Para, "Sur le progrès de l'Amazonie," *Verhandlungen des XVI internationales Amerikanisten-Kongress* (Wien, 1908), vol. ii, pp. 546, 547.

[6] A. M. Covado, quoted by S. A. Lafone Quevedo in introduction to J. Pelleschi, *Los Indios Matacos y su Lengua*, p. 38.

[7] G. T. Basden, *Among the Ibos of Nigeria*, p. 68.

[8] E. T. Harman, "Notes on some Habits and Customs of the Natives of the Kimberley District, Western Australia," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Ser. iii, i, p. 71.

[9] See above, vol. i, p. 731.

[10] R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipels*, vol. iii, p. 81.

alliances lasting a few days or weeks which were officially treated as marriages; the common people only married in advanced life.[1] In Futuna and in Hawaii the majority of the people did not marry at all.[2] In New Zealand, according to Mr. Tregear, the men often reached a very mature age before they made up their minds to take a wife.[3] In the central part of Dutch New Guinea the men show no eagerness to marry; they do so only in advanced age.[4] In the Caroline Islands it is not until a man has bidden farewell to youthful passions and is getting well on in years that he bethinks himself of entering the married state.[5] The Mortlock Islanders marry only when age is beginning to make itself felt.[6] The primitive Alfurs of Ceram do not usually marry until they are tired of promiscuous free love.[7] The Pageh Islanders have been instanced as a people who do not marry at all; but that is an error; a man sometimes does marry towards the age of fifty.[8] Such late marriages are common in many other parts of the Malay Archipelago; it is by no means unusual for the bride and bridegroom to be grey-haired, and many men and women remain unmarried.[9] According to an early missionary the natives of Formosa seldom married before the age of fifty.[10] Among the Andamanese, marriages take place as a rule late in life, and marriage at the age of twenty-six is exceptionally early.[11] Among the wild Sifan tribes of Lob-Nor marriage takes place very late, and "is only contemplated by a warrior surfeited with the glory

[1] B. H. Thomson, *The Fijians*, pp. 172 sq.

[2] See above, vol. i, pp. 520 sq.

[3] E. Tregear, *The Maori Race*, p. 284.

[4] M. Moskowski, "Die Völkerstamme am Mamberamo in Holländisch-Neuguinea und auf den vorgelagerten Inseln," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xliii, p. 339. Cf. B. Hagen, *Unter den Papuas*, p. 241.

[5] E. Metzger, "Die Bewohner der Karolinen," *Globus*, xlix, p. 104.

[6] J. Kubary, "Die Bewohner der Mortlock-Inseln," *Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg*, 1878–79, p. 252.

[7] F. J. P. Sachse, *Het eiland Seram en sijne bewoners*, p. 108.

[8] P. A. M. Hinlopen and P. Severin, "Verslag van een enderzoek der Poggi-Eilanden," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, ii, p. 327.

[9] A. L. van Hasselt, *Volkbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra*, p. 290; W. A. van Rees, *De annexatie der Redjang*, p. 93; W. L. De Sturler, *Proeve eener beschrijving van het gebied van Palembang*, pp. 71 sq.; E. A. Francis, *Herinneringen uit den levensloop van een Indisch' Ambtenaar*, vol. i, p. 172; D. W. Horst, "Uit de Lampongs," *De Indische Gids*, ii, vol. i, pp. 978 sq.; J. T. Nieuwenhuisen and H. von Rosenberg, "Verslag omtrent het eiland Nias," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van kunsten en wetenschappen*, xxx, p. 39.

[10] J. W. Davidson, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, p. 15.

[11] M. V. Portman, *A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, vol. i, p. 29.

of martial life." [1] The Burmese do not marry until mature age.[2] Among the Banyang of Upper Burma "the men are said to be very averse to marriage, and have frequently to be taken by force to the bride's house." Marriages take place when some high official visits the district; "this personage orders a couple to be married, and married they are, just as a man might be sworn of the peace. There is no hint of inclination. They are all, as it were, officially gazetted alliances." [3] The Nagas of the Bengal Hills do not marry until they have entirely retired from active pursuits; [4] and the same is true of the Kochs, the Bodo and Dhimal.[5] The Bhotrya do not marry until they have reached advanced years.[6] In fact among all the Dravidian races of northern India the freedom of sexual relations outside marriage enables men, as Mr. Crooke remarks, "to avoid marriage till they are advanced in life and desire to found homes for their old age." [7] Among the Badagas of the Nilgiri Hills the men only settle down to a durable union after age and infirmity have made their mark.[8] The Shirams of the Soliman mountains of Afghanistan are not in the habit of marrying till they have retired from active life.[9] A middle-aged Tungus, on being asked why he had no wife, replied that, having no settled abode of his own, he did not need one, and that, as he had plenty of married friends and relatives, all he required was easily supplied.[10] The Chuvash seldom marry until quite late in life.[11] Among the northern barbarians of Europe "the men did not as a rule marry until they had reached mature age and the restless period of youth had passed." [12]

In Greenland many men do not marry until twenty-seven or twenty-eight.[13] The Lilloet Indians of British Columbia did not marry until the most active period of their life was over; a man

[1] W. J. Reid, "Among the Farthest People," *The Cosmopolitan*, xxviii, p. 451.

[2] Shway Yoe, *The Burman: his Life and Notions*, p. 65.

[3] *Census of India*, 1911, vol. ix, p. 151.

[4] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 41.

[5] H. H. Hodgson, "On the Origin, etc., of the Kocch, Bodo and Dhimal People," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xviii, p. 734.

[6] W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, vol. ii, p. 62.

[7] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. cxcvii.

[8] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes in Southern India*, vol. i, p. 105.

[9] X. Raymond, *Afghanistan*, p. 21.

[10] M. A. Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 106.

[11] W. Kronheim, "Die Tschuwaschern," *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland*, iii, p. 110.

[12] V. Guðmundsson and K. Kålund, "Skandinavische Verhältnisse," in H. Paul, *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, vol. iii, p. 417.

[13] L. Dalager, *Grønlanske Relationer*, p. 67.

often did not take a wife until he was thirty or more.[1] Among the Iroquois, Hurons, Siouan tribes, and the Natchez the usual marriage-age for the men was from twenty-five to thirty,[2] and there were many old bachelors of forty or fifty who only resigned themselves to taking a wife owing to the importunity of the women.[3] Similar habits were general in South America. Thus of the Lules of the Gran Chaco we are told that "they marry when they are very aged ('de mucha edad'), after having lived according to their fancy in freedom, and when they are tired of their wickedness."[4] The Tupis, Timbris, Tocantins never married before twenty-five.[5] The Bororo seldom married before forty.[6] The Guaycurus marry about thirty.[7] Among the Curaja many men put off marriage as long as possible, and elderly bachelors abound.[8] Among the Patagonians the majority of the men remain single.[9]

The Kaffirs of South Africa did not usually marry before the age of thirty or thirty-five, and they had frequently to be pressed by the women or their relatives to enter the married state.[10] Among the Wakamba "young men and women live together promiscuously and lead a life free from all the restraints of marriage until they attain a greater age than is usual for marriage."[11] The Masai and other tribes of East Africa who lead the same life do not contemplate settling down to married life until they are past their prime and their active period is over.[12] The Baronga never marry before the age of twenty-five.[13] The Jarawa, though betrothed in infancy, do not usually claim their wife until they are twenty-five or over.[14] The Tuaregs usually marry late;

[1] J. Teit, *The Lilloet Indians*, p. 266.

[2] L. H. Morgan, *The League of the Ho-de-no-san-nee, or Iroquois*, p. 320; L. A. de La Hontan, *New Voyages to North America*, vol. ii, p. 451; J. A. Dorsey, 'Omaha Sociology,' *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 259; J. D. Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, p. 232; A. S. Le Page Du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, vol. ii, p. 389.

[3] J. A. Dorsey, *loc. cit.*

[4] P. Lozano, *Descripción chorographica del . . . Gran Chaco*, p. 102.

[5] G. F. de P. Ribeiro, "Memoria sobre as nações gentias que presentemente habitam o continente do Maranhão," *Revista Trimensal de Historia e Geographia*, iii, p. 191.

[6] K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, pp. 480 sq.

[7] J. Sánchez Labrador, *El Paraguay Catolico*, vol. ii, p. 26.

[8] F. Krause, *In dem Wildnissen Brasiliens*, p. 324; cf. pp. 160, 190.

[9] A. Guinnard, *Trois ans d'esclavage chez les Patagons*, p. 122.

[10] J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, pp. 47, 52, 55.

[11] J. Roscoe, *Twenty-five Years in East Africa*, p. 30.

[12] A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 302; cf. H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 822.

[13] H. A. Junod, *Les Ba-Ronga*, p. 94.

[14] O. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes, Provinces*, etc., *of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, p. 166.

when they are about forty is the time when men generally begin to think of marriage; but many do not marry at all.[1]

Sexual Selection and Standards of Feminine Beauty.

Nothing could be more opposed to the theory that the institution of marriage arose out of the direct operation of sexual and derivative instincts than the manner in which even such sexual selection as primitive man is able and disposed to exercise is deliberately set aside in regard to the choice of a partner. Such choice is scarcely ever determined by sexual attraction. The Kirghis, remarks Miss Sykes, "are too wise to wed the pretty Kasgari girls, who would be utterly useless and out of their element in an 'akhoi.'" They entirely discard the supposed fascination of the 'strange woman,' and prefer to marry "the weather-beaten and hardy women of the tribe, who are capable and hard workers."[2] In Assam, "the men of these tribes select their wives not for beauty or delicacy, but for their well-developed forms and hard-working qualities—those who can carry heavy loads throughout the day."[3] A Samoyed bridegroom "never cares for beauty."[4] Among the North American Indians "beauty or ugliness in women is said not to be taken into consideration."[5] A Potowatomi chief, when questioned on the subject, replied: "We are not absolutely regardless of beauty, but we think it a trifling advantage compared to goodness, and therefore pay but little attention to it. Some young men are foolish and attend to it, but these are few, and they soon learn to take good wives, without minding their charms."[6] Speaking of the Déné, Father Petitot writes: "They never consider beauty in their marriages, and the goodness of a woman does not consist for them in the purity of the life which she has led before marriage. As long as she is submissive, clever at her work, and laborious, fruitful, plump, and healthy, the rest matters little. A youth or a girl, no matter how ugly they may be, will always find a spouse if they are capable of working and of feeding a

[1] M. Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar*, pp. 9 sq.

[2] E. and P. Sykes, *Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia*, p. 122.

[3] H. H. Godwin-Austen, "On the Stone Monuments of the Khasi Hill Tribe and on some of the Peculiar Rites and Customs of the People," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, i, p. 124.

[4] S. Pallas, *Travels through Siberia and Tartary*, p. 12.

[5] J. Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, p. 242. Cf. H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. v, p. 272.

[6] W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River*, vol. i, p. 230.

family." [1] Hearne speaks of a Canadian chief who was particularly proud of his tall and robust wives; "though they had in general a very masculine appearance, yet he preferred them to those of a more delicate form and moderate stature." [2]

The small part which physical sexual selection by the males plays in primitive societies is shown by the indifference with which feminine attractions are regarded and by the very rudimentary development of conceptions of feminine beauty. The Indian chief mentioned above, questioned as to his notions of the standards of female charm, "seemed not to have made a study of them. Their faces," he said, "might be more or less handsome, but in other respects women were all the same." His further remarks are not reported, as they are said, though this is difficult to believe, to have caused a Canadian trader to blush.[3] Among the Indians of the Pilcomayo, the young men, although they are extremely amatory and spend most of their time in intrigues with the girls, "appear to trouble themselves little about a woman's personal appearance." [4] Aesthetic discrimination as regards female charm is, in the savage, virtually confined to a general preference for youth and plumpness over emaciation and age; but just as he will satisfy his hunger by eating with relish articles that would cause us the utmost disgust, so in his sexual choice he is not repelled by what we should regard as the most revolting ugliness and unattractiveness, and we never hear of a woman being rejected on that account. "From their utter want of love and appreciation of female beauty and charms," says Monteiro, in speaking of the African Bantu, "they are quite satisfied and content with any woman possessing even the greatest amount of the hideous ugliness with which nature has so bountifully supplied them." [5]

Of the natives of the western district of Papua, it is reported that the men "appear to be utterly indifferent to the age or appearance of a woman." [6] In many primitive societies young men habitually marry old women. This, of course, is generally due to the fact that the younger women are bespoken in infancy by the older and more influential men. But there exists no indication that the arrangement is felt to be in any way repugnant to the

[1] E. F. S. Petitot, *Dictionnaire du langage des Déné-Dindjié*, p. xxii. Cf. A. G. Morice, "The Great Déné Race," *Anthropos*, v, p. 971; S. Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort to the Northern Ocean*, pp. 89 sq.

[2] S. Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort to the Northern Ocean*, p. 88.

[3] W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River*, vol. i, p. 230.

[4] E. Nordenskiöld, *Indianerleben*, p. 87.

[5] J. J. Monteiro, *Angola and the River Congo*, vol. i, p. 243.

[6] B. A. Hely, in *Annual Report on New Guinea*, 1892–93, p. 65.

young men. Among the natives of Sunday Island, in Western Australia, the young women, it is said, are utterly neglected, the older women being in every case much more sought after, not only as wives but also as concubines.[1] In some parts of the Solomon Islands the men, we are told, actually prefer an old to a young woman, as being more experienced in every way.[2] Among the Akikuyu young boys are known to assault old and withered hags.[3] Among the Fuegians, according to Captain Bove, "in about half the unions the women are some ten or twelve years older than the men."[4] Among the Mucuri Indians, as among many other South American tribes, "a smart young man never marries a young woman of his own age; for, both being without experience, they would not know the best places for hunting nor where nourishing roots are to be found, and if they married they would run the risk of dying of hunger. A smart young fellow is thus invariably acquired by some old widow, who, however, is rich in experience and knows how to guide her bridegroom to places where they can both make a good living; and a young girl, on the other hand, prefers an old hunter to an experienced youth, however good-looking he may appear."[5] Among the tribes of the Orinoco, likewise, it was usual for the younger men to be married to elderly women, and the arrangement was appreciated on account of the mature experience of the wives.[6] Among the North American Indians of the southern plains "a toothless old woman will take a young boy as her husband. They have great deference for those old hags."[7] So likewise the Indians of Washington Territory generally married old women as their first wives.[8] Among the Iroquois "it often happens that the young warrior at twenty-five was married to a woman of forty"[9] The Greenland Eskimo, when

[1] W. D. Campbell, "An Account of the Aboriginals of Sunday Island, King Sound, Kimberley, Western Australia," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Western Australia*, i, p. 62.

[2] F. Elton, "Notes on the Natives of the Solomon Islands," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvii, p. 93.

[3] Cayzac, "La religion des Kikuyu," *Anthropos*, v, p. 317.

[4] G. Bove, *Patagonia. Terra del Fuoco. Mari Australi*, p. 138. Cf. P. Hyades and J. Deniker, in *Mission scientifique du Cap Horn*, vol. vii, p. 378.

[5] C. B. Ottoni, "Noticia sobre os selvagens do Mucury," *Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasilero*, xxi, p. 215.

[6] J. Gumilla, *El Orinoco ilustrado*, vol. i, pp. 197 sq. Cf. P. Ehrenreich, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, p. 27; F. Krause, *In den Wildnissen Brasiliens*, p. 325; E. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 223.

[7] R. P. L. Hennepin, *Voyage à un très-grand pays dans l'Amérique*, p. 595.

[8] J. G. Swan, *The Northwest Coast; or, Three Years' Residence in Washington Territory*, p. 170.

[9] L. H. Morgan, *League of the Ho-de-no-san-nee, or Iroquois*, p. 260.

mere lads, sometimes marry women old enough to be their mother.[1] Among the Korawa, a wild tribe of Central India, a lad whose moustaches are just beginning to appear often is married to a woman who has long passed the prime of life.[2] The Nuong of Indo-China commonly marry women much older than themselves.[3] In Korea it is considered correct that the bride should be a few years older than her husband.[4] Among the Tungus a couple is not regarded as being well matched unless the woman is at least ten years older than the man.[5] Among the Chuvash young men of eighteen or twenty quite commonly marry women of forty or fifty; this they do from choice, for they say they know much better how to prepare 'jashka' and bake bread than the younger women, and are much better able to advise them in business matters.[6] Among the Votyak it is usual for the wife to be considerably older than the husband.[7]

The question is often raised, how far the standards of feminine beauty differ among uncultured races from our own, and it is alleged that on the whole their tastes in this respect correspond fairly closely to our own. That is very probably true in a general way, for sexual desirability is a biological, not a social character. The difference does not lie so much in the diversity of standards as in the relative indifference of primitive man to such attractions, and, whatever his standards, in his being quite content with their opposites. On the other hand, owing to that very indifference, qualities are sought and admired by him which have a purely utilitarian value, or are gross and coarse to our taste, or utterly repulsive. Women being commonly viewed as useful workers, the nearest approximation to the male type is regarded in Africa as desirable, instead of the accentuation of what we regard as femininity. "All negro races that I know," says Reichard, "account a woman beautiful who is not constricted at the waist, and when her body from the armpits to the hips is about the same breadth—'kama ngasi'—'like a ladder,' says the coast negro." Ears "like an elephant" are also

[1] G. Holm, "Konebaads-Expeditionen til Gronlands Østkyst, 1883–85," *Geografisk Tidskrift*, viii, p. 91.

[2] E. Balfour, "On a Migratory Tribe of Natives in Central India," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xiii, p. 10.

[3] E. Lunet de La Jonquière, *Ethnographie du Tonkin septentrional*, p. 349.

[4] H. S. Saunderson, "Notes on Corea and its People," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv, p. 305.

[5] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 106.

[6] Lebedew, "Die simbirskischen Tschuwaschen," *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland*, ix, p. 585.

[7] M. Buch, "Die Wotjäken," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, xii, p. 513.

admired.[1] A pendulous abdomen is likewise accounted attractive,[2] and an umbilical hernia is reckoned as a specially charming trait.[3]

The chief aesthetic character of feminine perfection upon which men among the uncultured races set a decided value is an abnormal development of adipose tissue. "In several languages of these countries," says Humboldt of the natives of South America, "to express the beauty of a woman they say she is fat."[4] A steatopygious female who, when once seated on the ground, is unable to rise without assistance is generally regarded as the ideal of female beauty. In Nigeria "corpulence and beauty," remarks Mungo Park, "seem to be terms nearly synonymous. A woman of even moderate pretensions must be one who cannot walk without a slave under each arm to support her, and a perfect beauty is a load for a camel."[5] Girls are accordingly in many parts of Africa and elsewhere subjected before marriage to a fattening process which causes them to assume an enormous corpulence. It is indispensable in West Africa for a well-born maiden to pass through the "fattening house" before marriage, and she is severely punished if she does not succeed in consuming the prescribed amount of pultaceous food.[6] In East Africa, likewise, "girls are fattened to a vast bulk by drenches of curds and cream thickened with flour, and are duly disciplined when they refuse."[7] The same practice is followed among the populations

[1] P. Reichard, "Die Wanjamuesi," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, xxiv, p. 252.

[2] A. L. Cureau, *Savage Man in Central Africa*, p. 107.

[3] W. S. and K. R. Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People, The Akikuyu*, p. 190. In many parts of Africa the 'labia minora' are trained to assume an enormous length; these artificial appendages, the so-called 'Hottentot apron,' are greatly admired (A. Merensky, "Die Hottentotten," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 1878, p. 22; R. F. Burton, "Notes on certain matters connected with the Dahomians," *Memoirs read before the Anthropological Society*, i, p. 319; A. Hewan, "On some Customs of the People of Old Calabar," *The Edinburgh Medical Journal*, x, pp. 220 sq.). The same taste is manifested by the Mandan Indians. "Haec deformitas, a viris ipsis, ut dicunt, tractibus saepe repetitis producitur. Faemina hac raritate carens parvi estimata et neglecta est" (Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America*, vol. ii, p. 337). Cf. H. H. Ploss, *Das Kind*, vol. ii, pp. 215 sq., and below, vol. iii, p. 309 n[1].

[4] A. von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent*, vol. i, p. 301.

[5] Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior of Africa*, pp. 137 sq.

[6] G. T. Basden, *Among the Ibos of Nigeria*, p. 73; A. Hewan, "On some Customs of the People of Old Calabar," *The Edinburgh Medical Journal*, x, pp. 220 sq.; W. Allen and T. R. H. Thomson, *A Narrative of the Expedition sent by Her Majesty's Government to the River Niger in 1841*, vol. i, p. 238; L. W. G. Malcolm, "Note on the Seclusion of Girls among the Efik of Old Calabar," *Man*, xxv, p. 113.

[7] R. F. Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*, vol. ii, p. 182;

of the Sudan and Sahara. Among the Tuareg, says Captain Aymard, " the beauty of the girls of good family is promoted from an early age. They are entrusted, when six or seven years old, to energetic slaves, who compel them to swallow several times a day large quantities of milk-foods and flour. In order to escape from that diet, which soon disgusts them, those victims of Tuareg aesthetics yell, weep and implore to be allowed to remain ugly. But neither prayers nor imprecations have any effect upon the pitiless ' duennas,' who persist in fattening them methodically and regularly. The young aspirants to beauty are, moreover, every evening rolled in the sand and vigorously massaged in order to distribute uniformly the acquired fat and to suppress all angles and concavities. Thanks to this regimen and complete idleness they are, towards the age of eighteen, monstrously beautiful. They are then unable to rise or displace themselves without the aid of two vigorous slaves ; and all the warriors vie for their favours." [1] The same process was employed by the Guanches of the Canary Islands.[2] Among the Arabs a double chin, ' gheba,' is accounted one of the ' points ' in a perfectly beautiful woman.[3] Those ideals seem to be general amongst all uncultured races. With the Patagonians corpulence is synonymous with beauty.[4] The Australian aborigines are fascinated by the charms of a very fat woman, no matter how old or ugly she may be.[5] The fattening process which is undergone by young women in Africa is carried out in the same manner for the destined bride of a chief in Polynesia[6] and in New Britain.[7] The Eskimo are no less appreciative of enormous corpulence in a woman.[8] Among the Chukchi [9]

J. Roscoe, *Twenty-five Years in East Africa*, p. 203 ; Id., *The Soul of Central Africa*, p. 64 ; Id., *The Bakitara, or Bayoro*, p. 264 ; J. H. Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, p. 370. See also, T. Hahn, " Die Nama Hottentotten," *Globus*, xii, p. 332 ; D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches*, p. 186.

[1] C. Aymard, *Les Touaregs*, p. 90. Cf. J. Chavanne, *Die Sahara und Sudan*, pp. 340, 454 ; H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, vol. i, p. 298 ; Leo Africanus, " Descrittione del Africa," in G. B. Ramusio, *Navigationi et Viaggi*, vol. i, fol. 6.

[2] A. C. Cook, " The Aborigines of the Canary Islands," *The American Anthropologist*, N.S., ii, p. 479.

[3] Nafzawi, *Le jardin parfumé*, p. 14.

[4] F. P. Moreno, *Viaje á la Patagonia austral*, p. 116.

[5] R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i, p. 79.

[6] W. W. Gill, *Historical Sketches of Savage Life in Polynesia*, p. 11 ; B. H. Thomson, *Savage Island*, p. 203.

[7] A. Baessler, *Südsee Bilder*, p. 99.

[8] E. Bessels, " The Northernmost Inhabitants of the Earth, *The American Naturalist*, xviii, p. 876.

[9] W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, pp. 36 sq.

and the Kirghis Tartars[1] the chief element of female beauty consists in rolls of fat. The Kaffirs of South Africa rationalise their admiration for obesity on utilitarian grounds; they point out that a fat woman stands a much better chance of weathering a season of famine than a lean one.[2] The countless figures of hugely obese women which are found in ancient deposits throughout Mediterranean countries, in pre-dynastic Egypt, in Krete, in Dalmatia, in Malta, Italy, France, Spain, and which include the most ancient specimens of plastic art, show that the same primitive ideal of female beauty obtained amongst the founders of European culture. It has been thought that they indicate the widespread existence in Europe in primitive times of a race akin to the Hottentots and the Bushmen; but since steatopygious women are an artificial product, and admiration for such forms is a universal characteristic of primitive taste, those delineations of the ideals of early Europeans afford no ground for the hypothesis.

Most savages have a preference for what we should regard as one of the most unsightly features in a woman's form, namely, long, hanging breasts, which permit of her suckling the child which she carries on her back by throwing the breast over her shoulder. That feature is accordingly cultivated by savage women by means of manipulations from the earliest puberty and by the use of bands and ropes to compress the base of the breast and elongate it.[3] Firm, upright breasts are strongly objected to, as they are thought to be an indication of sterility.[4]

[1] H. Spencer, *Descriptive Sociology, Asiatic Races*, p. 29.

[2] J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, p. 4.

[3] Alvise da Ca da Mosto, in Ramusio, *Navigationi et viaggi*, vol. ii, fol. 108; T. E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*, p. 267; C. Overbergh, *Les Mayombe*, p. 133; W. Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 74; E. von Weber, *Vier Jahre in Afrika*, vol. i, p. 174, vol. ii, p. 200; C. Delhaise, *Les Warega*, pp. 160 sq.; J. Barrow, *An Account of Travels into the Interior of South Africa*, i, p. 390; H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 399; E. Pechuel-Loesche, "Indiscretes aus Loango," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x, pp. 20 sq.; L. Wolf, "Völkstämme Central-Afrika's," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 1886, p. 730; H. S. Stannus "Notes on some Tribes of British Central Africa," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xl, p. 317; G. Lindblom, *The Akamba*, p. 560; F. de Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale*, p. 124; J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 313; D. de Rienzi, *Océanie*, vol. iii, pp. 313 sq.; O. Iden-Zeller, "Ethnographische Beobachtungen bei den Tschuktschen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xliii, p. 850.

[4] G. Bruel, *L'Afrique Équatoriale française*, p. 187; A. L. Cureau, *Savage Man in Central Africa*, p. 107. The Polynesians are exceptional in admiring firm breasts, and Samoan girls train their breasts upwards (W. Pritchard,

Economic Grounds of Sexual Selection.

The matrimonial alliances of aristocratic and wealthy families in feudal Europe, which were based solely upon considerations of social and economic interest and expediency, those 'mariages de convenance,' in which mutual attraction and even ordinary suitability in regard to age or appearance were excluded as irrelevant, have been regarded as a profanation of marriage, and as trampling upon the motives which should be its foundation. But the same principles that governed those alliances determined the marriages of the even more barbaric heathen predecessors of mediaeval Europeans, and they govern marriage institutions in the most primitive and uncultured societies which we know. The answer of the Australian aborigines to the question why they desire a wife will bear repeating, for the purposes of primitive individual marriage could not be more clearly and accurately stated. "If a native is asked why he is anxious to possess a wife, he invariably answers, 'to fetch me wood and water and prepare my "mudlinna" (food).'"[1] By the Australian black marriage "is regarded chiefly in the light of an association contributing to his wants."[2] The same is true in regard to all uncultured peoples. Among the natives of northern Papua "a woman is acquired in the first place as a worker and only incidentally as a wife."[3] In the island of Rook "interest is the only motive of marriage; the wife hopes that her husband with his hunting and fishing will give her all in abundance; the husband, on the other hand, expects to find everything well prepared when he returns to the hut. If the woman does not know how to provide what pleases his taste he sends her back."[4] In the Pelew Islands "marriage is regarded as a matter of business, love is left to youth."[5] In the Loyalty Islands the choice of a wife is chiefly determined by her skill as a gardener.[6] Among the Ainu of Japan, laziness on the part of the wife and failure to obtain good crops are recognised as just grounds

"Notes on certain Anthropological Matters respecting the South Sea Islanders," *Memoirs read before the Anthropological Society*, i, p. 323), and the Papuans are said to do the same (A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 28).

[1] M. Moorhouse, in *House of Commons Accounts and Papers*, 1844, vol. xxxiv, p. 356. Cf. above, vol. i, p. 731.

[2] W. Westgarth, *Australia Felix*, p. 68.

[3] C. Keysser, in R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, vol. iii, p. 65.

[4] F. A. Monfat, *Dix années en Mélanesie*, p. 265.

[5] J. S. Kubary, *Die socialen Einrichtungen der Pelauer*, p. 54.

[6] E. Hadfield, *Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group*, p. 183.

for divorce.[1] Among the Chins of Upper Burma "the only questions asked by the parents of the young man regarding the girl is as to how thoroughly and quickly she can clean a hill-side of weeds, or how long it takes her to plant a patch of millet."[2] A Singhalese, on being lectured on the sacredness of the marriage tie and the wickedness of divorce, asked what, then, he should do in the event of his marrying a woman and it turned out that she was unskilled in cultivating rice.[3] Among the Dhimal, before marriage is concluded, "the bride must first pass through a period of probation extending often to a year or more, during which time her capabilities as a housewife are supposed to be tested. If she gives satisfaction the bride-price is determined and paid and the marriage formally celebrated."[4] In the Ao tribe of the Naga Hills they have a seemingly strange, but significant courting custom. If a marriage is arranged between a couple, they, before concluding the alliance, start on a trading expedition together for twenty days. If the commercial venture turns out profitable the marriage is proceeded with. Should, however, the balance-sheet at the end of the season not show a satisfactory credit, and the financial results of the provisional partnership not justify its continuance, the match is at once broken off.[5]

With the Eskimo, "in a man's choice of a wife the feelings are not taken into account";[6] he "marries because he requires a woman's help to prepare his skins, make his clothes, and so forth."[7] "The marriage relation was entered upon from reasons of interest or convenience with very little regard for affection as we understand it."[8] Among the North American Indians "industry and capacity for work are above all valued, and next fertility."[9] In Brazil the chief qualities that are valued in a wife are that she should understand gardening and be able to brew good beer.[10] Among the Bantu, observes a writer of great experience,

[1] B. Pilsudski, *Materials for the Study of the Aino Language and Folklore*, p. 283.

[2] C. Morgan Webb, in *Census of India*, 1911, vol. ix, p. 152.

[3] J. Bailey, "An Account of the Wild Tribes of the Veddahs of Ceylon," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, N.S., ii, p. 294.

[4] H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. i, p. 226.

[5] G. M. Godden, "Nágá and other Frontier Tribes of North-East India," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi, p. 176.

[6] K. Rasmussen, *The People of the Polar North*, p. 65.

[7] F. Nansen, *Eskimo Life*, p. 139.

[8] J. Murdoch, "Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition," *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 410.

[9] J. D. Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, p. 242.

[10] A. von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions*, vol. v, p. 549.

the prospective husband, "although, other things being equal, he will choose a good-looking wife in preference to an ugly one, yet is determined in his choice by practical considerations only."[1] Among the natives of the Tanganyika Territory marriage "is regarded entirely as a prosaic and material step in which sentiment can be allowed no part. The dusky youth who has acquired the wherewithal to purchase a wife, or who can prevail upon his parents to give him the necessary bride-price, is keen to resign bachelorhood for the simple reason that marriage is for him the foundation of economic prosperity, not because the comely Hadidja or the buxom Fatuma has aroused in his breast passions which no other maiden has been able to call forth." It is "entirely an economic affair."[2] Among the Banyoro "marriages are seldom, if ever, the outcome of love, but are entered into for utilitarian and economic reasons"; and among the Bahima "there is no question of love."[3] Among the Bagesu "a man seeks to find a woman who is strong and able to work."[4] Among the Akamba, youths, as elsewhere in Africa, have mistresses, and may marry one of them; but "with his practical disposition the native looks carefully to see that he gets an industrious wife. If the one he chooses is lazy, he continues his connection with her as long as it amuses him, but he marries someone else."[5] A Batoro native once surprised a missionary by coming to him and prostrating himself on the ground, pouring forth effusive thanks for the beautiful potatoes, bananas and beans which he had given him. The perplexed clergyman, who had no recollection of ever having supplied the negro with vegetables of any sort, at last discovered that the man's gratitude was occasioned by his having married a girl from the mission, who had turned out to be a most industrious and successful market-gardener.[6]

At the present day economic conditions in Uganda, as in many other parts of Africa, have entirely changed. There is great demand for native labour, and the men earn good wages in factories and on Government contracts. They no longer depend on household production and on the cultivation of the fields by the women. The result is that, although they are much wealthier,

[1] M. Buchner, "Beiträge zur Ethnographie der Bantu," *Das Ausland*, 1883, p. 108. Cf. J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, p. 50.

[2] F. S. Joelson, *The Tanganyika Territory*, pp. 113, 119.

[3] J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Bagesu," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxix, pp. 182 sq. Cf. Id., *Twenty-five Years in East Africa*, pp. 95 sq.

[4] Id., *The Soul of Central Africa*, pp. 89, 185.

[5] G. Lindblom, *The Akamba*, p. 556.

[6] R. B. Fisher, *On the Borders of Pigmy Land*, p. 71.

there is a tendency to avoid marriage, which is becoming so pronounced as to cause serious concern to the missionaries and the authorities. Marriage has fallen into disuse not because the men cannot afford it, but, on the contrary, because they can afford to do without it. The economic motive for individual marriage having disappeared there is no other left; they therefore no longer desire to marry.[1]

[1] A. F. Kitching, *On the Backwaters of the Nile*, p. 146.

CHAPTER XV

THE SELECTION OF A HUSBAND AND THE ACQUISITION OF A WIFE

Marriage Proposals by Women.

WHILE there is in primitive society a striking absence of manifestations of individual choice on the part of the men as regards the women, there is considerable evidence of sexual selection exercised by the women as regards the men. Among many peoples it has been noted that the initiative in individual marriage does not come from the men, but from the women. Thus among the tribes of Queensland, according to Mr. Thorne, "it is never usual, it appears, for the young man to make the first advances to a young woman of his own tribe. The 'gin' has the acknowledged right of showing her partiality for a particular person. We could not learn that the poor fellow has any right to refuse." [1] Much the same thing has been noted by Dr. Howitt as regards the Kurnai at the other extremity of the Australian continent.[2] In the northern Melanesian groups, where, as we have seen, the male despotism which is found in other parts of Melanesia has not become established, the initiative in marriage comes from the young women, and in New Britain, New Hanover, New Ireland it is the women who select their husbands.[3] Throughout southern Papua and in the adjacent islands of Torres Straits it is a rule, to which there appears to be no exceptions, that all advances and propositions of marriage must come from the woman and not from the man. "The girl invariably takes the initiative," [4] and a man never on any account

[1] E. Thorne, *The Queen of the Colonies*, pp. 331 sq.

[2] A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 273.

[3] J. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 177, 267; H. Vogel, *Eine Forschungsreise im Bismarck-Archipel*, p. 223; D. Rannie, "New Ireland," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Queensland Branch of the Geographical Society of Australia*, ii, Part i, pp. 80 sq.

[4] R. E. Guise, "On the Tribe inhabiting the Mouth of the Wanigela River, New Guinea," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii, p. 209. Cf. B. Malinowski, "The Natives of Mailu," *Transactions of the Royal Society*

introduces the subject of marriage.[1] So important, indeed, is the rule among those races that, in Torres Straits, it has acquired the force of a moral law, and forms part of the kind of ethical catechism which is taught to young men at their initiation ceremonies. They are lectured on the impropriety of proposing marriage to a girl.[2] It is the woman who proposes marriage, even when the man has other wives.[3] Nor does this arise from any dissoluteness on the part of the women, for, although sexual relations are unrestricted before marriage, there is no conspicuous laxity in this respect, and a girl is blamed who has many lovers at the same time. Even after a girl had declared her affection "any forward conduct on the part of the young men would have been regarded as bad form." It was considered the right thing not to take any notice of such proposals until they had been several times reiterated, in order that there might be no doubt as to the serious intentions of the young lady.[4]

In Samoa advances might come indifferently, either from the man or from the woman ;[5] while in New Zealand "in almost every case the first advances were made by the woman, either directly or through one of her friends."[6] Of several tribes of the Dayaks of Borneo it has been noted that "curiously among these people it is the women who make the first advances in love and proposals of marriage."[7] Among the Sakai of Perak "the

of South Australia, xxxix, p. 560 ; W. N. Beaver, *Unexplored New Guinea*, pp. 63 sq.

[1] C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 504 ; cf. pp. 76, 502, 708 sq., 737.

[2] A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 211.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 224.

[4] A. C. Haddon, *loc. cit.*, pp. 222, 225. After he had consented to discuss the matter with the girl, the youth required repeated assurances. According to the account of a native, the conversation between them would be somewhat after this fashion : "You like me proper ?" the youth would enquire. "Yes," replied the girl, "I like you with my heart inside. Eye along with my heart see you. You my man." Unwilling to give himself away rashly the young man further asked : "How you like me ?" To which the damsel would answer : "I like your fine leg ; you got fine body, your skin good ; I like you altogether." Finally she would clinch matters by asking him to appoint a day for the marriage.

[5] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 112.

[6] E. Tregear, *The Maori Race*, pp. 285 sq. Cf. E. Best, "Maori Marriage Customs," *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, xxxvi, p. 33 ; W. Colenso, *On the Maori Races of New Zealand*, p. 25.

[7] R. S. Douglas, "An Expedition to the Back Country of Central Borneo," *The Sarawak Museum Journal*, i, No. 2, p. 29 ; C. Hose and W. McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, vol. ii, pp. 176, 246 sq. ; H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, vol. ii, p. cxcvii.

women used to seek their own husbands." [1] Among the Ainu of Yezo it was the rule for women to propose.[2] Among the Nicobarese, again, "it is not for the man to choose his mate and to bring her to his hut, but for the woman to select a companion and to bring him to her home." [3] Among the primitive tribes of Tonkin it is often usual, especially in the case of widows, for the official proposal, which is made through a professional 'go-between,' to come from the woman.[4] Among the Radeh, a primitive people of southern Indo-China, such a procedure is the general rule. The young lady, having cast her eye on a youth who takes her fancy, sends a male friend to his people to enquire whether they are willing to entertain her suit. If the reply is favourable she proceeds to his house, establishes herself there for a period of trial, and endeavours to ingratiate herself with the young man and his parents. She lays herself out to seduce him. Should she succeed, and the results become apparent before the expiration of a year, she is permitted to remove her conquest to her own home without any further formality. Should, however, no signs of pregnancy appear before the expiration of the period, she must pay a bridegroom-price in cloth or in cattle before taking away her chosen husband from his parental home to her own.[5] Among the Kolarian tribes of India, if a girl takes a fancy to a man, it is customary for her to go to his house and sit down there, and no course is then open to her host but to marry her.[6] So also among the Gonds, girls, when they fall in love with a man, go and pour tumeric over him, which is equivalent to putting on a wedding-ring. A married woman who has grown tired of her husband, and fancies another man, will likewise go to him and marry him in the same way.[7] Among the Aryan Hindus themselves, when the families are of equal social rank, it is etiquette that the first advances should be made by the girl's family.[8] Among the Khyang of the

[1] W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, vol. ii, p. 68.

[2] J. Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan*, p. 324.

[3] E. Reclus, *Les Primitifs*, p. 186.

[4] J. Canivey, "Notice sur les moeurs et coutumes des Moï," *Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie*, iv, p. 2; H. Besnard, "Les populations Moï du Darlac," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, vii, p. 74.

[5] A. Lavallie, "Notes ethnographiques sur diverses tribus du sud-est de l'Indo-Chine," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, i, p. 309. The same apparently inverted 'marriage by service' occurs among the Ainu; an Ainu girl who is in love with a young man "may enslave herself to his parents as a price for their son" (J. Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan*, p. 142).

[6] R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, vol. iii, p. 512.

[7] *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 73.

[8] A. K. Forbes, *Râs Mâla: Hindoo Annals of Goozerat*, vol. ii, p. 337.

Chittagong Hills it is customary for young women to take the first steps in any proposal of marriage.[1] Among the Viziris, an Afghan tribe of the Solim mountains, "the women have the right to choose their husbands. A woman who wishes to marry a man who pleases her requests the drum-player of the camp to attach a handkerchief to the cap of the man she loves. He who receives this declaration is compelled to marry her."[2] It is, then, the woman who here 'throws the handkerchief.' Among the Slavs in earlier days the rule appears to have been that women should do the courting. "In Ukraine," says an old writer, "contrary to the custom of all other nations, the husbands do not choose their wives, but are themselves chosen by their future consorts."[3] But much the same custom appears to have prevailed among the ancient Irish.[4]

Among the Kaffirs of South Africa, unless the marriage was formally arranged between the parents' families, it was commonly the woman who proposed marriage, and even insisted on it; and there is every indication that this was the more ancient practice.[5] In Mashonaland, among the Barowsi, it is usual for a girl to go to a man's house and propose marriage to him.[6] Among the Akamba, when direct advances precede the negotiations of marriage, they usually come from the girl.[7] Such arrangements are as a rule concluded at dances, and it is customary for all the eligible bachelors to draw up in a row for inspection by the young women. The latter pick out the men they prefer, who 'fall out' with a gratified grin at the order of the damsels and accompany them.[8] So likewise among the Elgoa it is the recognised etiquette that all advances with a view to marriage must come from the woman, and it would be very bad form for a man to propose.[9] Among the Bantu tribes of British Central Africa and of Uganda, unmarried women and girls commonly take the matter in their own hands.[10]

[1] T. H. Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers therein*, p. 48.

[2] X. Raymond, *Afghanistan*, p. 22.

[3] M. Kovalewski, "Marriage among the early Slavs," *Folk-lore*, i, p. 471.

[4] See below, vol. iii, p. 443.

[5] J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, p. 52; D. Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 213; J. Tyler, *Forty Years among the Zulus*, pp. 200 sq.; A. F. Gardiner, *A Journey to the Zoolu Country*, p. 97; C. Wiese, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Zulu im Norden des Zambesi, namentlich der Angoni," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxii, p. 191.

[6] W. S. Taberer, "Mashonaland Natives," *Journal of the African Society*, iv, p. 314.

[7] C. Dundas, "History of Kitui," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xliii, p. 519.

[8] M. S. Watt, *In the Heart of Savagedom*, p. 240.

[9] W. S. Rainsford, *The Land of the Lion*, p. 333.

[10] H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, pp. 748, 791; C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, pp. 18, 29.

Among the Ngulango of the Ivory Coast "a young man never, either directly or indirectly, asks a girl in marriage"; the unlucky nigger who has not received a proposal of marriage has no other course open to him than to buy himself a slave-girl.[1] Among the Balantes of the French Senegal the women choose their own husbands.[2] In Nigeria, among the Dukawa, the girls scatter flour on the head of the young man of their choice; his father then feels that he is under the obligation to enter into negotiations for their marriage.[3]

Among the North American Indians marriages were, as we have seen, commonly negotiated between the mothers of the respective families; but it was by the girl's mother and not by the man's that the first move was usually made.[4] When any personal inclination entered as a factor in the conclusion of a marriage, the initiative as often as not came from the woman; indeed, a good hunter or warrior need not trouble about the matter, he was sure of getting plenty of proposals. Such overtures are "by no means considered disgraceful, or in the least disadvantageous to the female; on the contrary, should the object of her affections have distinguished himself, especially in battle, she is more esteemed on account of the judgment she displayed in her partiality for a respectable and brave warrior."[5] Among the Pima Indians of Arizona the initial steps in marriage came in the majority of cases from the young women.[6] In British Columbia girls might ask young men in marriage, and the rejection of her suit has sometimes led to the suicide of the damsel.[7] It has likewise been noted among several of the chief races of South America that it is the woman who chooses the man and not the man the woman. This is the rule among the tribes of the Gran Chaco of Paraguay.[8] "There is one thing peculiar in their marriages,"

[1] F.-J. Clozel and R. Villamur, *Les coutumes indigènes de la Côte d'Ivoire*, p. 281.

[2] H. Hecquard, *Voyage sur la côte et dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique occidentale*, p. 126.

[3] O. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, p. 97. Cf. below, p. 206.

[4] J. G. E. Heckewelder, *An Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 161.

[5] J. D. Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, p. 237.

[6] F. Russell, "The Pima Indians," *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 183.

[7] J. Teit, "The Lilloet Indians," *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. ii, p. 268; Id., "Thompson Indians of British Columbia," *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 324; Id., "Indian Tribes of the Interior," in *Canada and its Provinces*, vol. xxi, part i, p. 309.

[8] W. Hermann, "Die ethnographischen Ergebnisse der deutschen Pilcomayo-Expedition," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xl, p. 129; R. Karsten, *ibid.*,

write some early missionaries, "namely, that here the man does not woo the woman, but, on the contrary, the woman the man." [1] Among the Bororo also "the proposal of marriage, as is the case among the Chaco tribes, comes from the woman." [2] Of the Guanas, although we are not expressly told that the women did the proposing, it is said that all arrangements for the marriage are attended to by the bride, who makes the fullest dispositions before setting up an establishment. The damsel pays a visit to the family of her intended and makes very detailed preliminary stipulations. She carefully enquires whether "she will be expected to manufacture her husband's blankets; whether she is to help him, and to what extent, in building the house and cultivating the garden; whether she will have to provide the firewood and cook the food, or only the vegetables; whether her husband will have any other wives, or she other husbands, and, if so, how many; also how many nights she will have to spend with him. She asks, indeed, for explanations concerning the smallest details." [3] Among the Fuegians it is with the woman, and not with the man, that the initiative in the matter of settled cohabitation usually rests.[4]

Those usages are, as we might expect, conspicuously observed in those communities where matriarchal clan organisation and strictly matrilocal marriage have remained most unmodified. The sexual partner in a matriarchal group is admitted at the will of the woman or of the community acting in accordance with her wish. It is the invariable rule among the Pueblo Indians. "The usual order of courtship is reversed; when a girl is disposed to marry she does not wait for a young man to propose to her, but selects one to her liking." [5] The rule has remained in force as a rigorously observed social usage among the kindred native populations of Mexico to the present day; "the custom of the country requires the girl to do all the courting. It is the woman who seeks the man." [6] Among the Malays of the Menangkabau communities,

p. 390; E. Nordenskiöld, *Indianerleben in el Gran Chaco*, p. 88 sq; J. R. Rengger, *Naturgeschichte der Säugethiere von Paraguay*, p. 11.

[1] A. Sepp and A. Behme, "An Account of a Voyage from Spain to Paraguaria," in Churchill, *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. iv, p. 658.

[2] V. Frič and P. Radin, "Contributions to the Study of the Bororo Indians," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi, p. 390.

[3] F. de Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale*, vol. ii, pp. 92 sq.

[4] G. Bove, *Patagonia. Terra del Fuoco. Mari Australi*, p. 132.

[5] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. i, p. 540. Cf. O. Solberg, "Gebräuche der Mittelmesa-Hopi (Moqui) bei Namengebung, Heirat und Tod," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxvii, p. 629; H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. iv, p. 86; F. H. Cushing, "My Adventures in Zuñi," *The Century Magazine*, xxvi, p. 35.

[6] C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, vol. i, pp. 267 sq.

according to the native traditional custom, the woman, or her family, should take the first step in all matrimonial negotiations; while according to Muhammadan custom it is the other way.[1] The usual course is for a family council to be held in the Motherhood of the girl to discuss the choice of a husband. The 'mamaq,' or mother's brother, then proceeds to the house of the favoured man and, as spokesman for the girl's family, formally requests his hand in marriage.[2] Among the Garos of Assam, the woman not only takes the initiative as a matter of course, but it is considered the grossest insult for any man to presume to do so. Should a woman report to her people that a man has been guilty of such offensive rudeness as to make love to her and propose marriage, "it is looked on as an insult to the whole 'Motherhood' to which the girl belongs, a stain only to be obliterated by the blood of pigs and liberal libations of beer at the expense of the 'mahari' to which the man belongs."[3] It appears that in the matriarchal society of ancient Egypt the courting was usually done by the woman. The love-poems and love-letters which we possess are mostly addressed from women to men; the wooers beg for assignations, press their suit in the most direct terms, and formally propose marriage. In fact, Egyptian ladies seem to have regarded it as their privilege to do all the courting.[4]

However opposed such usages may be to our ideas, they are far too general in their distribution to be regarded as exceptions or aberrations. On the contrary, our assumption that the initiative in contracting a matrimonial association must as a matter of course be taken by the man does not appear to hold good in primitive society. Where male domination and a patriarchal social order have become fully established, the men are naturally the chief agents in conducting negotiations with a view to obtaining a wife, and the tendency is for such negotiations to be conducted with little regard for the wishes of the woman, and often for the latter to be treated as a mere chattel. For a woman to make any advances comes also to be regarded as opposed to the conceptions of feminine reserve and modesty which are associated with such an order of society. But those conceptions are not applicable where

[1] C. Th. Couperus, "De instelligen der Maleiers in de Padangsche Bovenlanden," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, iv, p. 16.

[2] J. C. van der Toorn, "Aanteekeningen uit het familienleven bij den Maleier in de Padangsche Bovenlanden," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xxvi, pp. 208 sq.

[3] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 64.

[4] W. Max Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der alten Aegypter*, pp. 8, 40. Cf. above, vol. i, p. 383.

male domination has not become established. It will be noted that in Australia it is from Queensland, where the position of the women is distinctly less debased and oppressed than is the rule with the Australian aborigines, and where matrilocal marriage usages appear to have survived later, that feminine initiative in courting has been reported, as also from the Kurnai tribes, which have preserved a form of marriage organisation between associated tribes more primitive than the marriage-class divisions customary in Australia. So likewise in Melanesia courting by the woman is found in the New Britain and New Ireland groups, as also among the Melanesians of New Guinea, whereas it would be out of the question in the Solomons, in New Caledonia, or in Fiji, where brutal male domination is established. The usage is eminently characteristic of matriarchal societies, and where it is found in a patriarchally organised community is probably a survival from older social habits. It also appears probable that the deference which is often paid to the inclination of the young women, and the recognised right of refusal which they possess in many societies where marriage negotiations are conducted, in other respects, without reference to any initiative on the part of the young people, is a legacy from a time when the woman habitually exercised a recognised right of choice. It would be difficult to conceive such consideration as having arisen in a society where from the first the custom was for marriages to be negotiated without reference to the feelings of the woman. Since we have strong reasons for believing that the matriarchal organisation was once general and the patriarchal order of later development, it would seem probable that the initiative of the women in contracting individual sexual associations was primitively the general rule.

If the conditions of such primitive matriarchal societies and the motives leading to an economic association of sexual partners be rightly considered, it will be seen that the woman is far more interested than is the man in forming such an association. The economic value of a woman's labour is confined to the sphere of the household in which she dwells and works ; it can be taken advantage of by the man only if he removes her to a household of his own. But if all marriage associations were originally matrilocal and a woman never left her group, she would be destitute of economic value to her sexual mate. The product of a man's labour, on the other hand, especially when it chiefly consists of game, can be equally well distributed to his own household group or to that of his sexual mate. In those conditions, therefore, the economic inducement to association between sexual partners operates on the woman alone ; it is she and the group to which she belongs who are the gainers by the accession of a new provider of food and a new protector. As regards the man, economic motives are almost entirely absent

so long as he does not remove the woman to a household of his own. Marriage is primitively an economic association and depends not upon sentimental and sexual impulses. But even so, those economic grounds are the original biological foundation of the sentiments and instincts that lead to sexual partnership and association. It is irrelevant, from a biological point of view, to adduce the 'passive' character of female germ-cells and the 'active' character of male germ-cells in support of a general social law that the male instincts must needs be the more active factor in bringing about mating association. The somewhat fantastic use of biological analogies might be applicable in reference to the sexual instincts of the male, but has no bearing on the mating instincts, which are essentially opposed to them. The relevant biological facts are that wherever, in the animal kingdom, mating takes place and there is a more or less prolonged association of the sexes, it is in relation to the requirements of the female and not in relation to those of the male that such an association invariably takes place. It is the female's economic need which, from the outset, has given rise to that extension of the maternal instincts which constitutes the mating instinct, and which in its higher forms is analogous to the order of human sentiments that is spoken of as sexual love. Thus, whether the motives which lead to the permanent association are economic or sentimental amounts, so far as the female is concerned, to much the same thing; for the sentimental are, in their origin, but a manifestation and expression of the economic motives. And although in the most primitive social phases those sentiments cannot assume the form they have acquired through cultural development in the most civilised races, and appear to be rudimentary, there can be little doubt that it is in the female and not in the male that they have in the first place manifested themselves and developed.

Love of Adornment greater in Primitive Males than in Females.

Darwin's theory of sexual selection, though now generally abandoned as untenable in its original form, rested upon biological facts which everywhere show provisions for the selection of males by the females, not of females by the males. In the animal kingdom it is the male that displays colours and ornaments, and the female is invariably characterised by a dull, sedate, and inconspicuous appearance. Here again the biological relation is reversed in civilised society, while primitive humanity conforms to it. In most primitive societies the biological rule is observed that it is the male who adorns himself, the female remaining inconspicuous; and, what is even more remarkable, the coquetry and love of

adornment which is commonly assumed to be an innate trait of all 'daughters of Eve' appear to be absent or rudimentary in primitive womankind. "Amongst the lower races of savages," observes Mr. Moseley, "decoration follows the law which is almost universal amongst animals. It is the male which is profusely ornamented, whilst the female is deprived of decoration." [1] In Australia, woman "did little to improve her appearance; if her physical aspect was such as to attract admirers she was content." [2] "Adornments," says Mr. Bonwick, "are almost entirely monopolised by the men: females are content with their natural charms." [3] The Australian women "wear their hair much shorter than the men, and as many of them have the most beautiful curly hair imaginable, this is much to be regretted." [4] Throughout Melanesia the same contrast is noticeable. In the Admiralty Islands "decoration is almost entirely confined to the men." [5] The men in that group of islands "are evidently very vain. They decorate themselves in the most elaborate manner. . . . The women, however, have to content themselves with the charms bestowed on them by nature. It is evidently not considered good taste for them to adorn their persons." [6] In New Guinea,[7] in New Caledonia,[8] in New Britain, in New Hanover the same thing is noted. "The men wear more decoration by a long way than the women." [9] The assumption implied in some of those reports that the lack of ornament among the women is a matter of compulsion or of 'good taste' is, it can be definitely shown, destitute of foundation. In the Gambier Islands it was noted by Mr. Beechey that the women not only "have no ornaments of any kind," but that they "appeared quite indifferent to the beads and trinkets which we offered them." [10] Even since the introduction of European clothes and

[1] H. N. Moseley, "On the Inhabitants of the Admiralty Islands," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vi, p. 399.

[2] R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i, p. 275.

[3] J. Bonwick, "The Australian Natives," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xvi, p. 204. Cf. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 572; T. Petrie, *Reminiscences of Early Queensland*, p. 20.

[4] E. Thorne, *The Queen of the Colonies*, p. 314.

[5] H. N. Moseley, *loc. cit.*

[6] H. H. Romilly, *The Western Pacific and New Guinea*, p. 115.

[7] L. M. d'Albertis, *New Guinea*, vol. i, p. 200.

[8] L. Moncelon, "Réponse au questionnaire de la Société," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, Série iii, ix, p. 350.

[9] H. Strauch, "Allgemeine Bemerkungen ethnologisches Inhalts über Neu-Guinea, die Anachoreten-Inseln, Neu-Hannover, Neu-Irland, Neu-Britannien und Bougainville," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, ix, pp. 43, 99.

[10] F. W. Beechey, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Strait*, vol. i, p. 138.

Manchester goods in Polynesia the greater vanity of the men and the comparative indifference of the women to finery is clearly noticeable; the latter are quite content with any loose gown and with untrimmed hats, and show no inclination to imitate European fashions, while the men affect dandified modes and improve on them by sticking feathers in their caps.

Throughout the American continent the same difference is conspicuous. The American squaw is a drab pea-hen by the side of her gorgeously decorated male, decked in all the glory of feathers and war-paint. "It is remarkable," observes Prince Wied, "that the men are far more vain than the women, and the latter are obliged to be greatly inferior to their lords in their attire and ornament."[1] "On religious and festive occasions," says Hunter, "the men generally exercise extraordinary pains and patience in decorating their persons. I have known them to pass a whole day at the toilet and to appear mortified at the necessity which obliged them to leave it before they had satisfactorily completed their dress."[2] On the other hand, "the women, married and single, pay much less attention to personal adornment than the men."[3] It is the women who make all articles of clothing both for themselves and for the men, but "though by no means inattentive to the decoration of their own persons," they "affect to have a still greater degree of pride in attending to the appearance of the men."[4] Yet far from the subdued appearance of the females being the result of any male monopoly of ornamental material, we are told that in some tribes the men are particularly anxious to see that their women are well dressed, and would rather go poorly dressed themselves than let their wives be shabby.[5] Probably such attention on their part is sometimes necessary owing to a tendency in the women to grow careless about such matters, for at times their indifference to their personal appearance amounts to downright sluttishness. "We could not observe without some degree of surprise," says Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in speaking of the Cree women, "the contrast between the neat and decent appearance of the men and the nastiness of the women."[6] When they have no definite object in view uncultured women, even in civilised countries, are far more prone than the men to be utterly careless of their appearance, and savage

[1] Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America*, vol. ii, p. 338.

[2] J. D. Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, p. 335.

[3] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. i, p. 235.

[4] A. Mackenzie, *Voyage from Montreal on the River St. Laurence*, p. xciv.

[5] G. H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America*, p. 51.

[6] A. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

women can be revoltingly filthy and untidy. In the northern territories of America "the women of all these tribes commonly dress in a plainer fashion than the men." [1] "In these lower races," remarks another observer, "there is much more vanity displayed by the masculine element than by the feminine; in other words, I have noticed a greater desire among the young males than among the young women of savage and semi-civilised people to be gaily dressed and look fine." [2] The elaborate dressmaking and embroidery of North American and Aleut women has been already noted; but among the latter it is for the men that the gorgeous robes they manufacture out of the skins of birds are intended; the women themselves dress in plain furs. Yet so little is this an effect of male greed that we are expressly told that "a man will never ask anything of his wife, however much he may desire it." [3] Among the Mosquito Indians "the women are much more simply dressed than the men." [4] With all the tribes of the South American continent "the use of ornaments and trinkets is almost confined to the men." [5] Thus among the Muras the men display a considerable wealth of ornaments, while the women are absolutely naked. The Bororo men are a blaze of red feathers, the women are entirely unadorned.[6] Among the Lenguas of Paraguay "men adorn themselves far more than the women." [7] The Choroti young men spend hours over their toilet before going to a dance, while the young women trust to their natural charms.[8] Among the Fuegians, "the desire for ornaments is perhaps more powerful in the men than in the women." [9] "The women," says another writer, "are not so coquettish as the men." [10] Fuegian men have their hair dressed and brushed by the women.[11] The women also attend to the toilet

[1] F. Whymper, "Russian America, or 'Alaska,' the Natives of the Yukon and Adjacent Country," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, vii, p. 178.

[2] H. W. Elliott, "Report on the Seal Islands of Alaska," *Tenth Census of the United States*, vol. viii, pp. 21 sq. Cf. J. E. Partington, "Extracts from the Diary of Dr. Samwell, Surgeon of the 'Discovery,'" *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, viii, p. 99.

[3] W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 396.

[4] C. N. Bell, "Remarks on the Mosquito Territory," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxxii, p. 257.

[5] A. R. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, p. 493; cf. p. 281.

[6] K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Braziliens*, pp. 471 sqq. Cf. C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, vol. i, p. 597.

[7] W. B. Grubb, *Among an Unknown People in an Unknown Land.*

[8] E. Nordenskiöld, *Indianerleben*, pp. 78 sq.

[9] G. Bove, *Patagonia. Terra del Fuoco. Mari Australi*, p. 129.

[10] C. R. Gallardo, *Los Onas*, p. 148.

[11] G. C. Musters, "On the Races of Patagonia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, i, 197.

of the men among the Andamanese Islanders.[1] The Veddah women are said to be completely indifferent to trinkets, and no interest on their part can be elicited by exhibiting brightly coloured stuffs.[2]

In the Congo " toilet and luxuries of dress are the attribute of the stronger sex, and the costume of the women is generally more simple." [3] In Angola the apparel of the women is far less showy than that of the men, whose vanity is chiefly centred in their dress.[4] The same is true in East Africa.[5] The men affect the most elaborate fashions in hairdressing. The Acholi wear a cone of matted hair, with which are interwoven beads, ostrich and parrot feathers, shells, brass cartridge-cases and pieces of ivory ; while the women simply plait their hair in Sudanese fashion.[6] Among the Dodingo and Tulondo elaborate bowl-shaped headdresses ornamented with shells are worn by the men, while the women's heads are completely shaved.[7] The Mashukulumba have cone-shaped, tapering headdresses which are sometimes a yard long ; the women shave off their hair, and indeed present, before marriage, their future husbands with their own locks to serve as padding for their extravagant coiffures.[8] Among the Niam-Niam it is the women who attend to the hairdressing of the men.[9] The Syrian traveller, Bardesanes noted that among the natives of Central Asia in the neighbourhood of the Greek kingdom of Baktria, the men paid more attention to their appearance than the women. " The Gelan women," he wrote, " neither perfume themselves nor wear dyed garments, but are all barefooted, although the Gelan men adorn themselves with soft clothing and various colours, and wear gold

[1] E. H. Man, " On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii, pp. 9, 114.

[2] B. F. Hartshorne, " The Weddas," *Fortnightly Review*, xix, p. 409.

[3] A. J. Wauters, *L'état indépendant du Congo*, p. 314.

[4] L. Degrandpré, *Voyage à la côte occidentale d'Afrique*, vol. i, pp. 74, 80. Dr. Westermarck, misled by a clerical error in the translation in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, cites Proyart as saying that the women of Loango " have less inclination than the men for glittering ornaments," whereas Proyart happens to say the exact reverse (L. B. Proyart, *Histoire de Loango, Kakongo, et autres royaumes d'Afrique*, p. 110). In many of the old African kingdoms social evolution has progressed so far that the women possess slaves and are under no necessity of labouring. Under those conditions they have no economic value, but only sexual values ; coquetry has developed and the reversal of the primitive relations has already begun to take place.

[5] S. Watt, *In the Heart of Savagedom*, p. 227.

[6] J. F. Cunningham, *Uganda and Its Peoples*, pp. 352, 354.

[7] P. H. G. Powell-Cotton, *In Unknown Africa*, pp. 402 sq., 447 sq.

[8] E. Holub, *Von der Capstadt ins Land der Maschukulunde*, vol. ii, pp. 210 sq.

[9] G. Schweinfurth, *In the Heart of Africa*, vol. ii, p. 28.

ornaments and perfume themselves, and this not from any effeminacy in other respects, for they are brave and very warlike, and much given to hunting." [1]

Women's Choice determined by Economic Considerations.

The considerations which determine primitive woman's choice of her mate are, however, of the same practical nature as those which may influence a man's choice of a wife. Thus of the women among the Sea Dayaks it is said that they "generally regard marriage as a means of obtaining a man to work for them"; and "a woman will often separate from her husband simply because he is lazy." [2] Among the Eskimo a woman "appears to desire a husband who is industrious and a good hunter." [3] "They cling to us," said an Eskimo, "because we give them food and clothing." When a hunter is sick, his wife goes to another.[4] Skill in hunting and prowess in war is amongst all the North American tribes the chief recommendation in a prospective husband. "Natural affection," says the Rev. D. Jones, "seems very small. By women beauty is commonly no motive of marriage; the only inducement seems to be the reward which the man gives her." [5] Among the tribes of Louisiana a woman's "only care is to inform herself whether he who asks her is an able hunter, a good warrior, and an excellent workman." [6] Among the Potowatomies a good hunter "will obtain as many wives as he chooses, because they know he can support them." [7] Among the Hidatsa "parents commonly advise their daughters to marry men who will never leave the lodge unprovided with meat." [8] The advice appears, however, superfluous. The manner in which a Pennsylvanian Indian expressed the motives which influence the choice and attachment of an American Indian woman could not be improved upon for terseness: "Squaw," he said, "loves to eat meat —no husband, no meat—so squaw do everything to please husband

[1] Bardesanes, in Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*, pp. 275 sq.

[2] E. H. Gomes, *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo*, p. 128.

[3] J. Murdoch, "Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition," *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 410.

[4] K. Rasmussen, *The People of the Polar North*, p. 60.

[5] D. Jones, *A Journal of Two Visits made to some Nations of Indians on the West Side of the River Ohio, in the years 1772 and 1773*, p. 75.

[6] *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. lxviii, p. 142.

[7] W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River*, vol. i, p. 229.

[8] W. Matthews, *Ethnology and Philology of the Hidatsa*, p. 52.

—he do same to please her—live happy." [1] "In reality," says Mr. Simson of the Canelos of Ecuador, "there is little romance in the Indian maiden's preference for the greatest hunter: her penchant for him lies in the hard probability that he, above others, will be more likely to provide her with an abundance of animal food." [2] Among the tribes of Brazil,[3] and among the Araucanians,[4] a warrior who has distinguished himself is overwhelmed with offers of marriageable girls. Among the Nilotic negroes "a man with a reputation as a clever hunter can take his pick any day of all the girls in the district," whereas a youth who cannot shoot straight will find difficulty in getting a wife at all.[5] Of several communities it is expressly stated that a marriage lasts only so long as the man continues to supply an adequate amount of game and provisions; as soon as there is in this respect any shortcoming on his part the marriage is held to be dissolved.[6] Georgi says that in the Aleutian Islands the number of a man's wives depended to a large extent upon the season; when game was plentiful a large number of women would collect in the household of a skilful hunter, as game became scarce the man's seraglio would gradually melt away.[7] Much the same thing has been observed among the Chukchi.[8]

Those apparently crude utilitarian and mercenary motives are not, however, so sharply opposed as they might seem to the most tender and romantic attachment, for it is out of the former that all sentiments of admiration for 'manly' qualities have originally developed. In higher stages of culture, where economic pressure is not so great, other characters may operate as attractions on women. Tuareg ladies who, besides owning most of the property, cultivate artistic tastes and are in every way superior in education and refinement to the majority of the wild and rough men of their tribe, are said to show a decided preference for somewhat effeminate

[1] J. G. E. Heckewelder, *An Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 162.

[2] A. Simson, *Travels in the Wilds of Ecuador*, p. 104.

[3] J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil*, vol. i, p. xi.

[4] T. Guevara, "Folklore Araucano," *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, cxxvii, p. 515.

[5] A. L. Kitching, *On the Backwaters of the Nile*, p. 149.

[6] L. H. Morgan, *Houses and House Life of the North American Indians*, p. 65; G. A. Dorsey, *The Mythology of the Wichita*, p. 9; R. H. Lowie and L. Farrand, in *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. i, p. 809 (Tlinkits and other Alaskan Tribes); K. Rasmussen, *The People of the Polar North*, p. 60; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas*, p. 445; A. Merensky, *Beiträge zur Kentniss Süd-Afrikas*, p. 68 (Bushmen); E. H. Gomes, *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo*, p. 128.

[7] J. G. Georgi, *Description de toutes les nations de l'Empire de Russie*, vol. iii, p. 129.

[8] W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 599. Cf. below, p. 272.

men and 'beaux raconteurs' over the rude warriors.[1] But such tastes are not to be found in primitive societies of hunters. There are no improvident and romantic attachments in primitive society; the man who is unqualified as a food-provider and as a defender is thereby barred from all influence on the sympathies of the women, no matter what other attractions he may possess. A youth to whom a young Ottawa girl was deeply attached, as to a companion of childhood, and whom she was about to marry, once remained in his father's hut while a party of an enemy tribe raided the fields; the girl from that moment refused to have anything to do with him and did not allow him to come near her.[2]

No primitive woman will willingly consent to marry a man who has not given proof of his functional fitness to perform his share in the economic division of labour which constitutes the marriage association. To furnish that evidence of qualification is accordingly the first and indispensable condition to entering into that association. In the same manner as the advances of a woman who offers samples of her agricultural or industrial products suggest the overtures of a commercial traveller rather than of a love-sick maiden, so the invariable form of man's courting, in the lower stages of culture, is the presentation of specimens of his efficiency as a hunter, or proofs of his prowess as a warrior. Thus among the Australian aborigines the offer of food to a woman constitutes a proposal of marriage and the acceptance of it seals the contract; among the Kurnai the usual form of marriage proposal on the part of the woman was, "Will you give me some food?"[3] Among the North American Indians, "when a young man wishes to marry a squaw, he sends her a quarter of venison with the message: I can furnish you at all times with the game necessary for your food."[4] Among the Sifans of Chinese Tibet the bridegroom is expected to maintain the whole family of the bride in luxury for a month with an abundant supply of venison.[5] Very similar usages appear to have been at one time customary in Scotland. The Caledonian hero Duchomar approaches the lady of his choice by sending her some venison.[6]

The capacity to provide such samples of the hunter's skill is the indispensable pre-requisite of individual marriage throughout

[1] Aymard, *Les Touaregs*, p. 93.

[2] J. D. Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, p. 384.

[3] L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 207; A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 273.

[4] J. G. E. Heckewelder, *An Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 234.

[5] W. J. Reid, "Among the Farthest People," *The Cosmopolitan*, xxviii, p. 451.

[6] J. Logan, *The Scottish Gael*, vol. ii, p. 358.

primitive society. No youth, in hunting communities, is allowed to contemplate matrimony unless he has at least killed some animal. Among the Bushmen "feats of hunting prowess are usually regarded as of great importance in securing a wife."[1] It was indispensable among the Bushmen of Kalahari that a youth, before he could marry, should have killed some large animal, such as a giraffe or a gnu.[2] Among the Bechuana tribes on the south of the Zambesi the suitor had to kill a rhinoceros before he was eligible.[3] Among the Wapokomo of East Africa a youth, before his suit can be entertained, must have killed a crocodile and presented some of the animal's flesh to the lady.[4] Among the Bororo of Brazil it is necessary to have killed either five peccaries or one jaguar before a man can marry, and if he has killed two jaguars he has a right to two wives.[5] "A father," says an old missionary, speaking of the tribes of La Plata, "never gives his daughter in marriage unless the suitor has given unequivocal proofs of his skill and valour. The aspirant, therefore, goes hunting, kills as much game as possible, brings it to the door of the hut where lives the young woman whom he desires to marry, and retires without saying a word. From the quantity and nature of the game, the parents judge if the man is valorous and whether he deserves to obtain their daughter in marriage."[6] Among the Koyukuhotana of Alaska a youth who has not killed a deer is thought to be incapable of begetting children.[7] Among the Yukaghir the status of marriageableness in a youth is denoted by a word which means 'four-legged-animal-killer.' Mr. Jochelson, being once in a 'yurta' where a number of youths were disporting themselves with some girls, an elderly man entered and, addressing one of the lads, said: "What are you doing running after girls? You have never killed an animal." The reproved young man at once withdrew in confusion.[8]

In warlike tribes it is usually an indispensable condition of marriage that a man should have given proof of his value as a defender by killing an enemy. Thus among some Yoruba tribes of West Africa a youth is not considered eligible unless he has

[1] S. S. Dorman, "The Tati Bushmen," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlvii, p. 47.

[2] S. Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, p. 105.

[3] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches*, p. 147.

[4] J. W. Gregory, *The Great Rift Valley*, p. 343.

[5] V. Frič and P. Radin, "Contributions to the Study of the Bororo Indians," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv, p. 390.

[6] Father Cat, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. ix, p. 364.

[7] W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 196.

[8] W. Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirised Tungus*, p. 63.

killed a man.[1] In Nubia, in the mountains of Jebel Nyima, until quite recently no girl would consent to marry a man until he had killed someone. "Whether the killing was done in fair fight or in the form of a murder did not matter." The rules of hospitality were very strictly and conscientiously observed, but a guest, after he had left the house, was often waylaid and his throat cut, thus enabling his host to enter as a fully qualified murderer the honourable state of matrimony.[2] Among the wild tribes of Formosa a man was not allowed to marry until he had murdered a Chinaman.[3] Among the Dayaks of Borneo and in New Guinea the practice of bringing home the heads of slain enemies is said to have had its origin in the demand of the women for such proofs of valour.[4] Of the Dayaks of the west coast of Borneo Heer Francis writes: "He who succeeded in bringing back a head, no matter how obtained, was immediately received as a distinguished member of the community and had a free choice of all the girls of his village; the maidens vied for his favour, that they might become the mothers of a race of heroes."[5] With them, as also with the Alfurs of Ceram, of Minahassa, and of Sumatra, marriage was not possible unless such a trophy was forthcoming.[6] The same

[1] M. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 532.

[2] J. W. Sager, "Notes on the History, Religion and Customs of the Nuba," *Sudan Notes and Records*, v, p. 155.

[3] G. L. Mackay, "Unter den Aboriginalstämmen Formosas," *Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft (für Thuringen) zu Iena*, xv, p. 6. Cf. W. Joest, "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Eingeborenen der Inseln Formosa und Aram," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 1882, p. 61; J. W. Davidson, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, p. 566.

[4] C. Bock, *The Head-Hunters of Borneo*, pp. 216, 221; C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, vol. v, p. 363; W. N. Beaver, *Unexplored New Guinea*, p. 173; A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 222.

[5] E. A. Francis, "Westkust van Borneo," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, iv, Part ii, pp. 10 sq.

[6] M. T. H. Perelaer, *Ethnographische beschrijving der Dajaks*, pp. 48, 171; C. Bock, *loc. cit.*; Id., "En reis in Oost- en Zuid-Borneo, pp. 92, 97; S. W. Tromp, "Een reis naar de bovenlanden van Koetei," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xxxii, p. 295; H. von Dewall, "Aanteekenigen omtrent de nordoostkust van Borneo," *ibid.*, iv, p. 450; A. van Ekris, "Iets over Ceram en de Alfoeren," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Nieuwe Volgreeks), i, p. 82; N. Graafland, *De Minahassa*, vol. i, p. 317; P. J. Veth, "Het landschap Aboeng en de Aboengers op Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Kon. Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, iii, pp. 45 sq.; C. M. Pleyte, "De geographische verbreiding van het koppensnellen in der Oost Indischen Archipel," *ibid.*, 2 Ser., viii, pp. 908 sqq. Exception has been taken by some writers to the statement as being too absolute, although they admit that it would be exce dingly difficult for a man to obtain a wife unless he were provided with the required trophy (C. A. L. M. Schwaner, *Borneo*, vol. i, p. 191; S. Muller, *Reizen en onderzoe-*

gruesome token of man's capacity as a warrior was also required among the Gaddanes of Luzon.[1] So likewise among the Naga tribes of Assam no man could enter into the state of matrimony unless he had obtained a scalp or a human skull, and had been horribly tatued all over the face as a certificate of his having fulfilled that matrimonial requirement.[2] The Guaycurus and some tribes of the Amazon had likewise to bring the heads of their slain enemies to their women.[3] Marriage amongst the Botocudos " is possible only after they have given proof of their courage in war or have brought back a prisoner." [4]

kingen in dem Indischen Archipel, vol. i, p. 253; F. J. P. Sachse, *Het eiland Seram en zijne bewoners*, p. 109). But it appears that the condition was originally absolutely indispensable; the practice of head-hunting has, of course, been largely put down by the Dutch authorities (cf. P. J. Veth, *Borneo's Wester-afdeeling*, vol. ii, pp. 277 sq.).

[1] C. Worcester, " The Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon," *The Philippine Journal of Science*, i, p. 439.

[2] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 39 sq. Cf. T. C. Hodson, " Head-hunting among the Hill Tribes of Assam," *Folk-lore*, xx, p. 141.

[3] P. Lozano, *Descripción chorographica del Gran Chaco*, p. 71; F. W. Up de Graff, *Head-Hunters of the Amazon*, pp. 258 sqq. The genital organs of the slain are also a common form of trophy. It was much valued by the Guatemalans (D. G. Brinton, *Nagualism*, p. 35). The Abyssinian, Gallas, and all neighbouring Hamitic peoples cut off the genital organs of their slain enemies (T. Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, vol. ii, pp. 502, 515; C. E. Y. Rochet d'Hézicourt, *Voyage sur la côte orientale de la Mer Rouge, dans le pays d'Adel et le royaume de Choa*, pp. 241, 245, 313; J. Bruce, *Travels to discover the Sources of the Nile*, vol. iii, p. 346; G. A. Haggenmacher, " Reise im Somali-lande," *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, x (1876), *Erganzungsheft*, No. 47, p. 29; A. E. Brehm, *Reiseskizzen aus Nord-ostlichen Afrika*, vol. ii, p. 234; Aboulfeda, *Géographie*, tr. Reinaud, vol. i, p. 210; Ibn Batuta, *Travels*, tr. S. Lee, p. 17; Adja Ibn al-Hind, *Les merveilles de l'Inde*, tr. L. M. Levic, pp. 97 sq.). According to Krapf such a trophy was " a necessary requirement " before a man could marry (J. L. Krapf, *Reise in Ost-Afrika*, vol. i, p. 274). The same usage is said to have obtained among all Kaffir tribes (J.-N. Demeunier, *L'esprit des usages et des coutumes des différents peuples*, vol. ii, p. 47). It was also in favour in Polynesia, in the Solomon Islands, and in Papua (T. Waitz-Gerland, *op. cit.*, vol. vi, pp. 576, 648; G. Landtman, " The Magic of the Kiwai Papuans in Warfare," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlvi, p. 324). It obtained amongst the ancient Egyptians (F. Cailliaud, *Voyage à Meroë, au Fleuve Blanc, au-delà de Fazoql*, etc., vol. iii, p. 32; J. Braun, *Naturgeschichte der Sage*, vol. i, p. 49); and appears to have been in vogue amongst the Hebrews (*I Samuel*, xviii. 25–27; *II Samuel*, iii. 14). The fashion was by no means unknown in Europe. After the massacre of the French during the famous ' vespers,' the Sicilians cut off the private parts of the hated strangers, and sent a whole shipload of those tokens to France (F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 94). The custom was practised by the Welsh (Gualterius Mapes, *Nugae Curalium*, p. 79).

[4] J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil*, vol. i, p. xi.

Tests of Endurance at Initiation and Marriage Ceremonies.

In nearly all primitive and uncivilised communities it is indispensable, before a youth can contemplate marriage, that he should take part in certain rites or ceremonies to which the utmost importance is attached by primitive peoples, and which are generally referred to as 'rites of initiation,' 'manhood,' or 'puberty' ceremonies. Those rites vary in many respects in different parts of the world, and generally contain elements of a magical or quasi-religious character which have reference to various primitive ideas and theories. But, whatever those features, ceremonies of initiation agree substantially in one respect: the candidates are subjected to more or less severe trials and ordeals in which their valour and powers of endurance are tested, and the opportunity is afforded to judge of their qualifications for taking part in the arduous duties of hunters and warriors.

Those tests are commonly of the utmost severity. Thus in the Pueblo tribes the young candidates were repeatedly flagellated with bundles of 'yucca,' or 'Spanish bayonet,' and their flesh was lacerated by the spines of the plant as they passed before a row of 'godfathers' who struck them relentlessly. "The severity of the pain inflicted by the 'yucca' switches in this ceremony is at times such as to force tears from the eyes of the little ones, but a boy over the age of five or six rarely flinches under the ordeal."[1] Flagellation with spines of 'yucca' is similarly undergone by young Navahos,[2] and by the Alibamu and other tribes of the 'Gulf Nations' at their initiation.[3] The Tlinkit of Alaska had likewise to undergo severe flagellations before being admitted to the status of manhood.[4] Among the tribes of British Columbia the young candidates for the status of warriors underwent the most severe tests of endurance. They ran long distances over rough ground until their feet bled; they dug large pits in order to test the strength of their arms; they cut one another's chests, arms, and legs with knives; and they had the tips of their fingers slit open. Dry fir-needles were placed on their hands, their arms and

[1] M. E. Stevenson, "The Religious Life of the Zuñi Child," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 551. Cf. J. W. Fewkes, "The Group of Tusayan Ceremonial called Katcina," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 284 (Hopis).

[2] J. Stevenson, "Ceremonial of Hasjelti Dailjis, and Mythical Sand Paintings of the Navajo Indians," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 266.

[3] J. R. Swanton, in *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. ii, p. 145.

[4] A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 251.

legs, and their chest, set alight and allowed to burn until only the ashes remained. "Anyone who could not endure the pain was ridiculed, and told that he could never be a warrior."[1] The refinements of torture practised as tests of endurance by all candidates to distinction as warriors among the tribes of the Plains, the Arapahos, Cheyennes, Crees, the Omahas, Pawnees, Shoshones, Mandans, surpassed in ingenuity and atrocity anything ever devised by Spanish Inquisitors, and would be almost incredible were the details not amply attested. After having been reduced to a state of emaciation by four days' complete fast and abstinence from all drink, the young fellows in batches of eight or ten had the skin and muscles of their shoulders or breast transfixed with scalping knives jagged to a saw-edge in order to render the operation more painful; wooden skewers were then inserted through the wounds and ropes fastened to them, and the candidates were hoisted by those ropes to the ceiling of the lodge. Other skewers were similarly inserted in their arms and legs, and shields, buffalo-skulls and other weights were suspended to them. The victims were then twisted round and round so as to wind the ropes and cause them to whirl rapidly as the ropes untwisted. This was but the first part of the ordeal. As soon as they had sufficiently recovered they ran races before the assembled tribe, dragging after them heavy weights fastened by skewers to their bodies. All this was borne without showing any sign of pain, and the judges narrowly scrutinised the countenances of the victims in order to detect any expression of distress; but the young fanatics would smile when their eyes met those of their tormentors, and they frequently devised of their own accord fresh refinements of torture. They would hold out their left hand and ask to have the little finger chopped off. A young warrior was once seen who, not satisfied with the ordeals imposed upon him, tied a thirsty horse to the skewers passed through his muscles, led him to the water, at the same time restraining him from drinking, and brought him back to the camp in triumph amid the enthusiasm and admiration of the people.[2] The Cheyennes walked over hot stones.[3]

The famous 'huskanaw' ordeal to which the boys were subjected at puberty among the tribes of Virginia, and of which the chief feature was the administration of toxic decoctions of pellitory

[1] J. Teit, "The Lilloet Indians," *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. ii, pp. 266 sq.

[2] G. Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners and Customs of the North American Indians*, vol. i, pp. 169 sqq.; G. A. Dorsey, *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. ii, pp. 649 sq.; J. R. Swanton, *ibid.*, p. 146.

[3] J. R. Swanton, *loc. cit.*

bark and other narcotics, was, like some other rites of initiation, calculated to promote the subjection of the youths to the authority and power of the old men; but besides that function it was declared that the test "hardens them ever after to the fatigues of war, hunting, and all manner of hardship which their way of living exposes them to." [1] Among the Chitimacha Indians of the lower Mississippi, boys at their puberty ceremonies were dressed in all their war-paint and danced round a fire in their temple, fasting all the time and abstaining from drinking a drop of water, until they one after another fell down exhausted. Dr. Gatschet was informed that the ceremony "had not the purpose of imparting to them certain mysteries concerning their main deity, the Noon-Day Sun, but simply aimed at making them insensible to the pangs of hunger and thirst." [2] The Smoos of the Mosquito Coast, "although they do not undergo to the same extent those voluntary trials of endurance which the North American Indians are said to be so fond of indulging in, yet practise something of the same sort at their drinking bouts. As soon as they have got excited the young men assemble together to dispute which is the strongest and most worthy of the attention of the fair sex. Strange to say, instead of settling the question by contending one with the other, it seems more congenial to their nature to do so by trying which can endure the most from his antagonist. For this purpose the sufferer stands as an English boy does at leap-frog, and the executioner strikes his back as hard as he can with his clenched or open hand, or the point of the elbow, and to endure this without a groan is the pinnacle of their aspirations. Death sometimes occurs from the effects of it. Unlike what is usually the case with other men in similar contentions, these retire from the inspiring presence of the admiring fair, and report only conveys the deeds of the brave." [3]

Among the Carib races of South America the large and ferocious ants of that country are often employed to test the powers of endurance of candidates for matrimony. Thus among the Macusi of Guiana, besides undergoing a thorough flagellation and having deep wounds inflicted on their persons with tusks of wild boar and toucan bills, the young men have receptacles containing ants applied to various parts of their body, or are sown up in a hammock filled with those insects. If the candidate utters a cry as he is being viciously bitten, he is not permitted to marry. In addition

[1] J. Lawson, *History of Carolina*, p. 382.

[2] J. R. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley* (*Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 43), pp. 352 sq.

[3] C. N. Bell, "Remarks on the Mosquito Territory," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxxii, p. 255.

he must clear a space of forest, and bring as much game and fish as possible to show that he is able to support a family.[1] Among the Capiekran Indians of Maranhão the ant-test was applied immediately before the conclusion of a marriage. The insects were specially collected for the purpose and kept for some time without food in a gourd, so as to render them fierce with hunger. The bridegroom was required to take a handful of them in the presence of his intended bride, and to hold them in his hand for some time; if he succeeded in suppressing all signs of the horrible pain he felt, he was pronounced worthy of being married.[2] Among the Ticuna Indians the neophyte must immerse his arm in a basket full of ants, and hold it there for several minutes. The suffering is such that many drop down unconscious, and not a few die from the results of the inflammation produced. As soon as the test is successfully passed the women bestow every kindness and care on the youth, dress his arm with balms and nurse him.[3] The Manhes had the same ant-test at their puberty ceremonies; after passing the test they were admitted to a competition in archery.[4] Flagellations are employed among several tribes of the Amazon to celebrate the entrance of youths into the status of manhood.[5] A peculiar trial to which the Mura lads were subjected was that they were compelled to drink an enormous quantity of fermented liquor; the women, then, went round and administered to them voluminous enemas until their intestines were so distended that the skin of their abdomens was as tight as a drum. They had then to perform violent exercises. Many succumb to the test, and are said to burst like a shell in the middle of the assembly.[6]

In Africa, among the Kaffirs and Bechuanas, manhood-ceremonies, or 'Boguera,' entail the severest tests and ordeals. The youths are secluded at some distance from the kraals for six or eight months; they are prevented from sleeping at night, and are compelled to take the most violent exercise, running and dancing till they drop with exhaustion. They are scourged frequently and mercilessly until blood spouts from them, and the deep marks remain on their bodies all their lives. In the old days many of

[1] F. Appun, "Die Getränke der Indianer Guyanas," *Globus*, xviii, p. 301; E. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 221.

[2] E. Ignace, "Les Capiekrans," *Anthropos*, v, p. 477.

[3] F. de Castelnau, *Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud*, vol. v, p. 46.

[4] C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, vol. i, pp. 403 sq.

[5] C. R. Markham, "A List of the Tribes of the Valley of the Amazon," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv, pp. 264, 270, 280.

[6] P. Marcoy, *Voyage à travers l'Amérique du Sud, de l'Océan Pacifique à l'Océan Atlantique*, vol. ii, p. 398.

the boys died under the discipline, but they made it a point of honour to affect absolute impassibility. "Few Europeans would survive the initiation." They are given only the entrails of animals to eat. If under the sting of hunger they desire any meat they have to procure it by stealing. As they are painted white with pipeclay, and the people at the time of the ceremonies are on the lookout for the 'white boys,' it is by no means an easy matter to carry out a successful larceny from the larders of the kraal. Should a thief be discovered, he is beaten unmercifully for his clumsiness. Should, however, a burglary operation be successfully achieved without detection, the boys are commended and praised.[1] Among the Akikuyu "a man who has not been through initiation will not steal, seemingly because he is too unversed in such matters to have a right to steal, even from a thief's point of view."[2] Similarly, among the Beria, a caste of vagabonds in Central India, when a match is proposed the expectant bridegroom is asked how many thefts he has committed without detection, and if his performance has been inadequate they refuse to give him the girl on the ground that he will be unable to support a wife.[3]

The young Spartans, it will be remembered, were at the time of their manhood ordeals treated in exactly the same manner as the African youths.[4] They were, says Ottfried Müller, "forced to obtain their daily nourishment by stealing. . . . The boys at a certain period were generally banished from the town and all communication with men, and were obliged to lead a wandering life in the fields and forests. When thus excluded they were forced to obtain by force or cunning

[1] J. Macdonald, 'Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religion of South African Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix, p. 268; Id., *The Light in Africa*, p. 157; D. Macdonald, *Africana*, vol. i, pp. 131 sq.; D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches*, pp. 146 sq.; D. Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 207; E. Casalis, *The Basutos*, pp. 263 sq.; T. H. Hutchinson, *Ten Years' Wanderings among the Ethiopians*, pp. 4 sq.; E. Holub, *Sieben Jahre in Süd Afrika*, vol. i, pp. 483 sqq.; E. Gottschling, "The Bawenda: a Sketch of their History and Customs," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv, p. 372; E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking People of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, pp. 28 sq.

[2] C. Dundas, "History of Kitui," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xliii, p. 523.

[3] R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of Central India*, vol. ii, p. 223.

[4] Plutarch, *Lykurgus*, 18; Id., *Institut. Laced.*, 254; Athenaeus, viii. 350; Xenophon, *Resp. Lacedem.*, ii. 9; Heraklides Ponticus, ii; Justin iii. 36. 7; Aulus Gellius, *Nat. Anim.*, xi. 18; Pausanias, iii. 16. 7; Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.*, vi. 20; Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 38, *Icaromenippus*, 16; Cicero, *Tuscul.*, ii. 14; Scholiast to Plato, *Leges*, i. 224; Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrh. hypot.*, 208; Hesychius, s.v. *'Ορθία*. Cf. L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. ii, p. 439; M. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, pp. 190 sqq.; A. Thomsen, "Orthia," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, ix, pp. 397 sqq.

the means of subsistence from the houses and court-yards, all access to which was at this time forbidden them; they were frequently obliged to keep watch for whole nights, and were always exposed to the danger of being beaten if detected." [1] The young Spartans were also, like the Kaffirs and many other savage tribes, subjected to relentless scourgings, which were usually administered in the temple of Artemis Orthia. As with the Kaffir lads, not a few died under the severity of the ordeals. The Spartans in classical times appear to have quite forgotten the object of those tests; "the official explanation given by Pausanias and others, as well as by Philostratus, which treated the scourging as a substitute for human sacrifice, was invented in comparatively late times to justify a cruel rite." [2]

To pass through those ordeals was with the Kaffirs, as with all other primitive peoples, an indispensable condition of marriage. Unless he had undergone those tests, and bore the marks of having become duly qualified, a young man "would be treated with scorn, especially by the women, who would regard him as a child . . . nor would anyone allow him to marry his daughter." [3] In West Africa, as in North America and in Melanesia, the initiation ceremonies of the youth are mostly carried out under the auspices of so-called 'secret societies.' "The boys are exercised so as to become inured to hardships." As with the Kaffirs of the South, raids are also part of the tests imposed to judge of their accomplishments; [4] and the capacity of the Bawenda boys as expert thieves is also tested.[5] Among the Wagogo the boys are thrashed unmercifully, and they have to grin while they bear it. They are also exercised in dancing to the point of exhaustion; and when they have successfully passed through the various tests they are warned not to be in too great a hurry to get married.[6] Among the Wabali tribes of the Congo "the boys are beaten all over the body by all the men present, and this is done with such brutality that it is not infrequent for some boys to lose an eye or an ear, or to be made an invalid for several years to come." [7]

Circumcision, whatever may have been the original intention

[1] C. O. Müller, *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, vol. ii, pp. 318 sq.

[2] R. C. Bosanquet, "The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xii, p. 315. Cf. Id., "Laconia. Excavations at Sparta. The Cult of Orthia as illustrated by the Finds," *ibid.*, p. 335.

[3] D. Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 208.

[4] M. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 531.

[5] E. Gottschling, "The Bawenda: a Sketch of their History and Customs," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv, p. 372.

[6] L. T. Moggridge, "The Nyassaland Tribes, their Customs and Poison Ordeal," *ibid.*, xxxii, p. 470.

[7] A. T. Barns, *The Wonderland of the Eastern Congo*, p. 198.

of the rite, is an indispensable preliminary to marriage, and is said by the tribes of the Congo to be necessary in order that the boys should become strong.[1] The manner in which they bear the operation is an essential test of the boys' quality. Among the Naivasha Masai, if a boy winces or allows a cry to escape him, a thorough thrashing is administered, curiously enough, not to the boy, but to his relatives. The lad himself is, of course, ostracised, and in addition a bullock has to be paid by his people as a fine.[2] Among the Mandingo likewise a boy would be dishonoured if he uttered a groan during the operation.[3] Among the Orang Balik Papan of Eastern Borneo circumcision is performed immediately before marriage.[4] Among the Arabs of Djezan also circumcision is performed on the adult directly before marriage, and in a particularly brutal manner. "Il s'agit pour le jeune homme d'être écorché vif. On lui arrache tout le cuir chevelu, et le pénis est dépouillé dans toute sa longueur. Une proportion notable de la population mâle meurt des suites de cette opération." The rite is performed in the actual presence of the young man's intended bride. "If he betrays by any groan or gesture, or by the least contraction of the muscles of the face, the horrible pain which he feels, the bride declares that she does not wish to have a girl for a husband." [5]

Among the Sifan, a Mongol tribe of the upper valley of the Yang-tse, the initiation of young men is "accompanied by the most trying ordeals, being carried out before a council of chiefs and lamas, who closely watch the youth while he is being subjected to such inhuman tortures as being strung up by the thumbs, burnt with red-hot irons, and other kindred cruelties which only the savage mind could devise." He is expected not to betray the pain he suffers by the slightest wincing. "Should he fail, his lot is worse than that of the most miserable slave; he is cruelly beaten and abused, and subjected to the contumely of all until, unfortunate wretch, he gladly ends his existence."

[1] E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Yaka," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi, p. 46.

[2] S. Bagge, "The Circumcision Ceremony among the Naivasha Masai," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv, p. 169.

[3] H. Hecquard, *Voyage aux parties occidentales de l'Afrique*, p. 322.

[4] T. R. H. Garrett, "The Natives of the East Part of Borneo and Java," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlii, p. 54.

[5] F. Fresnel, "Note sur quelques tribus de l'Arabie," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 2e Série, xi, p. 342. Cf. R. F. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Mecca* (ed. 1856), vol. iii, pp. 80 sq. This mode of circumcision is known as 'Al-salkh.' Burton says that a father would at once kill his son if he uttered a groan, and that two out of ten die from the operation.

A period of solitary seclusion follows the ordeals, after which he must produce proofs of his prowess as a hunter or warrior.[1]

The initiation ceremonies through which Australian youths are obliged to pass contain various magical and traditional symbolisms. But apart from those semi-religious aspects, the 'making of kippers,' as those ceremonies are generally called by the settlers, consists, like all rites of manhood, in tests of valour and endurance. The neophyte "has to undergo a period of abstinence, self-denial, chastity, and obedience from which he cannot pass before he has proved himself to be fitted to enter the ranks of the warriors. If a kipper who has grown into manhood wishes to be ranked as a warrior, he is put through a series of ordeals to test his strength of nerve and powers of endurance. Many of these tests are applied, and if the neophyte shrinks or gives any indication of cowardice, he must continue in his kipperhood still longer. Many of these tests are more like what might have been expected to prevail among North American Indians than among natives of the sunny south. They consist of cutting with knives, hitting with 'nullah-nullah,' tearing the hair, burning the flesh, fighting with warriors, and, wonderful to relate, delivering orations. If in addition the kipper have the good fortune to kill or seriously wound an enemy, or even an opponent of his own tribe, his claims to manumission from the novitiate are at once recognised, and he is duly admitted among the warriors of the tribe. When the young man has been admitted to the rank of warrior, his next ambition is to have a wife. But before the chief allows him to take this step he must have proved incontestably that he is able to hold his own in battle. One or two successful fights must be passed through, and then he is at full liberty to marry."[2] The initiation of the boys among the Murray River tribes is described by Dr. Baeyertz as a series of tortures.[3]

In Melanesia, where, as in West Africa and parts of America, youths are admitted to the status of manhood through the medium of secret societies, the ordeals are in general not so severe as in other parts of the world. Yet they sometimes come quite up to the standard of severity. Thus in the Island of Mabuiag, in Torres Straits, the boys were speared in the knees; they underwent the usual severe flogging; and, like the Macusi boys of South America,

[1] W. J. Reid, "Among the Farthest People," *The Cosmopolitan*, xxviii, pp. 450 sq.

[2] E. Thorne, *The Queen of the Colonies*, pp. 329 sq. Cf. W. Ridley, *Kámilaroi and other Australian Languages*, p. 154; J. Mathew, "The Australian Aborigines," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxiii, pp. 243 sq.; A. Mackenzie, "Australian Languages and Traditions," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vii, p. 252.

[3] C. Baeyertz, "Extracts from an Essay on the Aborigines of Australia," *Science of Man*, 1898, p. 19.

they were also rubbed with ants' nests on the ears and other sensitive parts of the body, and their groins were scraped with the skin of a stinging ray. In the neighbouring island of Saibai they were flogged with lighted coco-nut leaves so that their skins were severely burnt. Any flinching under those tests meant dishonour and ignominy.[1] In New Britain the boys, instead of being starved during their period of seclusion, are usually well fed so as to make them sleek.[2] Tests and ordeals are, however, not wanting, and the candidates are supposed to have a very bad time. When they are first brought out of their seclusion they are suddenly attacked by warriors who are lying in ambush for them, and similar attacks and sham-fights are a regular feature throughout the proceedings. The boys are made to carry heavy weights until they are thoroughly exhausted. The ceremonies are, as usual, concluded with a dance.[3]

Dances are in some parts of Nyasaland and of East Africa the only ceremonials representative of initiation to manhood, and they are at the same time the usual avenue to marriage.[4] The same is true of Melanesian New Guinea, though in olden times it would appear that the obtaining of a human head was an essential requisite of recognition as a full-grown warrior. The exercise is by no means so light as we are prone to imagine, but is, on the contrary, extremely strenuous. Speaking of the Gualola of California, Mr. Powers remarks: "The amount of dancing which they can endure for ten or fifteen days together, day and night, is astonishing, when we remember that the manner of dancing practised by the men is terribly hard work."[5] Dancing, which in some form or other is an almost invariable constituent of all savage ceremonies, affords also in most places the chief occasion for the exercise of sexual selection. The attraction exercised by a good dancer is by no means unconnected with utilitarian considerations. Among the Melanesians of Torres Straits, says Mr. Haddon, "it was during the secular dance, or 'kap,' that the girls usually lost their hearts to the young men. A young man who was a good dancer would find favour in the sight of the girls. This can be readily understood by anyone who has seen the

[1] A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 215.

[2] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 72. In the island of Koko the neophytes are also crammed with food before initiation (E. W. P. Chinnery and W. N. Beaver, "Notes on the Initiation Ceremonies of the Koko, Papua," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlv, p. 72).

[3] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, pp. 62, 64, 80.

[4] L. T. Moggridge, "The Nyassaland Tribes, their Customs and Poison Ordeal," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii, p. 470.

[5] S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, pp. 192 sq.

active, skilful, and fatiguing dances of these people. A young man who could acquit himself well in these dances must be possessed of no mean strength and agility. . . . In the olden days the war dance, which was performed after a successful foray, would be the most powerful excitant to a marriageable girl, especially if a young man had distinguished himself sufficiently to bring home the head of someone he had killed. Indeed, I have been informed that this was one of the chief reasons for head-hunting in the past, as it still is adduced on the neighbouring mainland of New Guinea."[1]

In Polynesia, where exogamous clans and marriage-classes have disappeared, and the conditions of life are exceptionally easy, elaborate manhood ceremonies are likewise no longer to be found. They are, nevertheless, represented by the operation of tatuing, which elsewhere is a certificate of the warrior's qualifications. The youth, as is the rule in all manhood ceremonies, was tabu while undergoing the process. In the Marquesas he was strictly secluded; in New Zealand, in the case of a youth of noble family, the tabu was so strict that he could not touch his own food, and fluid nourishment had to be administered to him, while the operation lasted, by means of a funnel.[2] Tatuing is regarded as the indispensable sign of manhood and the necessary preliminary to marriage. The operation is extremely painful; it extends over a considerable period, the lads attending once a week to have a small portion of their bodies tatued. The victim is held down by four or five young women, who sing meanwhile to encourage him. "It is, however, held a want of courage and hardihood to give way to groans." Sometimes, however, a lad will shrink from the torture and refuse to have the tatuing completed; in which case he is the butt of the jeers and ridicule of all the women, and his chances of ever marrying are small indeed. When it is all over and the tatu is healed a great dance is held, "when the admiration of the fair sex is unsparingly displayed. And this is the great reward, long and anxiously looked forward to by the youths as they smart under the hands of the 'matai.'"[3] In more primitive societies, and under the more strenuous conditions of warrior tribes, the tatuing was but the mark and certificate of the prowess of the man who was entitled to the honour. Thus among the Natchez and other tribes of the Mississippi the youths are "tatued on the nose and not elsewhere until they are warriors and have performed some

[1] A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 222. Cf. p. 298, and J. Chalmers, "Notes on the Natives of Kiwai Island, Fly River, British New Guinea," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii, p. 123.

[2] T. R. St. Johnston, *The Islanders of the Pacific*, pp. 169 sq.

[3] W. T. Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, pp. 149 sq.

valorous act. But when they have killed some enemy and have brought back his scalp, they have a right to have themselves tatued, and ornament themselves with figures suitable to the occasion." [1] "It is for them not only an ornament, but also a mark of honour and distinction which is only acquired after many brave deeds." [2] Among the Sletimsha the recognised warrior alone had the right to have his knees tatued.[3] According to Mr. Dall, tatuing was primarily submitted to by boys at puberty as a trial of their resolution and manly endurance.[4]

In their social or practical aspects the rites of 'initiation' or 'manhood ceremonies' of uncultured peoples are manifestly designed to afford a test of the strength, courage, and powers of endurance of young men, and of their efficiency as hunters and warriors. It might be supposed that those tests are primarily imposed in view of the general interest of the community in the quality of its hunters and its warriors. But such an interpretation does not accord with the facts as we find them. For, in the first place, if that were the original and fundamental purpose of those tests, one would expect that at least an equal amount of attention should be paid by uncultured peoples to producing efficient hunters and warriors by a regular course of training, and that such training should occupy indeed the foremost place, and the final test of its success a subordinate one. But the very reverse is the case. In most instances there is very little training in the technique of their profession in connection with the manhood ceremonies of primitive hunters and warriors; as often as not such brief and perfunctory instruction as may take place follows, instead of preceding, those tests, so that the latter cannot be regarded in the light of a pass examination connected with such training. In most cases there is no instruction at all. Organised education and training are, in all primitive societies, conspicuous by their absence. What the savage youth learns, the skill and proficiency he acquires, he picks up as best he can by imitation. Among the North American Indians who underwent such severe tests of valour, there was not anywhere any regular system of training. Encouragement, advice, rebuke, might be freely given by elder men to boys, but of any attempt at systematic professional education there cannot be said

[1] A. S. Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Lousianne*, p. 199.

[2] G. M. Butel-Dumont, *Mémoires historiques sur la Lousianne*, vol. i, p. 139. Cf. *Mémoire sur la Louisianne et le Mississipi*, p. 134: "This is a right which belongs only to the warriors, and one must be noted on account of the death of some enemy in order to merit the distinction."

[3] A. S. Gatschet, in *Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Washington*, ii, pp. 5 sq.

[4] W. H. Dall, "On Masks, Labrets, and Certain Aboriginal Customs," etc., *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 80.

to have been a trace. The boys, says Loskiel, are " never obliged to do anything ; they loiter about, live as they please, and follow their own fancies." [1] Among the Indians of Guiana " the boys run wild . . . they are left almost to themselves." [2] Among the tribes of South America " parental education does not exist " ; [3] " their children are taught nothing, are forbidden nothing." [4] In Africa, generally, " children practically do as they like " ; [5] the rubric ' education ' is absent from African ethnology. " As regards education, both the word and the notion are non-existent." [6] In Melanesia and in New Guinea there is absolutely no sort of training.[7] " Children were not taught any useful habit ; they grew up in utter idleness and uncared for, except that they got plenty

[1] G. H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America*, pp. 62 sq. Cf. M. G. J. de Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, vol. i, p. 18 ; J. D. Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, pp. 264 sqq. ; G. Gibbs, *Tribes of Western Washington and Northwest Oregon*, pp. 198, 209 ; H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific Coast*, vol. i, p. 566 ; C. MacCauley, " The Seminole Indians of Florida," *Fifth Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 496 ; J. A. Teit, " The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. i, p. 496 ; A. J. Todd, *The Primitive Family as an Educational Agency*, pp. 143 sqq. I have availed myself of the references in the latter. The language of some writers on the subject is somewhat misleading. Thus Dr. Otis Mason writes : " The aborigines of North America had their own systems of education, through which the young were instructed in their coming labours " (in *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. i, p. 414). But after all it appears that those ' systems of education ' consisted in " unconscious absorption," and no instances of any other process are anywhere available. It is interesting to note that throughout all primitive culture a much closer approach to systematic training takes place as regards girls than as regards boys. This follows from the varied industrial occupations requiring special technical knowledge, such as tanning, ceramic manufacture, cooking, basket-work, building, agriculture, etc., which are carried out by women. The work of the men is by comparison ' unskilled labour.' The girl, moreover, is always under the care of the mother while the latter is at work, whereas the boy can only follow the hunters and the warriors when he is himself ready to become one.

[2] E. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 219.

[3] C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, vol. i, p. 124.

[4] F. de Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale*, vol. ii, p. 23. Cf. E. Nordenskiöld, *Indianerleben*, pp. 65 sq.

[5] R. K. Granville and F. N. Roth, " Notes on the Jekris, Sobos, and Ijas of the Warri District of the Niger Coast Protectorate," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii, p. 107.

[6] G. Zündel, " Land und Volk der Eween auf der Sclavenküste in Westafrika," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, xii, p. 392.

[7] F. Elton, " Notes on the Natives of the Solomon Islands," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvii, p. 94 ; A. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, p. 589 ; C. W. Abel, *Savage Life in New Guinea*, p. 43 ; B. Hagen, *Unter den Papuas*, pp. 230 sqq.

of food." [1] In Borneo the children "are left to pick up by themselves whatever knowledge is necessary." [2] In Micronesia they "grow up as they like." [3] Speaking of the Australian initiation ceremonies, Dr. Roth remarks: "The European idea of their having a beneficially moral and educational value is erroneous." [4] Nothing, in fact, exceeds the indifference and carelessness of uncultured peoples as regards any systematic educational training except the enormous importance which they attach to the testing of proficiency.

We do not anywhere find that young men are forbidden to hunt or to fight until they have received permission to do so through passing initiation tests. Those ceremonies do not bestow upon them any rights in this respect which they did not possess before. But there is one social function for which the successful performance of initiation rites is indispensable; marriage is absolutely forbidden to a youth before he has been duly certified as having attained to the status of hunter or warrior, and no woman or girl would entertain the unheard-of notion of marrying a youth that has not undergone those tests. The marks which constitute the certificate of having successfully passed through them are an indispensable condition of marriage. Where these consist in circumcision a woman would scorn to have anything to do with the uncircumcised; where they consist in having teeth knocked out, no woman will look at a man who possesses a complete denture; [5] where they consist in various tatu marks, paintings, or scars, these are the necessary passport to feminine favour. Ceremonies of initiation are the portal to one social institution and function only, namely, marriage. They are everywhere regarded chiefly in the light of a preparatory step to marriage. Indeed, the ceremony itself is sometimes spoken of as 'marriage.' A New Hebrides youth, on being forcibly put through the 'initiation' rites, will loudly protest that he does not wish to be married.[6] Sometimes one and the same ceremony constitutes both the 'initiation' and the marriage.[7]

The very same course of ordeals and tests which is undergone in initiation ceremonies, instead of being carried out as a tribal rite on a number of neophytes, is not infrequently applied individually

[1] H. A. Robertson, *Erromanga*, p. 395.

[2] C. Lumholtz, *Through Central Borneo*, vol. i, p. 181.

[3] J. Kubary, "Die Bewohner der Mortlock Inseln," *Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg*, 1878–79, p. 261.

[4] W. E. Roth, "North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 12," *Records of the Australian Museum*, vii, p. 166.

[5] J. F. Cunningham, *Uganda and its Peoples*, p. 33 (Banyoro).

[6] B. Danks, "Marriage Customs of the New Britain Group," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii, p. 287.

[7] See below, vol. iii, p. 231.

as a part of the marriage preliminaries or of the marriage ceremony itself. Thus among the Seri Indians the ordeals of 'initiation' constitute the probationary tests through which a suitor has to pass under the supervision of the matrons of the bride's clan, before he is finally accepted. When a marriage is arranged between two families, the intending bridegroom is put through the severest ordeals of endurance and his skill as a warrior, hunter and fisher is tested for a whole year; the final acceptance of his suit depends upon the manner in which he acquits himself.[1] In Nukahiva it was formerly the custom that when a youth desired to marry, he should be requested to give a demonstration of his skill in climbing trees for fruit, handling a boat, and in all other tasks that he might be called upon to perform in his capacity of husband. "As it was a point of honour to come well out of those tests, the men sought to excel in those exercises and succeeded in attaining, when they wished, an extraordinary degree of agility."[2] Among the Hanran Arabs of the Upper Nile the ordeal of flogging is not part of a ceremony of initiation, but of the marriage ceremony itself. "The unfortunate bridegroom undergoes the ordeal of whipping by the relations of his bride in order to test his courage. Sometimes the punishment is exceedingly severe, being inflicted with a kurbash, or whip of hippopotamus hide, which is cracked vigorously about his sides and back. If the unhappy husband wishes to be considered a man worth having, he must receive the chastisement with an expression of enjoyment, in which case the crowds of women in admiration raise their thrilling cry."[3] The bridegroom is, as we have seen, subjected in many countries to a sound thrashing at the hands of the male or the female relatives of the bride. That proceeding is part of the rituals of defensive and offensive violence which are a feature of many marriage ceremonies; but, in addition, it appears in many cases to play the function of a test or ordeal. Among the higher Hindu castes of the Panjab the bridegroom, in his progress towards the bride's home, passes between a double row of damsels and women armed with reeds, who strike him as he passes; the blows are quite harmless, but there can be little doubt that the ritual is a relic of a more severe ordeal.[4] In Madagascar, among the Sakalava and Betsileo, a suitor is sometimes bidden to stand and allow himself to be shot at with spears, and to catch them between his arm and side; "if he displays fear

[1] W. J. McGee, "The Seri Indians," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 280.

[2] L. de Freycinet, *Voyage autour du monde*, vol. ii, Part i, pp. 277 sq.

[3] Sir Samuel W. Baker, *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia and the Sword Hunters of the Hanran Arabs*, p. 121.

[4] Maya Das, "Some Marriage Customs among the Khatris of the Panjab," *The Indian Antiquary*, xxix, p. 88.

or fails to catch the spear he is ignominiously rejected."[1] The ordeal closely resembles that which youths are obliged to undergo at the hands of the relatives of their intended bride in Australia,[2] and in some parts of the Malay Archipelago.[3] Not infrequently the tests of endurance which form the most general feature of initiation ceremonies are applied either in the presence of the proposed bride,[4] or even by the women themselves. Thus, for example, in North Borneo, " the women often prove the courage and endurance of the youngster by placing a lighted ball of tinder on the arm, and letting it burn into the skin. The marks produced run along the forearm from the wrist in a straight line, and are much valued by the young men as so many proofs of their power of endurance."[5] Among the Bonda Gadabas, when a match is proposed between two young people, the young man and the maid retire into the jungle and light a fire. Then the young woman, taking a burning stick, places it on the man's skin. If he cries out he is unworthy of her, and she remains a maid. If he does not, the marriage is at once consummated.[6] Similarly, in Dongola it is the girl herself who tests the mettle of her suitors. She sits down between two of them, holding long knives in each hand, and slowly presses them into their thighs. The man who can bear the torture best without flinching is chosen as her husband.[7]

The above facts appear to point to the conclusion that one of the chief functions of 'initiation ceremonies' was originally to test the suitability of young men as husbands. In many instances, it is true, women are strictly excluded from such ceremonies; but there is reason to believe that this was not originally the case. The requirements of primitive women as regards their prospective husbands coincide, moreover, with the general estimate which male judges would form of the proficiency of the candidate, and we have seen that the women are in general quite willing to refer to the expert opinion of their male relatives in this respect. Even where the competition and contest is an informal one, it does not necessarily take place in the presence of the women concerned, but the latter are satisfied to abide by the report of the result.[8]

[1] J. Sibree, *The Great African Island*, p. 251.

[2] W. E. Roth, " North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 10," *Records of the Australian Museum*, vii, p. 5.

[3] See below, p. 249.

[4] See above, pp. 190, 193, 196, 200.

[5] H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, vol. ii, p. 81.

[6] E. Thurston, *Ethnographical Notes in Southern India*, p. 22.

[7] C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan*, vol. ii, p. 310.

[8] See above, p. 189.

Often, however, the women themselves are the judges. The procedure bears in those instances a close resemblance to those contests by means of which it was customary in ancient India for girls of noble birth to select a husband from the victors in a contest of skill and endurance. Relics of these 'swayamvara' customs are still be to found at the present day among the Rajputs.[1] Among the Tamils of southern India the bending of a bow is a common form of marriage rite.[2] Among the Bazigar of the Panjab "when a girl is marriageable an athletic competition is held, and the competitors jump, run, and so on. The winner has a right to marry the girl."[3] Such marriage competitions were, we know, also much in vogue in archaic Greece, where, as in India, the bride was allotted to the victor in an archery competition, a foot-race, or perhaps a bull-fight. The same form of customs was common in mediaeval Europe.[4] As late as the eighteenth century brides were allotted to the victors in athletic contests and competitions in Ireland. In county Derry it was the custom for the suitor of a marriageable maiden to compete for her hand in those sports, which were generally arranged by the authorities as a Sunday entertainment: "If he comes off conqueror he is certainly married to the girl, but if another is victorious he as certainly loses her; for she is the prize of the victor. These trials are not always finished in one Sunday, they sometimes take two or three." "In these marches," adds Arthur Young quaintly, "they perform such feats of activity as ought to evidence the food they live on to be far from deficient in nourishment."[5]

Usages similar to those in vogue in Ireland were widespread among the savages of South and Central America. "In the greater number of tribes," says von Tschudi, "a maiden is set up as a prize, and the young men commence a life or death contest for her. The oldest warriors are arbitrators, and from their hands the warrior receives the prize. This is the practice among the inhabitants of the Rio de Santa Catalina."[6] The contests do not appear, however, to be mortal combats, but are usually competitive

[1] R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, vol. iv, p. 419.

[2] Tiruvalluvar, *The Kural*, edited by F. W. Ellis, p. 157.

[3] H. A. Rose, note to Pandit Vishwanath, "Ancient Royal Hindu Marriage Customs," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, lvii, p. 35. Mr. Rose adds that the girl "has no choice," but the right of the winner in all such competitions coincides with the choice of any uncultured woman.

[4] See below, vol. iii, p. 406.

[5] Arthur Young, *A Tour in Ireland* (ed. 1893), pp. 446 sq. Traces of a similar custom are found at the present day among the southern Slavs (F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, pp. 163 sq.).

[6] J. J. von Tschudi, *Travels in Peru*, p. 411.

trials of strength and skill. Thus among the Chavantes "he who can carry a heavy log over the longest distance, or excel in running, or cast a spear farthest, bears the bride home." [1] The log-carrying competitions of the Coyapas and the Tapuyas are thus described: "An Indian takes up an enormous piece of wood by both ends, loads it on his shoulders, and sets out to run with all his might; a second Indian runs after the first, and he who catches the latter takes the log from him, places it on his back without interrupting his race and continues so long as his place is not taken by a third; and so on until the appointed goal is reached." [2] Among the Coroados "the women, as formerly the ladies at our tournaments, bestow upon the victors their due reward; and those men, in appearance so apathetic, give, during several consecutive days, the most astonishing proofs of strength and agility." [3] Similarly, among the Wacaras and other tribes of the Amazon husbands are chosen at "a trial of skill at shooting with the bow and arrow, and if the young man does not show himself a good marksman, the girl refuses him, on the ground that he will not be able to shoot fish and game enough for the family." [4] Among the Muras and the Passes of South America wives were commonly won in combats with bare fists. [5] Such pugilistic contests are described by an old Spanish writer, in speaking of the Laches of New Granada, as the national festival of those people. "Their most celebrated game," we are told, "was to go forth in the fields by troops or companies, arrayed in all their feathers and finery, and without any other weapon but their bare hands. They fought with closed fists, without wrestling, and continued to fight until they dropped or were wearied out with many blows. And those feasts are called 'Momas,' wherein thrusts and blows are given with such dexterity that it is a sight well worthy of being seen. They are observed even to the present day, and are so worthy of applause that the Spaniards do not disdain to walk ten or twelve leagues in order to be present at their

[1] C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, vol. i, p. 111; J. B. von Spix and C. Ph. von Martius, *Reise nach Brasiliens*, vol. ii, p. 574.

[2] F. Denis, *Brésil*, p. 7. Cf. A. de Saint Hilaire, *Voyage aux sources du Rio de S. Francisco et dans la province de Gayoz*, vol. ii, pp. 117 sq.; J. F. de Oliveira, "The Cherentes of Central Brazil," *International Congress of Americanists, Proceedings of the XVIII Session, London* 1912, vol. ii, p. 393; I. B. de Moura-Parà, "Sur le Progrès de l'Amazonie et sur les Indiens," *Verhandlungen des XVI internationales Amerikanisten-Kongresses, Wien* 1900, vol. ii, p. 546.

[3] J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil*, vol. i, p. xiv.

[4] A. R. Wallace, *A Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, p. 498.

[5] C. F. Ph. von Martius, *op. cit.*, pp. 412, 509.

celebration." [1] Doubtless, although our author omits to say so, the primary object of those 'festivals' was, as with other South American tribes which have been mentioned, to afford women an opportunity of selecting a desirable husband. In Nicaragua in the Pueblo of Behetria, it was the custom, as among the ancient Gauls, for women to select a husband from out a number of young men gathered at a feast.[2] In Peru similar races and sports were very popular, and formed part of the initiation or investiture ceremonies of young warriors; the marriageable girls stood at the goal ready to reward the victor.[3]

Those organised contests are found among the rudest as among the most highly cultured tribes of the American continent. The chief entertainment of the Fuegians consists in pugilistic and wrestling competitions, which are organised with considerable pomp between parties from neighbouring tribelets, the women being spectators, or individual duels which are conducted in the same manner, the combatants being attired in their best finery.[4] We are told, on the other hand, that among the Fuegians the selection of a husband is generally dependant upon the proofs of strength and agility which he is able to furnish. The father of the girl, says Lieutenant Bove, selects from among the suitors the strongest, the most agile, and the one most willing to obey his wishes; that paternal selection, he adds, coincides entirely with the inclinations of the women, who above all admire strength and dexterity, and it is practically impossible for a weakling, or one crippled in any way, to obtain a wife.[5] The Athapascan tribes of North America had similar usages. "The most common gateway to sexual intercourse east of the Rockies," says Father Morice, "was wrestling. Two young men would publicly wrestle for the possession of a maiden, and the same took place in connection with any married woman as well." [6] "It has ever been the custom," says Hearne, "for the men to wrestle for any woman to whom they were attached, and of course the stronger party

[1] Lucas Fernandez de Piedrahita, *Historia general de las Conquistas del Nuevo Reyno de Granada*, p. 13.

[2] F. Lopez de Gomara, *Historia general de las Indias*, p. 283.

[3] Christobal de Molina, *An Account of the Fables and Rites of the Yncas*, p. 42. Cf. J. de S. C. P. Salcamayhua, *An Account of the Antiquities of Peru*, p. 80.

[4] A. Cojazzi, *Los Indios del archipielago fueguino*, pp. 57 sq.; C. Gallardo, *Los Onas*, pp. 344 sqq.; P. A. Segers, "Habitos y costumbres de los Indios Aonas," *Bolletin del Institudo geografico Argentino*, xii, pp. 76 sq.; P. Hyades and J. Deniker, in *Mission scientifique du Cap Horn*, vol. vii, p. 373.

[5] G. Bove, *Patagonia. Terra del Fuoco. Mari Australi*, p. 132.

[6] A. G. Morice, art "Dénés," in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iv, p. 637.

always carries off the prize. . . . This custom prevails throughout all the tribes and causes a great spirit of emulation among their youth, who are upon all occasions, from their childhood, trying their strength and skill in wrestling." [1] In southern California men challenged one another to single combat or to foot-races, and the woman was the prize of the victor.[2] Pugilistic and wrestling contests were also in much favour in Raratonga and in other parts of Polynesia, and there are indications that their object often was to decide the claims of suitors to a woman.[3] In New Zealand regular 'swayamvara' contests were customary. "Young, active, and presentable men would form themselves into a party and go on a visit to some village where resided a young woman noted for her good looks and qualities. The visit was for the express purpose of showing themselves and their accomplishments to the girl, in the hope that she would accept one of them as a husband. The period of the visit would be quite a gay time, for the party of young men would give performances of various kinds, in order to exhibit their skill, grace, dexterity, and so forth, each endeavouring to excel his companions. They would perform a 'haka,' or posture dances of various kinds, and play games of skill. Each would hope that the girl would select him as a husband." [4]

In Australia, as among several other savage peoples,[5] it appears to have been a general and old-established custom for a man to challenge another to a duel if he had more than one wife and one of them was desired by the challenger.[6] The method of obtaining a wife was adopted, according to one of their stories, by the 'god' Baiame.[7] It might be thought that in such contests the woman's inclinations would not be consulted and that the victor simply secured her by right of might; but we are expressly told that, on the contrary, before such a duel was fought it was necessary that the woman should agree to abide by the result.[8] Apart from the

[1] S. Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort to the Northern Ocean*, p. 104.

[2] F. S. Clavigero, *Storia della California*, vol. i, p. 132.

[3] T. West, *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, p. 268; D. Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, p. 305.

[4] E. Best, "Maori Marriage Customs," *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, xxxvi, p. 36.

[5] A. Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal to the Frozen Ocean*, p. 145; H. Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa*, vol. ii, p. 48.

[6] J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 36; W. Ridley, *The Aborigines of Australia*, p. 6; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 216, 256.

[7] R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i, pp. 425 sq.

[8] J. Dawson, *loc. cit.*

fact that disregard of a woman's desires in such matters is quite exceptional in primitive society, prowess in a suitor invariably determines her choice. When two tribelets are engaged in battle the women of the losing side pass over to the victors of their own accord as soon as the issue of the fight is no longer doubtful; they neither run away, as they might easily do, nor have they to be captured by force, but place themselves as a matter of course under the protection of the stronger party.[1] It would be opposed to all the principles which determine the choice of primitive woman to do otherwise.

Among the Dukawa of Nigeria it is the regular custom for girls to select their husbands at wrestling matches. Each girl, when she attends the public exhibitions of athletic valour, is provided with a small bag of flour; she sprinkles some on the head of the chosen knight, and his father immediately enters into negotiations with her parents.[2] The Zulus, like most tribes of warriors, affect great contempt for women and consider themselves very superior to them; but, as everywhere else, there are numerous indications that things were once otherwise. Although women are now 'purchased,' if there are a number of competing suitors, the choice lies, as a recognised right, with the woman. In practice the observance is now mostly formal, the father taking care that the wealthiest suitor shall be the favoured one; but the very persistence of the usage as a formality shows that it was not always a hollow one. Each suitor dressed in his best dancing attire and well greased comes up for inspection, squatting in front of the lady's hut. She comes out and surveys him, and desires him, through the intermediary of her brother, to stand up, and then to turn round so as to exhibit another aspect of his person. If this first inspection proves satisfactory he is instructed to come again the next morning and exhibit his paces in the cattle-fold before a large concourse of people, so as to give the lady an opportunity to judge of his agility.[3]

Among the Chukchi at the present day, women sometimes choose as their husband the victor in an athletic contest or a foot-race in the same manner as the daughters of Antaeus and of Danaus, and the tale of Atalanta figures in the stories of Chukcha tradition.[4] Among the Koryak the suitor had to run an obstacle-race.[5] Among all the Turki and Mongol peoples of Central Asia the bride-race

[1] R. Brough Smyth, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 85; T. L. Mitchell, *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia*, vol. i, p. 307.

[2] O. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, pp. 97 sq.

[3] J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, pp. 55 sqq.

[4] W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, pp. 582 sq.

[5] G. Kennan, *Tent Life in Siberia*, pp. 195 sq.

takes place on horseback.[1] Thus among the Kirghis the young woman, "armed with a formidable whip, mounts a fleet horse and is pursued by all the young men who make any pretension to her hand. She will be given as a prize to the one who catches her."[2] Similar horse-races are held at the celebration of weddings among the Tuareg, and "it is considered proper that the bridegroom should be prodigal in the display of his intrepidity and adroitness."[3] Among the tribes of the Malay Peninsula "the bride-elect darts off, 'au galop,' into the forest, followed by her 'innamorato.' A chase ensues, during which, should the youth fall down or return unsuccessful, he is met with the jeers and merriment of the whole party, and the match is declared off."[4] The same bride-racing is reported of the Mantrays,[5] the Ulu Langat Sakai,[6] the Orang Sakai of Pahang,[7] and of the natives on Singapore Island itself.[8] A defeated suitor is not allowed a second chance. Sometimes the bride-race takes place in canoes. In Johore the bride "is placed in a canoe by herself, supplied with a paddle and set down-stream. When she has got a start of one or two reaches the bridegroom enters a canoe and gives chase. Should he succeed in overtaking her, she is his wife. If he fails, the match is broken off. As most of the young women have good stout arms, and can well use the paddle, it is to be supposed that love usually unnerves them and gives victory to the bridegroom."[9]

The Aieta, a negrito race of the Philippines, have the same custom as the Malays; the bride "is sent into the forest with one hour's start. If the suitor finds her and returns with her to the camp before sunset, the couple are considered legally married according to Aieta views. If, on the other hand, the lady has any objection to the would-be husband, and conceals herself effectually

[1] H. Vámbéry, *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 323.

[2] E. Schuyler, *Turkistan*, vol. i, p. 43.

[3] C. Jean, *Les Touaregs du Sud-Est*, p. 202.

[4] T. J. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, vol. ii, p. 407. Cf. P. Favre, *An Account of the Wild Tribes inhabiting the Malay Peninsula*, p. 66; P. J. Begbie, *The Malay Peninsula*, p. 13; R. Martin, *Die Inlandstämme der Malayischen Halbinsel*, p. 867.

[5] Bourien, "On the Wild Tribes of the Interior of the Malay Peninsula," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, iii, p. 81.

[6] W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, quoting Mr. Campbell, vol. ii, pp. 67 sq.

[7] Von Miklucho-Maclay, "Ethnologische Excursionen in der Malayische Halbinsel," *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxvi, p. 17.

[8] J. Cameron, *Our Tropical Possessions in Malayan India*, p. 116.

[9] J. R. Logan, "The Orang Binua of Johore," *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, i, p. 270. Cf. Cameron, *loc. cit.*

in the jungle, the suitor forfeits all right to her." [1] The same description applies to the custom observed by the Marotse of Central Africa,[2] and the same custom which was so popular among the ancient Greeks was observed by the primitive Tasmanians.[3] Foot-races as a form of competition for a bride were also customary in Formosa among the Pepos. "There was a custom of holding, on a certain day especially announced, a running race in which all young bachelors competed. The prize was the privilege of marrying the most beautiful girl of the tribe."[4]

The qualities which are displayed in ceremonies of initiation and in those exhibitions of strength, valour, skill, and endurance in which the victors are chosen as husbands, are those which alone determine the primitive woman's choice of a partner. The behaviour of a Papuan youth who takes a fancy to a girl is most amusing and significant. It would be opposed to all the laws of decorum for him to betray his inclination in a direct manner; he accordingly takes not the slightest notice of the girl nor even looks at her. But when she is about, he places himself at some distance in front of her and sets about performing athletic feats, practising high jumping, and runs in pursuit of imaginary enemies throwing spears at at them.[5] Dr. Hall, in his admirable study of the psychology of adolescence, notes that young boys instinctively adopt a very similar mode of behaviour in the presence of girls, and while pretending to take little notice of them, 'show off' by performing feats of strength or fighting with and bullying their companions, for the obvious benefit of the young lady-spectator. "Through it all she performs her great rôle of sexual selection. Man is passing her examination, part by part, in the oldest and most effectual of nature's schools. To her power of appreciation and her capacity to admire nothing is lost. Her high function is to praise aright." [6]

[1] Elsdon Best, "The Races of the Philippines," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, i, p. 17.

[2] A. St. H. Gibbons, *Africa from South to North through Marotseland*, vol. ii, p. 53.

[3] J. Bonwick, *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*, pp. 70 sq.

[4] J. W. Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, pp. 581 sq. The German term 'Brautlauf,' which is applied to wedding ceremonies as a whole, is explained in Grimm's Dictionary: "'Nuptiae,' properly 'cursus nuptialis,' because in olden times a race, or racing competition, for the bride was held"; and, according to Dargun, relics of the custom are still to be found in parts of Germany (L. Dargun, *Mutterrecht und Raubehe und ihre Reste im germanischen Recht und Leben*, p. 131). Weinhold, however, is of opinion that the term 'Brautlauf' referred to "the journey ('Lauf') with the bride to the bridegroom's home" (K. Weinhold, *Altnordisches Leben*, p. 246. Cf. Id., *Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter*, vol. i, pp. 406 sq.).

[5] R. E. Guise, "On the Tribes inhabiting the mouth of the Wanigela River, New Guinea," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii, p. 209.

[6] G. S. Hall, *Adolescence and its Psychology*, vol. ii, p. 112.

'Marriage by Service.'

The view that the primary function of the tests of endurance and valour applied to candidates ininitiation ceremonies was originally to offer an opportunity for the exercise of sexual selection on the part of the women, either directly or through their relatives or brothers, is confirmed by the fact that the same procedures constitute, in fact, one of the most primitive and general modes of acquiring a wife. A man obtains the right of access to a woman in primitive matriarchal societies by contributing his services to her family, that being the sole form of economic contribution which in the absence of personal property and transferable wealth he is able to make. That form of contribution has, as is well known, persisted in comparatively advanced stages of social development, and the man may, on consideration of his devoting the whole of his labour for a period to the service of his wife's family, be permitted to remove her subsequently to a home of his own. Such 'marriage by service' constitutes in fact the partial matrilocal marriage which we have seen to be so widespread a custom. But the preliminary period of service is far from being purely and simply a contribution which may be commuted by some other form of payment. Among the Tupi tribes of Brazil, whose marriages were in any case permanently matrilocal, the period of 'service' or probation commonly took the form of a regular competitive test exactly similar in character to those which are prevalent among the natives of South America. When a number of suitors were desirous of obtaining the hand of one particular young woman, they would all 'serve' for her during a period of two or three years. The suitors would work for her father and family, dig his garden, cut wood for him, fish and hunt and supply the household with the products of their skill. He who proved most active, and whose contributions were most abundant, was chosen as the young woman's husband.[1] That such service is not merely a form of payment is evidenced by the persistence of the usage even where the man is in a position to make, or actually makes, such a payment. Thus among the Awok of northern Nigeria a man obtains his bride by the payment of a bride-price; but, in addition, he must work for a certain length of time on the farm of his prospective father-in-law.[2] Among the Koryak personal service is obligatory and cannot be commuted by purchase; even a wealthy suitor who is the owner of many large flocks of reindeer is obliged to serve

[1] "Descripção geographica do America Portugueza," *Revista Trimensal do Instituto historico e geographico do Brasil*, i, p. 207.

[2] O. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, p. 34. Cf. p. 35 (Aworo).

three or even ten years as herdsman to his father-in-law.[1] The object of that insistence upon a preliminary period of service is made clear by the manner in which the serving suitor is treated. Not only is he converted into a servant, but he is not even treated as well as an ordinary servant would be. He is, in fact, subjected to all sorts of indignities, and labours are imposed on him which are of no productive value. It is clear that, as Mr. Jochelson remarks, "the principal thought is not his usefulness, but the hard and humiliating trials to which he is subjected."[2] The 'serving for a bride' is, in fact, a test or probation exactly similar to that which the Seri bridegroom has to undergo in order to prove his economic value. Hence such 'service' cannot be wholly replaced by a payment. If the Koryak suitor does not come up to the standard required he may be dismissed without reward or explanation, even after serving for five or ten years.[3] The Chukcha suitor likewise, no matter how wealthy, is compelled to serve for his first bride—tests and probations are, of course, not required in regard to her sisters—and he may be dismissed at any time. The circumstance that he has begot children in the meantime is quite immaterial, since the woman has not left her home and by primal law the children belong to her family. During his time of probation "the suitor leads a very hard life. He rises first in the morning and retires last at night. Often he is not even given a place in the sleeping-room, but stays in the outer tent or in the open air. . . . He carries burdens, hauls heavily loaded sledges, mends and repairs broken utensils. He has to please the girl's father, her elder brother and other male members of the family. If one of the old people reproaches him and calls him names he has to bear it patiently and is even expected to agree. . . . They may decline food and shelter to the poor suitor. He has to endure the pangs of hunger and cold while performing his work. . . . Even then, after two or three months of constant toil, he may be driven away without any apparent reason. 'This was no cause for resentment,' I was told by a Chukchee, 'but only a weakling consents to go.' A good strong man remains and works on without food, without place in the sleeping-room, and even without hope. To desist and return home without a bride is considered a humiliation for a young man. . . . After the first few months the father of the bride usually somewhat relents, and the conditions of life of the suitor become less severe. From that time it is not thought becoming to send him away without a reason. The suitor also begins to insist on his

[1] S. P. Krasheninnikoff, *Description of Kamtschatka*, p. 232.
[2] W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 74.
[3] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, pp. 82 sq.

matrimonial rights. . . . Of course this depends largely upon the woman herself." [1] Among the Yukaghir, according to their own account, " the period of service is intended only to test the young man's ability to work. The bridegroom is required to be a good hunter and fisherman, and capable of doing everything necessary in the household." And in fact a strong and able suitor, instead of being retained as long as possible as a valuable servant, is permitted to take his bride, if he so wishes, after a reduced period of service, his qualifications having been sufficiently demonstrated. The tests imposed upon him have often no perceptible economic value as a form of payment. Thus the prospective father-in-law will go into the woods and fell the biggest tree he can find; the suitor is then ordered to drag it to the home of the old man, in exactly the same manner as in the ' log tests ' of the South American Indians. The Yukaghir suitor usually ends by dropping the tree-trunk on the top of his father-in-law's ' yurta,' and the delighted old gentleman exclaims, as his home comes tumbling down about his ears: " This is a good man, he will be able to support us and care for our safety." [2] The ' marriage by service,' which is the time-honoured usage among the tribes of Indo-China, has been described as " a mitigated form of slavery." [3] But in this instance also " the real object of this cohabitation is to make sure that the character of the two young people will harmonise." [4] In other words, the ' mitigated form of slavery ' is a test of the suitor by which his qualities as a husband are appraised.

All matrilocal marriage is ' marriage by service,' and the evidence is, I believe, conclusive that this has everywhere been the most ancient form of individual marriage contract. The most primitive hunter, except in those societies where, as in Australia and Melanesia, male dominance has become established, obtains access to his wife by ' serving ' for her; he either remains a stranger and a visitor, or becomes adopted into his wife's group, fighting on the side of her relations and supplying them with the products of his hunting. He may remain under the orders of his father- or his mother-in-law as long as they live, or he may, when his family increases, set up a household of his own, not, however, removing his wife from the midst of her people. His ' service ' may become reduced to a longer or shorter period of probation, after which he may be allowed greater independence—the relatives of his

[1] W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, pp. 579 sq., 586 sq.

[2] W. Jochelson, *The Yukaghir*, pp. 87 sq.

[3] A. Gautier, " Voyage au pays des Moïs, " *Cochinchine Française. Excursions et reconnaissances*, v, p. 246; Père Azémar, " Les Stiengs de Brolam," *ibid.*, xii, pp. 220 sq.

[4] H. Baudesson, *Indo-China and its Primitive Peoples*, p. 57.

wife continuing, however, as a rule, to exercise considerable claims over her and over her husband. Marriage by service may, on the other hand, persist where the custom of acquiring a wife by the payment of a bride-price has come into more or less general use, as an alternative to such payment, and it then assumes the appearance of a substitute for it. But it is, I think, clear in all such instances that the usage of matrilocal service is the older and original one, and that the payment of a bride-price has come into use as a commutation of such service, and not the service as a commutation of the payment. For wherever the two usages exist conjointly in the same community, matrilocal marriage is either known to have formerly been the general practice, or is definitely preferred and demanded by the family of the woman, or required in the form of a period of probation, whether or not a payment is made for the right to remove the bride to her husband's home.

'Marriage by Purchase.'

The latter usage is by far the most widespread mode of acquiring a wife, and is found not only among uncultured and barbaric peoples, but is the usual form of marriage contract in most advanced cultures. It was, for example, the usage of the ancient Semites, who called the bride-price 'mohar,' and the bride 'me'orasa,' 'she who has been paid for.'[1] The prophet Hosea tells us that he paid fifty shekels for one of his wives, half in cash, the rest in kind,[2] and the sum appears to have been about the average price of a Jewess at the time of the Kings.[3] Purchase of wives was likewise the universal rule in Vedic India,[4] among the Tartars and Mongols,[5] and among the archaic Greeks.[6]

[1] W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Ancient Arabia*, pp. 78 sqq.

[2] *Hosea*, iii. 2. Cf. *Ruth*, iv. 10; *Samuel*, xviii. 25.

[3] *Deuteronomy*, xx. 29.

[4] H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 350.

[5] H. Vámbéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, pp. 221, 505.

[6] Aristotle, *Politic*, ii. 8. Cf. W. Wachsmuth, *Hellenische Alterthumskunde*, vol. ii, p. 116; E. von Lasaulx, *Studien des classischen Alterthums*, pp. 392 sq.; G. Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, pp. 164 sq. Iphidamos bought his wife for a hundred kine (*Iliad*, xi. 243); Peleos "brought gifts innumerable" to pay for Chloris (*Odyssey*, x. 282); Telemachos contemplates selling his mother Penelope to the highest bidder (*Odyssey*, xxi. 162; xx. 335; xvi. 77). "My mother," he says, "hath division of heart whether to abide with me, respecting the bed of her lord and the voice of the people, or to straightway wed whomsoever of the Achaeans is the best man and gives the most bridal gifts." And Penelope herself says that "those who wish for a good lady ought to bring with them oxen of their own and goodly flocks." Girls

The payment of a bride-price was in pre-Christian times the regular mode of contracting a marriage among European peoples.[1] The essential features of so-called marriage by purchase are found surviving in Europe at the present day among the peasants of southern Spain. It is a recognised usage amongst them that the bridegroom, when a betrothal is concluded, shall deposit all his savings with the bride's family, and it is their concern to make with the money the purchases required for setting up the new home —the bed and linen, however, being provided by the bride's parents. The parents of the bridegroom, immediately after the betrothal, pay a ceremonious visit to the parents of the bride, and bring with them the most valuable presents which they can afford; the bride's parents, on the other hand, give other presents in return. That exchange of presents is regarded as of the utmost importance, and not until it is effected is the match regarded as concluded. The presents are kept very carefully by the parents of both parties, "like a deposit of money," and on no account are they disposed of or used while the old people are alive.[2]

But while 'marriage by purchase' is the general and normal mode of acquiring a wife in all stages of culture above the lowest and below the most advanced, it is only in a comparatively small number of barbaric societies that the transaction has the character which the phrase suggests to modern European ears. 'Purchase' is merely a term of appreciation ignorantly applied by missionaries and travellers to the marriage transactions of uncivilised peoples. Those transactions can obviously not be assimilated to a commercial traffic where commerce and traffic do not exist. There is no notion of barter in native Australia; materials and objects unprocurable except in some districts are obtained by exchange of gifts without any conception of exacting equivalent values or of getting the better of a bargain and making

were accordingly called in the Homeric age 'the bringers of oxen,' *ἀλφεσίβοιαι* (*Iliad*, xviii. 593).

[1] Tacitus, *Germania*, xviii; P. Laband, "Die rechtliche Stellung der Frauen im altrömischen und germanischen Recht," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachenwissenschaft*, iii, pp. 153 sq.; Theodoric, *Epistola*, xvii, in M. Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. iv, p. 8; M. Thévenin, *Textes relatifs aux institutions privées et publiques aux époques mérovingiennes*, pp. 39 sqq.; *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, vol. i, pp. 4 sq., 108 sq.; *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland*, vol. ii, p. 347, vol. iii, p. 315; P. W. Joyce, *A Social History of Ancient Ireland*, vol. ii, pp. 4 sq.; *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, pp. 92, 223; W. A. Macieiowski, *Slavische Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. ii, p. 195; J. Ph. G. Ewers, *Das älteste Recht der Russen in seiner geschichtlichen Entwickelung*, p. 226; F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, pp. 273 sqq.

[2] L. Montoto, "Costumbres populares Andaluzas," *Biblioteca de las tradiciones populares Españolas*, vol. i, pp. 76 sq.

a profit. Throughout North and South America the notion of traffic was equally rudimentary. Furs, hardwood, obsidian, pots, basketry were exchanged. Such barter served the purpose of satisfying household requirements, and was therefore conducted, as in all primitive society, chiefly by the women, who thus improved, by exchange of their industrial products with other housewives, the furniture and appointments of their own households. Those housekeeping transactions were generally looked upon by the men as beneath their notice. In European days shell-money, or 'wampun,' and beaver-skins became used as a sort of standardised basis of exchange;[1] but such a development was probably due to contact with European culture, and it is more than doubtful whether 'wampun' was ever in use as a means of exchange in pre-Columbian times. "Trade among themselves and even with strangers," says Hunter, "is conducted on a very limited scale."[2] The exchange of the pots manufactured by the women for the sago grown in other districts of New Guinea is almost the only example of anything resembling barter in Melanesia.[3] In New Zealand, as throughout Polynesia, "buying and selling for a price as practised by us was unknown. Such was not wanted where every man and every household had nearly alike and made their own commodities."[4]

Such exchange as does take place in primitive societies is regarded as an act of friendliness. Where the conception of private property is quite undeveloped, it is a universal rule that if a thing is desired, it is asked for and accepted without any sense of obligation, and given, even if valued, without any expectation of adequate return.[5] At their tribal meetings the Australian aborigines exchange gifts; they do so, as they say, in order "to make friends."[6] In the very lowest phases of culture it is customary for a man to present gifts to the relatives of a woman whom he wishes to marry; but the same thing is done whenever it is desired to express friendliness. Those presents are often of trifling value. Thus, for example, among the Hill Damaras the bride-gift consists of a bunch of onions and some striped mice. If these are accepted the young husband may make a further

[1] J. R. Swanton, in *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. i, pp. 446 sqq.

[2] J. D. Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, p. 293.

[3] See above, vol. i, p. 470.

[4] W. Colenso, *On the Maori Races of New Zealand*, p. 22.

[5] Thus, of the natives of Brazil, Herrera says: "Whatsoever they had they freely gave to any that asked for it, and they were in like manner free in asking and receiving of those they looked on as their friends" (A. de Herrera, *General History of the West Indies*, vol. i, p. 217).

[6] A. W. Howitt, *The Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 718. Cf. T. Petrie, *Reminiscences of early Queensland*, p. 59.

present to his father-in-law of one or two 'assagai,' or a bow and arrows and the skin of a spring-bok. Some of these presents are returned to him.[1] Among the Mangoni of East Africa two buck-skins are a fair price for a wife.[2] The Veddah bridegroom generally presents his prospective father-in-law with a cake of wild honey.[3] The Caroline Islanders give the girl's father some bananas, or some fish.[4] The Eskimo of Repulse Bay will sometimes give him a dog, or a knife, or a handful of gunpowder and a dozen percussion-caps.[5] Such presents are no more than would be customarily made in regard to any other friendly transaction or arrangement.

There is, or was in pre-Columbian days, no 'marriage by purchase,' in the proper sense of the term, in any part of the American continent. The nearest apparent approach to such a transaction is presented by the customs of the Pacific tribes in California and British Columbia; a substantial marriage gift was amongst them essential, and the honour of the bride and her family depended on the amount of such a gift. But a definite system of aristocratic castes exists in those tribes, and the express object of the bride-gift exacted is to insure against any 'mésalliance' on the part of the bride and to serve as a tangible guarantee of the rank and wealth of the bridegroom.[6] For the same reasons it is equally incumbent on the family to make a return present of at least equal value. Thus among the Nutka of Vancouver "it is a point of honour that the purchase-money given for a woman of rank shall some time or other be returned by her friends or her tribe in a present of equal value."[7] The rule is strictly observed amongst all the tribes of British Columbia, and the presents made to the bridegroom's family by the bride's are often of greater value than those distributed to the relatives of the bride.[8] Where the presenting of substantial gifts by the bridegroom has become customary among other American tribes, it is likewise regarded

[1] J. E. Alexander, *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, vol. ii, p. 137.

[2] D. Macdonald, *Africana*, vol. i, p. 133.

[3] B. F. Hartshorne, "The Weddas," *The Indian Antiquary*, viii, p. 320.

[4] O. von Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beerings Straits*, vol. iii, p. 210.

[5] W. H. Gilder, *Schwatka's Search*, pp. 249 sq.

[6] S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 22.

[7] G. M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 98. Cf. F. Boas, "Second General Report on the Indians of British Columbia," *Report of the Sixtieth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (Leeds, 1890), p. 595.

[8] F. Boas, *op. cit.*, pp. 575, 642; R. Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, vol. i, p. 319.

as incumbent upon the woman's relatives to return an equivalent amount.[1] Among the tribes of the Oregon "the wife's relations always raise as many horses (or other property) for her dower as the bridegroom has sent the parents, but scrupulously take care not to turn over the same horses or the same articles."[2] Among the Patagonians gifts are presented by the bridegroom to the bride's parents; these "then return gifts of an equal value."[3] The Fuegians have been described as 'buying' their wives, because they present a number of otter skins to the relatives of the woman; but she, on the other hand, brings to her husband a canoe, and a set of harpoons, which would seem to be a much more valuable contribution than the skins 'paid' for her.[4] There is manifestly nothing resembling a mercenary transaction in such usages; far from constituting a sale of the woman, they are on the contrary a guarantee required by her and her family of the social standing of her suitor and of his ability to provide adequately for her. Among the Hupa of California "a man's standing in the world depended on the amount of money which had been paid for his mother at the time of his marriage."[5] In later times those required guarantees may easily have excited covetousness on the part of the girl's family. Among the Navahos and the Apaches a considerable number of horses was required as a bride-price for a young woman;[6] but traffic in horses clearly does not appertain to the original social habits of these Indians, who had none. "Some travellers," remarks Mr. Matthews, "have represented that the marriage by purchase among the Indians is a mere sale of the woman to the highest bidder, whose slave she becomes, but I feel that they misrepresent the custom, unless where their remarks may apply to some modern irregularities among the least reputable persons. Certainly they misrepresent it as it exists in this tribe (the Hidatsa). The presenting of the wedding gift is a form. The gift itself is a pledge to the parents for the proper treatment of their daughter as well as evidence of the wealth of the suitor and

[1] W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River*, vol. ii, p. 157; M. Lewis and W. Clarke, *Travels to the Source of the Missouri River*, p. 307; T. Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, vol. iii, p. 337; J. O. Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 260.

[2] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. v, p. 654.

[3] G. C. Musters, *At Home with the Patagonians*, p. 177.

[4] G. Bove, *Patagonia. Terra del Fuoco. Mari Australi*, p. 132.

[5] P. E. Goddard, *Life and Culture of the Hupa*, p. 56.

[6] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. iv, p. 214; A. M. Stephen, "The Navajo," *The American Anthropologist*, vi, p. 356; J. Letherman, "Sketch of the Navajo Tribe of Indians, Territory of New Mexico," *Smithsonian Report*, 1855 p. 294; J. C. Cremony, *Life Among the Apaches*, p. 247.

relations. The larger the marriage gift the more flattering it is to the bride and her relations." [1]

In Polynesia, as is generally recognised, 'purchase' was unknown in regard to marriage or any other transaction. Yet very valuable presents were exchanged in Samoa between the respective families of persons of noble family.[2] In Nukahiva the bride's family was loaded with presents, but none was retained; the articles were immediately given over to be looted by the people.[3] In Raratonga a large number of gifts was collected by the relatives of both bride and bridegroom. They were cast into a heap at the wedding and ostentatiously displayed; the gifts were then redistributed among the givers, the transaction thus resulting in a shuffling of possessions.[4] Great importance is attached throughout Polynesia to those displays of wealth, but they have obviously nothing to do with any purchase transaction, but derive the importance with which they are regarded from the public demonstration they offer of the wealth and importance of the families concerned. In Futuna a missionary laments that "a miserable vanity, a remain of paganism, had rendered the practice of marriage rare, and hence has given rise to grave abuses. It was required formerly in order that a marriage should be reputed honourable that the family of the young man should furnish a great quantity of hogs, so that the festivities might be prolonged for several days, and that the family of the young woman should make a proportionate display of valuable fine mats; a marriage, therefore, cost a great deal. Only a small number of families were in a position to indulge in those requirements of two of our capital sins, and, rather than publicly avow their inferiority of fortune, they preferred to abandon their children to a life of clandestine unions which followed one another in disorder." [5] In Duke of York Island, in the New Britain group, all the relatives of the bridegroom make elaborate presents of native cloth to each of the relatives of the bride, the respective shares being very carefully distributed according to a sliding scale based on the degree of relationship. There is sometimes considerable haggling, and the bride's relatives insist on receiving more than is at first offered. But at the wedding feast all these presents are brought back and

[1] W. Matthews, *Ethnology and Philology of the Hidatsa*, p. 52. Cf. J. O. Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 259.

[2] G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 93, 96; W. T. Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, pp. 139 sq.; J. B. Stair, *Old Samoa*, pp. 172 sq.

[3] L. Tautain, "Étude sur le mariage chez les Polynésiens des Îles Marquises," *L'Anthropologie*, vi, p. 642.

[4] T. West, *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, p. 269.

[5] A. Monfat, *Le Missionnaire des Samoa, Mgr. L. Elloy*, p. 346.

half the amount is invariably returned to the givers, and sometimes the whole.[1] In New Guinea the bride-price, which is collected from the relatives of the bridegroom, is often presented to the bride's relatives long after the marriage; when the husband is in a particularly genial mood he will say to his wife, "Let us make a present to your father."[2] Among the Ainu of Japan 'marriage purchase' is entirely unknown, but there is an exchange of presents between the relatives of the bride and bridegroom.[3]

The purchase of a wife is impossible in the most primitive cultural stages, not only because the men have no notion of any commercial exchange, but because they possess no fundable property, and are therefore destitute of purchasing power. The primitive hunter who joins the social group of his wife or 'serves' for her contributes all that his economic power enables him to give, the product of his labour; and this may be regarded as a form of payment. In more advanced cultural stages he holds possessions which may enable him to offer a substitute for such services, and to commute his obligation to serve his wife's group permanently. 'Marriage by purchase' is thus continuous with the 'mitigated form of slavery' of the serving husband. In Angoniland, as in several other parts of Africa, matrilocal service, which was once general, is falling into disuse and is commuted by the making of a payment; the older custom is now somewhat contemptuously referred to by the natives as "playing the son-in-law."[4] As Livingstone remarked, that servitude of the husband is but a form "of the law from which emanates the practice which prevails so extensively in Africa, known to Europeans as 'buying wives.'"[5] Only at a very definite stage of cultural evolution has the man become an owner of transferable and fundable property, and in a position to drive a bargain, and to commute all contributions to the woman's family by a lump payment. That position was attained only when he became an owner of domesticated cattle, his first form of real property. Marriage by purchase in the proper sense is accordingly not found at all in Australia, Melanesia, Polynesia, or in America, where no domesticated cattle and consequently no man-owned wealth, existed. It is in pastoral societies, or in societies that have passed through pastoral stages, in Africa, Asia, and Europe, that the purchasing power of the bride-gift has developed.

[1] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, pp. 114 sq.

[2] R. E. Guise, "On the Tribes inhabiting the mouth of the Wanigela River, New Guinea," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii, p. 209.

[3] J. Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folklore*, p. 226. Cf. M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 105.

[4] R. S. Rattray, *Some Folk-Lore Stories and Songs in Chinyunga*, p. 202.

[5] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches*, p. 632.

Such a payment has a totally different origin from that of commerce in goods and produce, and is a far older transaction. In the vast majority of instances it is not at all regarded as similar, nor is it so in fact. The 'purchased' wife may be a princess and the husband nothing. The princesses of the royal house of Ashanti, for example, took a succession of husbands, who 'purchased' them. The men were treated as slaves, and kept under guard; and it was the deliberate and avowed object of those ladies to be 'purchased' by as many wealthy men as possible and to ruin them. The wife-purchasers were dismissed after they had been completely depleted of their substance.[1] The fleecing of the purchasing husband is also the matrimonial policy of the ladies among the Beni-Amer.[2] Among the Tuareg of the Ahir the price paid to the wife is four camels. "These four camels remain always the property of the wife, with which she supports herself, sending them to the Sudan or to Bilma to fetch ghasep or salt. Many of the women have a large property obtained in this way."[3] The ladies in ancient Egypt turned, as we have seen, their sale to a husband to equally good account.[4] What the self-complacency of Europeans has represented as the 'purchase of women' is thus not even an indication of female subjection. The Greeks were painfully embarrassed by the fact that their own ancestors 'bought' their wives, paying an ἐδνα, or bride-price, for them; but the 'purchased' wives of the archaic age stood upon an immeasurably higher level than the wretched dowried wives of later times.

Even where 'marriage by purchase' has assumed its crudest form it is very far from being regarded by the women as an indignity. On the contrary, the amount which has been paid for them is a source of pride, and it would be a social disgrace to be acquired for nothing. In Africa the women "cherish the custom very much. They think it shows respect for them."[5] Kaffir women take the greatest pride in the fact that a large number of cattle has been paid for them, and never respect themselves until that is done.[6] Of the Dinka women it is said that the "desire to have a large marriage-price paid for their value will influence them to accept marriage with men objectionable to them."[7] The following explanations furnished by

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, pp. 287, 297 sqq.

[2] E. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 325.

[3] J. Richardson, *Narrative of a Mission to Central Africa*, vol. ii, p. 103.

[4] See above, vol. i, p. 383.

[5] *The Natives of South Africa*, edited by the South African Native Races Committee, p. 28.

[6] E. Blackwood Wright, "Native Races in South Africa," *Journal of the African Society*, ii, p. 266.

[7] H. O'Sullivan, "Dinka Laws and Customs," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xl, p. 180.

a young Amako girl may help to make clear their view of the transaction. On being asked by a traveller why she did not marry a young Kaffir for whom she seemed to show a good deal of affection, she answered that she was indeed rather fond of him but that she could not marry him because he could only pay ten cows for her, whereas her father demanded fifteen. The kindly white man remarked that this seemed rather hard on her, and that her father must be very unkind to sacrifice the happiness of his daughter for the sake of five cows. But the Kaffir damsel did not see it in that light. "What!" she exclaimed, "sell me for ten cows! I should like to see him do it. Am I, then, worth no more than Chili, who was sold last week for twelve cows? I am pretty, I can cook, sew, speak English, and with all those advantages shall my father sell me for ten miserable cows? Oh, sir, how little you think of me! No, no, my father is quite right; I think he should ask twenty cows for me, for I am well worth it." [1] The respectability of a woman is everywhere measured by the price which has been paid for her, and the fact of her having been duly paid for is the criterion of the legitimacy of the union, and therefore of the 'honour' of the woman. In Australia a woman who has not been exchanged for another, or for whom nothing has been given, is socially degraded, and is regarded in the same way as we should regard a common prostitute.[2] The same view of the disreputable nature of such an unbusiness-like union is taken by the Papuans,[3] and by the Toradjas of Celebes.[4] Among the Indians of Columbia it was a disgrace for a woman not to have had a bride-price paid for her,[5] and in California "the children of a woman for whom no money had been paid are accounted no better than bastards." [6] The women are naturally "opposed to the idea of marrying unless they are bought." [7] In West

[1] E. von Weber, *Vier Jahre in Afrika*, vol. ii, p. 266. Cf. D. Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, pp. 220 sq.; W. E. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking People of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, p. 49; J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, pp. 39, 209; J. H. Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, p. 142.

[2] G. Taplin, *The Folklore, Manners, Customs, and Languages of the South Australian Aborigines*, pp. 34, 50.

[3] R. W. Williamson, "Some unrecorded Customs of the Mekeo People of British New Guinea," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xliii, p. 275; K. Vetter, "Bericht . . . über papuanische Rechtsverhältnisse, wie solche namentlich bei den Jabim beobachtet wurden," *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel*, 1897, p. 90.

[4] N. Adriani and A. C. Kruijt, *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's van Midden-Celebes*, vol. ii, p. 25.

[5] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. i, p. 277.

[6] S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, pp. 22, 56. Cf. P. E. Goddard, *Life and Culture of the Hupa*, p. 56.

[7] S. Powers, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

Africa likewise a woman who has not been properly purchased is looked upon as a whore.[1] So also among the Yakut, a woman for whom nothing has been paid is regarded as a social outcast; indeed, Yakut women do not think European women quite respectable, since they can be had for nothing and even offer a dowry to a man as an inducement to marry them.[2] Where, in South Africa, the natives have been Christianised and have consequently been persuaded not to pay for their wives, this has brought about an enormous increase of immorality and loss of self-respect on the part of the women; conjugal unhappiness and desertion have greatly increased. A Christian Kaffir will taunt his wife with the fact that he has not properly bought her. "You are no better than a cat," he will say to her; "I have paid nothing for you." A cat is one of the few animals that can be acquired for nothing.[3] Consequently it is not uncommon among the Christianised natives for the men to make a surreptitious payment to their wife's family in order to set their minds at rest as to the proper and respectable status of their children.[4]

Even in Europe in Christian times the proper payment of the bride-price was regarded as the main condition constituting the legality of a marriage. In the early middle ages, marriages in which the husband had made no payment were regarded as illegitimate. We have, for example, a series of legal documents dating from Merovingian times in which a man goes to great trouble to obtain an order in the law-courts that his children shall be considered legitimate and not as bastards, notwithstanding the fact that he had not paid the proper purchase-money for his wife.[5] King Frotho of Denmark in Christian times, when, owing to the influence of the new religion, men were beginning to become somewhat lax in the manner of contracting marriages, issued a decree to the effect that no one should be permitted to marry a woman unless he had properly paid for her.[6]

The acquisition of a wife by paying for her, although not origin-

[1] R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 6.

[2] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts, abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi, p. 85.

[3] E. Blackwood Wright, "Native Races in South Africa," *Journal of the African Society*, ii, p. 266. Cf. D. Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 224; *The Natives of South Africa*, edited by the South African Native Races Committee, p. 29.

[4] *The Native Races of South Africa*, edited by the South African Native Races Committee, p. 41.

[5] M. Thévenin, *Textes relatifs aux institutions privées et publiques aux époques mérovingiennes et carolingiennes*, pp. 39 sqq.

[6] A. Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, vol. iii, p. 292.

ally an act of purchase, has, owing to the similarity of the transaction to such an act, and by an inevitable abuse, assumed at times that character, and the woman who has been paid for has become assimilated to negotiable property. Thus in Sumatra, where marriage by purchase is a late innovation on matrilocal service, a man in some parts of the country may, by paying double the usual bride-price, acquire complete rights over the woman, and may thus even re-sell her, hire her or pawn her.[1] In East Africa, among the Mkamba, a wife "is bought and sold, and may even be traded as a piece of goods."[2] Among the Warega of the Congo a man may aspire to the hand of a woman who is already married, by simply offering a higher price than her present owner has paid for her.[3] Similarly, in Chinese Tibet a daughter may be sold over and over again; if, after she has been married to one man, another offers a higher price, her father reimburses the first husband, takes back his daughter and, handing her to the second suitor, pockets the difference. The speculation may thus be repeated as often as ten times.[4] The Samoyeds also may "commerce with their wives";[5] and Georgi knew a Tartar gentleman who had disposed of eight successive wives at a profit, with the entire concurrence of the ladies. That remarkable business man was at the time engaged in courting his ninth bride.[6]

[1] B . . . n, "Korte aanstippigen nopens de afdeeling Benkoelen," *Tijdschrift voor Neêrlands Indië*, i, p. 353. Cf. W. Marsden, *The History of Sumatra*, p. 262.

[2] C. Dundas, "History of Kitui," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xliii, p. 519.

[3] C. Delhaise, *Les Warega*, p. 171.

[4] W. J. Reid, "Among the Farthest People," *The Cosmopolitan*, xxviii, p. 452.

[5] F. G. Jackson, "Notes on the Samoyeds of the Great Tundra," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv, p. 405.

[6] J. G. Georgi, *Description de toutes les nations de l'Empire de Russie*, vol. ii, p. 23. Examples of wives being regarded as an article of traffic may be found nearer home. "It is much to be lamented," stated Mr. Grafton in a petition to Queen Elizabeth, "that wards are bought and sold as commonly as are beasts." The following from *Chambers's Journal*, October 12, 1861, may be of interest: "In 1766 a carpenter of Southwark, Higginson by name, sold his wife to a friend. A few days later he repented and asked to have her back; but Mrs. Higginson would not hear of it, and maintained that 'A sale was a sale, and not a joke.' In 1767 a bricklayer in Marylebone sold his wife for five shillings and threepence and a gallon of beer." In a toll-book at Birmingham the following entry is found: "August 31, 1773. Samuel Whitehom, of Willenhill in the county of Stafford, this day sold his wife, Mary Whitehom, in open market to Thomas Griffiths, of Birmingham. Value one shilling. To take her with all faults." In 1805, at Tuxford, a man sold his wife *and child* for five shillings. In 1807 Mr. John Lupton, of Linton, offered to purchase the wife of Richard Waddlilove, innkeeper

Such instances of 'marriage by purchase' assuming a crudely mercenary character are, in reality, remarkably exceptional considering the wide distribution of the usage, and there is every indication that they represent an adventitious abuse of comparatively recent origin. That corrupt view of the transaction is found for the most part in those regions the social organisation of which has long been subverted by an extensive development of slave-traffic, and where the bride-price has consequently tended to become identified with the purchase-money paid for a slave. That the people themselves are frequently aware that such a mercenary view is a deviation from the original character of the transaction and an abuse arising from covetousness, is indicated by the efforts which are often made to put down the abuse by fixing the legal amount of the bride-price. Thus among the Nanzela the chiefs in former times would not allow a large bride-price to be paid; two or three hoes were to be sufficient, and as little as three strings of beads were sometimes given. In later years they have taken to demanding substantial amounts.[1] On the Gold Coast the most aristocratic families had each a fixed bride-price which was irrespective of whether the bride was old or young, handsome or ugly.[2] Similarly, among the Shambaa of Usambara the number of goats payable for a woman is fixed by tribal law;[3] and in Uganda a universal rate was fixed as bride-price for all women, whether peasant girls or princesses, amounting to thirteen shillings and fourpence.[4]

The older character of the bride-price as a gift serving as a

of Grossington. He offered one hundred guineas. The wife in this case objected. In 1822 Brooks, an auctioneer of Plymouth, put his wife up for sale. In this instance the police interfered. The wife, however, told the magistrate that she was very anxious to be sold, and had in fact made arrangements with a gentleman that he should buy her, an innkeeper being instructed to bid in his behalf up to twenty pounds. If, however, that reserve were exceeded she was content to go to the highest bidder. In 1832 Joseph Thompson, a farmer from the neighbourhood of Carlisle, could not agree with his wife. He gave notice through the bellman that she should be sold by auction the following market-day. Mrs. Thompson was 'knocked down' to a Mr. Mears for one pound. The list might be considerably extended. As late as 1881 a case was mentioned in Parliament of a man selling his wife for a quart of beer.

[1] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, p. 50. Cf. G. M. MacCall Theal, *The Yellow and Dark-skinned People of Africa South of the Zambesi*, p. 219; G. Viehe, "Die Ovaherero," in S. R. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien*, p. 307.

[2] T. Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, vol. ii, p. 110.

[3] H. Dahlgrün, "Heiratsgebräuche der Schambaa," *Mittheilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten*, xvi, p. 228.

[4] J. F. Cunningham, *Uganda and its People*, p. 161.

guarantee of competence and acknowledged by corresponding gifts from the bride's family, is found preserved even where 'marriage by purchase' is most fully developed. Among the aboriginal populations of Northern Asia proof of the man's personal abilities is, as we have seen, required, whether he be the possessor of accumulated wealth or not. Where such tests are dispensed with, the 'kalym' bears no resemblance to a profit made out of the sale of the woman. Among the Ostyak it is strictly proportional to the dowry which the bride brings to her husband. A rich Ostyak girl cannot be married without the payment of at least a hundred reindeer and an assortment of rich furs; but she in turn brings a dowry which is quite equivalent in value to those gifts.[1] Among the Yukaghir the reindeer and other presents exchanged by the bride's and the bridegroom's families are practically equal in value, and a girl cannot marry if she is too poor to have an adequate dowry.[2] Among the Kalmuks the 'kalym' goes towards the cost of the 'yurta' and furnishings which the bride provides.[3] A dowry equivalent to the bride-price is brought by the bride among all the Turki tribes of Central Asia.[4] Buryat girls likewise bring to their husbands a 'yurta,' a full equipment of household goods, and a harnessed horse, which are at least equivalent to the bride-price given;[5] and the dowries of Tungus and Yakut women are quite as valuable as the 'kalyms' presented by the grooms.[6] Among the Teleuts "the bride's parents give the whole 'kalym' as a dowry to their daughters, and even make it larger by adding presents from themselves."[7] The Malays in Malacca, according to an old Chinese account, "in contracting a marriage, attach much importance to the marriage presents. The bridegroom has to provide a certain amount, but in his turn expects that the dowry of the bride will be many times as much, and moreover the bride brings five or six slaves with her."[8]

In Africa 'marriage by purchase' has, more than in any other part of the world, developed into a mercenary bargain. Yet there is clear evidence that this is only a corruption of comparatively

[1] S. Pallas, *Travels through Siberia and Tartary*, p. 304.

[2] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 96; W. Jochelson, *The Yukaghir*, p. 90.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[4] H. Vámbéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, pp. 233 sq.

[5] M. A. Czaplicka, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 105 sq., 108 sq.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 117.

[8] W. P. Groenweldt, "Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, compiled from Chinese Sources," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, xxxix, p. 127.

recent origin ; and it has not even at the present day by any means invariably assumed that character. Among the Zulus, marriage by purchase is perhaps as crude a transaction as anywhere. But they "never consider it as a sale" ; the term 'to buy' does not apply to it, and they point out that the husband has no right to re-sell his wife as he would an article acquired by purchase.[1] "The practice of making an express bargain," says Mr. Shooter, "can hardly be said to have prevailed thirty years ago." In former days the general procedure was that, after the conclusion of the marriage, "the male friends of the bride made their demand for cattle, but not for any particular number. The bridegroom, having previously arranged as to the number he will give on the occasion, presents them with apologies for the smallness of the number." [2] Further, by an immemorial custom, the wife acquires all the cows in her husband's herd, they become her property and cannot be disposed of without her authority.[3] Among the Baila, as elsewhere, the cattle is contributed by all the male relatives of the bridegroom, and distributed among those of the bride ; but the bride's father himself gets little. It is regarded as wrong ever to dispose of the offspring of the cattle paid as bride-price, this being essentially held in trust for the bride and her children.[4] The cattle given for the bride is in South Africa "looked upon as a fund for her benefit if required." [5] Among the Herero all the most valuable animals paid by the bridegroom to his wife's family are immediately killed, and furnish the feast by which the alliance is cemented.[6] Among the Bahima, out of seven head of cattle paid by the bridegroom three are returned with the bride.[7] In Kikuyu a young man's family must give four cows to the bride's family before the latter can be removed from her home, but when she joins her husband she brings back the four cows and three more in addition.[8] Among the Wakamba it is a recognised custom for the newly married pair to steal some of the cattle which have been paid as

[1] E. Blackwood Wright, "Native Races in South Africa," *Journal of the African Society*, ii, p. 266.

[2] J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, p. 49.

[3] Id., *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[4] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, pp. 50 sq.

[5] *The Natives of South Africa*, edited by the South African Native Races Committee, p. 30.

[6] G. M. McCall Theal, *The Yellow and Dark-skinned People of Africa South of the Zambesi*, p. 219.

[7] J. F. Cunningham, *Uganda and its Peoples*, p. 7.

[8] J. M. Hildebrandt, "Ethnographishe Notizen über Wakámba und ihre Nachbaren," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x, p. 399.

bride-price, "with the tacit consent of the father."[1] Among the Beni-Amer the bride-price goes towards starting the couple's housekeeping.[2] Among the Karamojo half the cattle which have been paid as bride-price are given to the wife when she becomes a mother.[3] Among some Mandigo tribes the dowry which the bride brings with her is sometimes three times as large as the bride-price,[4] and in Sarae five times as much cattle is brought with her by the bride as have been given by the bridegroom.[5] Among the Kavirondo, although the cattle paid as bride-price become the property of the bride's father, all cows that are born belong to the son-in-law, and must be handed over to him or to his heirs after his death.[6] Among wealthy chiefs on the Gold Coast the wife invariably brings a dowry to her husband.[7]

Such facts show clearly that even in Africa, where the transaction has tended perhaps more than anywhere else to become assimilated to a purchase, such was not its original character. The purchase-money is regarded, as with the western tribes of North America or with the Melanesians, as a guarantee of the bridegroom's economic and social position.

The purchasing power which in pastoral and higher cultural stages the men have acquired, and which has enabled them to buy off the services which in primitive stages they are obliged to furnish to the relatives of their wives, has been one of the causes, and probably the chief and most general cause, of the change from a matrilocal to a patrilocal system of marriage. The bride-price is sometimes sentimentally represented as the 'price of virginity.'[8] Primitively it has no reference whatever to the right of access to the woman, or even to the rearing of a whole family by her, but very definitely to the claims to remove her and her children from her parental home to the husband's. In Indonesia, where the native custom of matrilocal marriage and the more recently introduced usage of 'marriage by purchase' commonly exist among the same peoples side by side, the latter practice confers on the husband the right to remove his wife and her children; but he is at the same time at liberty to marry the woman without

[1] J. M. Hildebrandt, "Ethnographishe Notizen über Wakámba und ihre Nachbaren," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x, p. 401.

[2] W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 319.

[3] J. F. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[4] H. Hecquard, *Voyage sur la côte et dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique occidentale*, p. 323.

[5] W. Munzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

[6] H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 748.

[7] T. Waitz, *Anthropologie der Natürvolker*, vol. ii, p. 110.

[8] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 124 (Samoyeds); L. Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 233 (Zambesi natives).

any bride-price if he is content to take up his abode in her home; and while some conservative populations insist upon the immemorial form of marriage and demand no bride-price, others permit the Islamic usage in consideration of the payment. Thus, for example, among the Savu Islanders, "marriages are contracted with or without 'kebul,' or dowry. Marrying in his own 'kampong' without 'kebul,' the children follow the mother. If a man marries a woman from another province, he is bound to pay this, otherwise the husband is obliged to abide with his wife." [1] Or, again, in the island of Timor the natives of the Saluki district will not allow their daughters to leave the parental home, and they marry without bride-price; whereas the natives of Biduk accept a bride-price and allow the husband to remove his wife.[2] Similarly, in Nyasaland, where matrilocal marriage is the traditional native usage, 'marriage by purchase' is coming into use; but "the husband who does not purchase is reckoned the slave of his wife's friends." [3] So also in Tonkin and Cambodia, the husband has the choice of living with his wife's people without payment, or of taking his wife home and paying for the right, unless, indeed, her parents will not part with her at any price.[4] Frequently, when the required bride-price is paid in instalments, the wife continues in her own home until such payment is completed, and her children do not belong to her husband's, but to her parents' family. Thus among the Kafirs of Hindu-Kush, "although a man may marry a woman with the full consent of all concerned, and although she may bear him children, neither she nor her children would be allowed to leave her father's house until the last penny of her price has been paid. It is paying the full price which gives the man the right to take his wife to his home for her to work in the fields." [5] The removal of the woman and her children from her parental home is similarly conditional upon the payment of the last instalment of the bride-price in Timorlaut, or Tenimber,[6] and in the New Hebrides.[7] So,

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, "The Sawu or Haawu Group," *Revue Coloniale Internationale*, i, p. 308. Cf. F. J. P. Sachse, *Het eiland Seran en zijne bewoners*, p. 104; F. Junghuhn, *Die Battalander auf Sumatra*, vol. ii, p. 132; W. Marsden, *The History of Sumatra*, pp. 235 sq., 262 sq.

[2] A. K. Forbes, *Ras Mala, or Hindoo annals of the Province of Gooserat*, vol. ii, p. 457.

[3] H. Cole, "Notes on the Wagogo of German East Africa," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii, p. 311.

[4] See above, vol. i, pp. 299 sq.

[5] G. S. Robertson, *The Káfirs of the Hindu-Kush*, p. 535.

[6] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 301.

[7] A. Forbes, *Insulinde*, pp. 170 sq.

likewise, among the Mishmis of Assam, who are abandoning their ancient matrilocal customs and adopting marriage by bride-price, the woman and her children may not leave the maternal home until the last instalment has been paid.[1] The Wakamba,[2] the Makaranga,[3] and the Kuku[4] insist in the same manner upon matrilocal marriage until the bride-price has been fully paid up; and other African peoples claim all children born of the marriage until the payment is completed.[5] Until then disputes are always liable to arise as to which family the woman belongs to.[6]

Sometimes, however, in firmly established and advanced matriarchal societies it is no easy matter for the men, even when possessed of the economic lever afforded by the power to offer a substantial bride-price, to break through the immemorial privilege of matriarchal marriage, and the strangest devices are resorted to. Since according to matriarchal law a man's children are not his heirs, but his property passes to his sister's children, the men in several parts of Africa have adopted the plan of purchasing slave-girls, and of making over their property to their children by those concubines. Thus it comes about in those instances that those children whom we should call 'legitimate' do not inherit from their father, while those whom we should call 'illegitimate' or 'bastards' are his only lawful heirs. Among the Kimbunda of South Africa a man has no power over his children, but only over his sister's children; accordingly, "only those children which he has by a slave-woman are regarded by the man as his real children, and they are also his heirs."[7] The Wanyamwezi of the country south of Lake Victoria "have adopted the curious practice of leaving property to their illegitimate children by slave-girls or concubines, to the exclusion of their issue by their wives."[8] In Loango also the strange fact was noted by an old missionary that a man prefers his illegitimate children.[9] Among the Bambala of the Congo a man's children by his own wife do not belong to him, but to her

[1] T. T. Cooper, *The Mishmee Hills*, pp. 236 sq.

[2] J. M. Hildebrandt, "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakâmba und ihre Nachbaren," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x, p. 401.

[3] G. M. McCall Theal, *The Yellow and Dark-skinned People of Africa South of the Zambesi*, p. 220 n.

[4] J. Vanden Plas, *Les Kuku*, p. 218.

[5] C. Grant, "Magato and his Tribe," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv, p. 270; J. Tyler, *Forty Years among the Zulus*, p. 119; *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 86; Bufe, "Die Bakundu," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, N.F., xii, p. 236.

[6] G. M. McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol. vii, p. 433.

[7] L. Magyar, *Reise in Süd-Afrika*, p. 284.

[8] R. F. Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*, vol. ii, pp. 23 sq.

[9] J. B. Labat, *Relation historique de l'Éthiopie occidentale*, vol. i, p. 226.

brother and inherit from him; but a man's children by a slave-woman are his own and may inherit from their father.[1] So again, among the Fellatah, a man's property goes to his sister's children; but "the practice of adopting children is very prevalent; though they have sons and daughters of their own, the adopted child becomes the heir to the whole of the property."[2] Among the Tuareg and Berber tribes of the Sahara it is quite a common practice for the men to purchase concubines in order to beget legitimate heirs.[3] That subterfuge, by the use of which men are enabled to evade matriarchal law, is fairly often employed, like other similar evasions, in connection with the succession to the royal stool. Thus among the Kelowi, a Tuareg tribe of the southern Sahara, the chieftain "must not marry a woman of the Targi blood, but can rear children only from black women or female slaves."[4] By this means the succession to the chieftainship is secured for his own children, whereas if he married a woman of his own race it would go to his nephews.[5] So again, in the Fanti kingdom the heir to the throne is not the son of the king and queen; the succession passes, we are told, to "the principal slave."[6] It may sound strange that a mere slave should be the regular heir to the throne to the exclusion of a prince of the royal blood; but that anomaly becomes intelligible in the light of the customs we have just noted, for the slave, who takes his mother's rank and inherits from his father, is no doubt the son and heir of the king from a slave-girl whom he has purchased, and whose children he can therefore call his own. Similarly, in Ashanti the succession to the throne follows the matriarchal rule and passes, on the death of the king, to one of the sons of the queen-mother or of the royal princesses. In the event of there being no such regular heir, however, the throne passes to "the principal slave."[7]

[1] E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, "Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Mbala," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv, p. 410. Cf. E. Torday, *Camp and Tramp in African Wilds*, p. 95.

[2] D. Denham, *Travels in Africa*, vol. iv, p. 131.

[3] J. Richardson, *Narrative of a Mission to Central Africa*, vol. ii, p. 104.

[4] H. Barth, *Voyages and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, vol. i, pp. 340 sq.

[5] In patriarchal societies the same provision may be adopted for the exactly opposite purpose. Contrary to the popular idea, the Sultans of Turkey never had a wife at all; all the ladies of the imperial harem were purchased slaves (F. Goldstein, "Die Frauen in Haussafulbien, und Adamana," *Globus*, xciv, p. 63). The object of the rule was, of course, in this case to guard against the existence of any 'heir to the throne,' so as to secure the regular Ottoman succession of the monarch by election.

[6] T. E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*, p. 205.

[7] Id., *loc. cit.*

' Marriage by Capture.'

One mode of obtaining wives which would apparently bring about male supremacy and female subjugation in an absolute and direct manner, is the forcible capture of women from neighbouring tribes or groups. It was suggested by McLennan,[1] and by Lord Avebury,[2] that this was the original and most primitive manner in which men obtained wives, and ' marriage by capture ' has accordingly occupied a prominent place in discussions concerning the origin and history of the institution. McLennan, and those who followed him, regarded the custom of obtaining wives by capture from neighbouring groups as the original cause of the primal law of exogamy and its consequence, the prohibition of incest. If that were so, ' marriage by capture ' would constitute a fundamental element in social history, and it would be, in fact, the source and foundation of all marriage regulations and institutions.

The forcible capture of women certainly occurs, and has occurred to a greater or less extent, in every part of the world and at all epochs. It is the natural accompaniment of primitive and barbaric warfare, and with several tribes has become the chief object of such warfare. There is, nevertheless, remarkably little evidence in support of the view that in any primitive society the capture of women has ever been the usual mode of procuring a wife.

One of the chief examples adduced of a people who habitually and systematically obtained their wives by capture is that of the Caribbean savages of the West Indies. The original account of their practice in this respect is contained in the earliest ethnological report which we possess concerning any native race of the American continent, namely, in the narrative of the voyages of Columbus written by Pietro Martire. The account runs as follows : " These people make descents on the other islands, where they capture all the women which they can get hold of, especially the younger and more handsome ; these they keep in their service and as concubines. And they capture them in such numbers that in quite fifty houses we found more than twenty of those captive girls. And those women say that the men treat them with incredible cruelty, for the children which they have of them, they eat them, and they bring up those children only which they beget from their ordinary wives (' en sus mugeres naturales ')." [3] It scarcely appears from

[1] J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, pp. 9 sqq.

[2] J. Lubbock, *The Origin of Civilisation*, pp. 96 sqq.

[3] Pedro Martir, " Segundo viage de Cristoforo Colon," in M. Fernandez de Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fine del siglo XV*, vol. i, pp. 204 sq. Cf. J. F. Lafitau,

that account that the practice of the Caribs, which is the favourite example adduced of habitual 'marriage by capture,' affords any illustration of that practice; and we know, on the other hand, that the regular rule of marriage among the Caribbean races was that of cross-cousin marriage,[1] a usage which postulates a firmly established organisation of intermarriage by agreement between marriage-groups. The capture of women from neighbouring tribes in warfare took place habitually among several South American tribes.[2] But where details are available it appears that with those tribes the captured women are in general treated

Moeurs des sauvages amériquains, vol. i, pp. 555 sq.; C. de Rochefort, *Histoire naturelle et morale des Îles Antilles de l'Amérique*, p. 545; E. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 186. The practice of eating their children by foreign women may sound like an exaggeration, but there is no reason to disbelieve it. It is confirmed by Cieza de Leon, who found it among the Caribs of the mainland in the valley of the Nore, and who appeals to the testimony of Juan de Vadillo (P. de Cieza de Leon, *La Cronica del Peru*, pp. 21 sqq.). The Australian aborigines were in the habit of doing the same thing as regards the children of their women by Europeans (W. Westgarth, *Australia Felix*, p. 58; H. Bringham, in *House of Commons Accounts and Papers*, 1844, vol. xxxiv, p. 164).

[1] See above, vol. i, p. 572. Stress has been laid by way of emphasising the supposed foreign marriages of the Caribs on the fact that men and women are said to have spoken different languages. But such differences in the language of the men and that of the women are reported from every part of the American continent and from many other parts of the world (see R. Lasch, "Über Sondersprachen und ihre Enstehung," *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, xxxvii, pp. 95 sqq.) The same differences between the language of the men and that of the women has also been noted amongst the Eskimo, who can scarcely be accused of obtaining foreign wives by capture (E. Petitot, *Les Grands Esquimaux*, p. 140). After all, it appears that, among South American tribes, that difference "applies only to a small number of ideas, for instance the words for mother and child" (A. von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent*, vol. vi, p. 20; cf. R. Lasch, *op. cit.*, p. 97; J. N. Rat, "The Carib Language as now spoken in Dominica, West Indies," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii, p. 311). Almost everywhere words referring to feminine interests and occupations are unfamiliar to the men; that difference is accentuated in primitive society, where the life of men and women is much more completely separated. Since the numerous female slaves of the Caribs worked with the women while the men were away, the speech of the women would contain a number of words of foreign origin which the men did not adopt.

[2] Rivet, "Les Indiens Jibaros," *L'Anthropologie*, xviii, pp. 605, 615; C. F. Ph. von Martius, "On the State of Civil and Natural Rights among the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Brazil," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, ii, p. 197; Id., *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, vol. i, pp. 107, 372, 620; H. W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazon*, p. 199; J. B. Spix and C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Reise nach Brasiliens*, vol. ii, p. 107; F. Krause, *In den Wildnissen Brasiliens*, p. 320; K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, p. 500; P. P. King and R. Fitz-Roy, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyage of the 'Adventure' and*

in the same way as by the Caribs; they are not married by their captors. Of the Guaycurus, Lozano says that "if they capture some woman of another barbarous nation, or of the Spaniards, they spare her life in order that she may serve their wife as a slave, and also be their concubine; although they must be careful that this should not come to the knowledge of their wives, for the latter are extremely jealous and feel themselves affronted if their husbands bring home a Spanish woman."[1] The Guaycurus and the Mundrucus, which latter are said to be always capturing women from the Parentinins, had their own regular rules of exogamic and matrilocal marriage.[2] The prevalence of the capture of women from other tribes in South America is evidently due to the fragmentation of South American native races into an enormous number of isolated tribelets which are notoriously at constant war with one another; but such a state of things, as we have noted, does not represent their original condition, and is also the chief cause of the backwardness and decay of those tribes. McLennan himself remarks that "there is no doubt that the primitive habits of most of the Indian tribes have been much changed by the slave-hunting expeditions at one time fostered by the Dutch and Portuguese. On slave-hunting being introduced in America, as in Africa, a market was found for captives of both sexes, and men as well as women became spoils of war."[3]

Most of the warlike tribes in North America captured female prisoners in the course of their expeditions.[4] The usual course was for such female captives to be handed to the women to assist them in their labours; they were adopted into their families and treated with great kindness, and we are expressly told that no violence was offered to them. They were married in exactly the same way as women born in the tribe, and had the same rights of choice and veto.[5] No North American tribe ever made a practice of obtaining wives by capture; indeed, the strong endogamic feeling of all North American Indians was strongly opposed to marrying out of the tribe in any circumstances.[6] The Navahos are said to have captured girls from the Ute for the purpose of obtaining skilled basket-makers.[7]

'*Beagle*,' vol. ii, pp. 182, 224; P. Hyades, "Ethnographie des Fuégiens," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, Série iii, x, p. 334.

[1] P. Lozano, *Descripción chorographica del Gran Chaco*, p. 82.

[2] See above, vol. i, pp. 278 sq.; C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie Amerika's*, p. 322.

[3] J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, pp. 32 sq.

[4] M. Lewis and W. Clarke, *Travels to the Source of the Missouri River*, vol. i, p. 231.

[5] J. Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, p. 384.

[6] See above, p. 19.

[7] J. R. Swanton, in *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. i, p. 205.

The capture of women in the course of warfare and of raids, while it occurred occasionally amongst several African peoples, was most prevalent in those regions where the slave-trade reached its greatest development. Thus the Awakonda, and other tribes of Nyasaland and British Central Africa, are said to be very keen on capturing women in the course of slave-raids.[1] Women in East Africa are often in danger of being kidnapped while drawing water.[2] So also among the Ewe of the Slave Coast, " the great majority of the women captured in the annual raids are used as wives." [3] But the slave-trade in Africa is of relatively recent development, and all African peoples have well-defined and immemorial marriage institutions which have no connection with the capture of women in war. Dr. Theal says that among the Hottentots female captives taken in war " were generally regarded as mere concubines, but were sometimes raised to the dignity of wives." [4]

Wholesale capture of women in warfare and tribal raids was prevalent among the more warlike tribes of northern and central Asia.[5] The Germans [6] and the Scandinavians [7] captured women in the course of their wars; and so did the Slavs.[8] The ancient Hebrews, in the course of their warfare among the tribes of Canaan, commonly captured women,[9] as did all Semitic peoples.[10] The archaic Greeks were constantly capturing women.[11] Female

[1] H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 412; A. Werner, *Natives of British Central Africa*, p. 133; F. Fülleborn, *Das deutsche Njassa- und Ruwuma-Gebiet*, p. 229; W. A. Elmslie, *Among the Wild Ngoni*, p. 57; H. L. Duff, *Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, p. 315; Richter, " Der Bezirk Bukoba," *Mittheilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten*, xii, p. 86.

[2] H. H. Johnston, *loc. cit.*; A. Werner, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 sq.; D. Macdonald, *Africana*, vol. i, p. 133.

[3] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 212.

[4] G. M. MacCall Theal, *The Yellow and Dark-skinned People of Africa South of the Zambesi*, p. 85.

[5] W. Coxe, *Account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America*, p. 257; T. W. Atkinson, *Travels in the Regions of the Upper and Lower Amoor*, pp. 250 sq.; E. R. Huc, *Travels in Tartary*, vol. i, p. 185; W. J. Reid, " Among the Farthest People," *The Cosmopolitan*, xxviii, p. 451.

[6] L. Dargun, *Mutterrecht und Raubehe und ihre Reste im germanischen Recht und Leben*, pp. 111 sqq.; K. Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter*, vol. i, pp. 308 sq.; J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 440.

[7] Olaus Magnus, *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, pp. 328, 481 sq.

[8] W. A. Macieiowski, *Slavische Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. ii, p. 189.

[9] E.g., *Judges*, xxi. 12. Cf. *Deuteronomy*, xxi. 10 sqq.

[10] W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, pp. 72 sq.; J. Wellhausen, " Die Ehe bei den Arabern," *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität in Göttingen*, 1893, pp. 435 sq.

[11] Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Antiq. Rom.*, ii. 30. 5.

captives are spoken of in Homer as δουρικμητή, 'gained by the spear,' and, like captured women among the North American Indians, they were invariably well treated and no stigma attached to their being prisoners of war.[1]

In spite of countless examples which may easily be enumerated of wholesale capture of women by almost all nations in the course of warfare or in raids, there is not, so far as I am aware, a clear instance known of a people or tribe with whom this has been the regular and habitual method of obtaining wives. Such capture of women is no more the ordinary form of marriage among any of the rudest tribes who are addicted to raiding their neighbours and carrying off their women, than it can be described as having been the usual method of obtaining a wife among the archaic Greeks or amongst the ancient Hebrews. It would, indeed, be extremely difficult to imagine that the forcible abduction of women from neighbouring tribes could ever have been the habitual mode of obtaining wives at any stage of society, and have proceeded to any large extent. Such a practice must inevitably involve the tribe which is given to it in perpetual warfare, for the capture of even one of its women is invariably regarded by primitive tribes as a 'casus belli.' The resulting mutual extermination must in most cases check the practice, either by acting as a deterrent or by leading to the extinction of the tribes that habitually indulge in it. In Australia, where the capture of women from neighbouring tribes, which some writers have thought to be very prevalent, is in reality "one of the most exceptional methods of obtaining a wife," [2] the practice is distinctly discouraged by the tribal elders on account of the constant warfare to which it gives rise.[3] Among the Bakyiga, a clan of the Bagesu in East Africa, the practice of capturing women "led to such fierce fighting that the clan gave up the practice and settled

[1] Homer, *Iliad*, i. 346; xix. 132; *Odyssey*, xxiii. 5. Penelope calls Eurykleia, the nurse of Telemachus, who was a captured woman, "her dear little mother."

In Samoa, "the women who were captured became the spoil of the conquerors and were married by them. No degradation was put upon them. Many of them became mothers and grandmothers in their captors' families, and their children succeeded to the name and property" (G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, pp. 172 sq.).

[2] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 554; cf. p. 104; J. Mathew, "The Australian Aborigines," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxiii, p. 407; Id., *Eaglehawk and Crow*, pp. 113 sq.; E. Palmer, "Notes on some Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, p. 301; G. Taplin, in Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 10; C. Hodgkinson, *Australia, from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay*, p. 230.

[3] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *loc. cit.*; P. Beveridge, *The Aborigines of Victoria and Riverina*, p. 23.

marriages by negotiations." [1] Similarly, among the Sifan of Central Asia, although capture of women in raids is an immemorial usage, it is " likely to mean the loss of several lives, and is adopted only in case of direst necessity." [2]

A very different order of practices is included under the term ' marriage by capture,' namely, the abduction of an individual woman, not as an incident of warfare or of raids, but as an isolated act of violence directly intended to obtain posession of the particular woman. Among such practices, again, three classes of facts, or rather three degrees merging more or less into one another, are distinguishable. Some are instances of violent abduction of women against their will ; in others the abduction is concerted with the woman, and the act is therefore rather an elopement than a capture ; in others, again, the whole proceeding is more or less fictitious and the violence simulated, both the woman and her relations, or sometimes the latter only, being parties to the transaction. The stealing of women from one another is, as we have already had several times occasion to note, a common incident among the members of some uncultured societies. The women are as a rule the wives of other men, but the same violence may be used in regard to unmarried girls, generally when other means of obtaining them fail. Thus, for example, it sometimes happened amongst the Tartars that a suitor who had been rejected by a girl and her parents would forcibly abduct her, the parents being thereafter compelled to recognise the marriage.[3] Such incidents are common in barbaric societies, and are not unknown in the savage world. Thus the Luiseño Indians of California will, with the assistance of some friends, carry off from her parents' home a woman whom they wish to marry ; [4] and the same thing is said to happen, though only rarely, among the Indians of British Columbia.[5] The procedure is occasionally adopted in New Britain [6] and in the Solomon Islands,[7] although a proper settlement with the parents must subsequently be made. Among the Maori of New Zealand the formalities attending a marriage, when it had not been arranged in childhood, and the number

[1] J. Roscoe, *The Bagesu, and other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate*, p. 49.

[2] W. J. Reid, " Among the Farthest People," *The Cosmopolitan*, xxviii, p. 451.

[3] B. Bergmann, *Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmüken*, vol. ii, p. 147. Cf. H. Vámbéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 541.

[4] Ph. S. Sparkman, " The Culture of the Luiseño Indians " (*University of California Publications*, vol. viii), p. 214.

[5] J. A. Teit, " The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. i, pp. 324 sq.

[6] F. Burger, *Die Kusten- und Bergvölker der Gazellehalbinsel*, pp. 54 sqq.

[7] R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, vol. iii, pp. 15, 19.

of relatives whose assent had to be obtained, constituted difficulties so great that a man, with the help of some friends, sometimes simplified the negotiations by capturing the girl more or less by force.[1] Among the eastern Gonds, if a girl does not like a man and her parents do not countenance the match, "that does not deter the suitor. He waits for a convenient opportunity, for example when the girl goes to fetch water from the river, and carries her off by force with the aid of his friends." [2]

Such a procedure is, however, subject to the same drawbacks as the capture of women from foreign tribes, and is apt to call down upon the bravo the wrath and blood-feud of the woman's relatives unless an amicable settlement is subsequently arrived at. In the vast majority of cases, including most of those just mentioned, the abduction is only a preliminary to such a settlement, and the woman is a consenting party. The practice of the Australian Kurnai, which we have already noticed, of running away with a young woman at the conclusion of an intertribal festival, may be regarded as an elopement as much as a capture. It is customary for the relatives of the bride to make a great show of resentment and to vow vengeance on the ravisher; but it is understood that a suitable arrangement will be made, and the relatives' wrath is merely intended to bring this about.[3] 'Elopement' takes place in most Australian tribes; the man has to face the pretended resentment of the male relatives of the woman and to meet them in a formal combat in which care is taken not to inflict any serious injury, and which may reduce itself to tapping him on the head with a boomerang.[4] Capture of women has been stated to have prevailed amongst the extinct Tasmanians;[5] but it appears that the 'capture' was merely simulated and followed upon a previous understanding between the man and the woman.[6] In the island of Engano, when a man takes a liking to a girl and she has no objection to him, she simply goes and lives with him. After discreetly allowing a few days to elapse, the father or some other male relative of the girl calls on the couple; he pretends to be furiously incensed, and brandishes his spear as if he were about to kill the man. The latter humbly begs to be forgiven, and presents the offended parent with five spears, an axe, a couple of

[1] E. Tregear, *The Maori Race*, p. 293. Cf. R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui; or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, p. 336.

[2] C. Hayavadana Rao, "The Gonds of the Eastern Ghauts, India," *Anthropos*, v, p. 795.

[3] L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 200 sqq.

[4] A. W. Howitt, *The Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 246.

[5] T. Waitz and G. Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, vol. vi, p. 773.

[6] J. Bonwick, *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*, p. 65.

tin plates, and some strings of coral; whereupon they become the best of friends, and the father formally bestows the bride on the young man by knocking out two of her upper teeth as a sign that she is no longer free.[1]

In the third class of those examples of 'marriage by capture,' the abduction does not take place until all arrangements have been completed with the bride's family, and the latter are perfectly consenting parties, although the bride herself may not have been taken into account in the negotiations concerning her transfer. Among Mongol tribes, after the transaction between the two families is completed, the suitor is told by the girl's father, "My daughter is yours; go, take her wherever you can find her." The suitor and his friends thereupon search for the girl, who has meanwhile hidden amongst some of her relatives.[2] Among the Mandingo of West Africa the girl's mother tells the bridegroom in the same manner to seize the girl in any way he can; and accordingly, "when the poor girl was employed preparing some rice for supper, she was seized by her intended husband assisted by three or four of his companions, and carried off by force. She made much resistance by biting, scratching, kicking, and roaring most bitterly. Many, both men and women, some of them her own relations, who witnessed the affair, only laughed at the farce, and consoled her by saying that she would soon be reconciled to her situation."[3] Similarly, among the Baganda, after the bride-price had been paid and all arrangements were completed, the father of the young lady said to the bridegroom, "There she is, take her."[4] Among the Wataita and Wadshaga, after the financial arrangements are settled, the bride is seized and brought away by her husband and a party of four friends, who carry her by the legs and arms, squirming and shrieking, while a jeering crowd of girls follows the procession.[5] In like manner, among the Warangi it is customary for the suitor, with the assistance of his friends and relatives, to carry away a girl, who is more or less a consenting party; her father sends in due course some of his relatives to negotiate a settlement, the bride-price is paid, and the wedding festively celebrated by the

[1] J. van der Straaten and P. Severijn, "Verslag van een in 1854 bewerkstelligd onderzoek op het eiland Engano," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, iii, p. 361.

[2] Astley, *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. iv, p. 77.

[3] W. Gray, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 56.

[4] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 90; L. Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, pp. 445 sq.

[5] J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land*, p. 51; H. H. Johnston, "The People of Eastern Equatorial Africa," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xv, p. 8.

two families.[1] In Africa, as elsewhere, resentment is exhibited by the bride's relatives over an 'elopement,' that is, when a marriage takes place without the bride-price having been previously paid. The matter is, of course, amicably settled as soon as the payment is forthcoming.[2] Among the Wasoga of East Africa elopement with a girl after a dance is the recognised mode of contracting a marriage, and a Wasoga girl would consider it very improper to get married in any other way. The pretence of wrath on the part of her relatives is, however, no longer observed; and the brother of the girl simply calls a day or two later to collect the customary fee.[3] In the vast majority of such cases of 'marriage by capture,' or more properly elopement, the procedure is plainly either a means of escape for the woman from some undesirable match, or more generally a means of securing better terms from her family, by bargaining from the point of vantage of a 'fait accompli.' While in some cases where the payment of a bride-price is the regular custom, the suitor who is too poor to afford the price asked or does not in other respects satisfy the requirements of the woman's relatives, may proceed to secure her as a preliminary to negotiations; in other instances, as with the Kurnai of Australia or some East African tribes, the elopement or capture of the woman is the regular preliminary to such bargaining, and the bride-price has therefore the character of a compensation for the already effected removal of the bride. Or again, the whole procedure is carried out with the full consent of all the parties concerned and after the bride-price or any other consideration has already been agreed upon or paid. The violence has, therefore, in such cases, a purely formal, ceremonial, or ritual character, and the usage, which in other instances has a very real practical object, and is a matter of keen business with an eye to the main chance, thus merges by almost imperceptible degrees into those widely prevalent wedding rites of ceremonial capture or resistance which form a common feature of marriage usages.

The importance which has been ascribed to 'marriage by capture' as a supposed universal stage of marriage customs rests to a large extent upon the widespread prevalence of such ritual or simulated violence in marriage ceremonies. That ceremonial violence and the simulated abduction of the bride from the midst of resisting relatives are so common in every part of the world that if they are to be interpreted as survivals of a time when wives were

[1] Baumstark, "Die Warangi," *Mittheilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten*, xiii, pp. 53 sq.

[2] J. L. Krapf, *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours*, p. 354; J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal*, pp. 53 sq.

[3] J. F. Cunningham, *Uganda and its Peoples*, pp. 112 sqq.

habitually obtained by forcible capture, the practice would have to be regarded as having once been very general. Mock fights between the relatives of the bride and those of the bridegroom, the former pretending to prevent her removal from her parental home, and the latter endeavouring to secure her by force, are of almost universal prevalence. They are found in Australia[1] in Melanesia,[2] in New Guinea,[3] in Polynesia,[4] in Indonesia,[5] in India[6] and other parts of Asia,[7] and in Africa.[8] Those fictitious combats at weddings are even more conspicuous in the higher than in the lower phases of culture, and are a feature of wedding customs among the country people in every part of Europe.[9]

[1] W. E. Roth, "North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 10," *Records of the Australian Museum*, vii, p. 5; R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i, pp. 80 sqq.; J. Matthew, *Eaglehawk and Crow*, p. 113; A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-Eastern Australia*, p. 219.

[2] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 240 sq.

[3] C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 268 sq.

[4] C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, vol. ii, p. 138 (Samoa); W. Yate, *An Account of New Zealand*, p. 96; A. Earle, *Narratives of a Residence in New Zealand*, p. 244; R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 163.

[5] G. A. Wilken, *De verspreide geschriften*, vol. i, pp. 475 sqq.; J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroeshairge rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, pp. 69, 133, 415; T. Moore, *Marriage Customs and Modes of Courtship of Various Nations of the Universe*, pp. 196 sq.

[6] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 64, 86, 192, 194, 252, 278, 319; H. B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India*, pp. 37, 46, 81; T. H. Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong*, pp. 36, 80, 92; R. H. S. Hutchinson, *An Account of the Chittagong Hill Tracts*, p. 119; C. L. Tupper, *Punjab Customary Law*, vol. ii, p. 92; W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, vol. iii, pp. 139 sq.; W. Francis, in *Census of India*, 1901, vol. xv, "Madras," pp. 143 sq.

[7] H. Vámbéry, *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 323; E. Schuyler, *Turkestan*, vol. i, p. 43; J. Gilmour, *Among the Mongols*, pp. 275 sq.; T. C. Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 145; C. Worcester, *The Philippine Islands and their People*, p. 493; J. W. Davidson, *The Island of Formosa Past and Present*, p. 569.

[8] G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, p. 96; H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. i, p. 109; L. Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 158; C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, pp. 62 sq.; J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, p. 120; J. L. Krapf, *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours*, p. 354; M. Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, vol. ii, pp. 55 sq.

[9] M. Kulischer, "Intercommunale Ehe durch Raub und Kauf," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x, pp. 206 sqq.; W. R. S. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, pp. 284 sq.; F. Demelic, *Le droit coutumier des Slaves méridionaux*, pp. 206 sqq.; J. Dobrowsky, *Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache und Altern Literatur*, p. 56; A. Ahlqvist, *Die Kulturwörter der westfinnischen Sprachen*, p. 204; A. de Gubernatis, *Storia comparata degli usi nuziali*, p. 181; G. Finamore, *Tradizioni popolari abbruzzesi*, p. 39; J. Logan, *The Scottish Gaël, or Celtic Manners*, vol. ii, pp. 360 sq.; J. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, p. 175; Lord Kames, *Sketches of the History of Man*, p. 449;

Besides the intrinsic improbability and the lack of evidence that armed raids were ever the general mode of obtaining wives, there are very serious difficulties in the way of interpreting those widespread usages as reminiscences of such raids. It is, in the first place, not easy to imagine why the memory of such supposed abductions and raids should have been so generally and vividly perpetuated by innumerable peoples as a ceremonial observance. The memory of the deeds of valour of their ancestors might well be treasured and celebrated by the descendants of men who carried off brides in victorious raids, but there appears no reason or motive why the defeated and raided parties should be anxious to commemorate their humiliation by a vivid representation of the event. And in the usages to which I am referring, the resistance and opposition of the bride's people are in general a far more conspicuous feature than the assaults of the bridegroom's friends. Some of the forms which those simulated captures assume are quite irreconcilable with the proposed interpretation. Thus, among several peoples the 'capture' of the bride is effected by women. This is the case in Greenland,[1] among the Bedawi of the Sinai Peninsula,[2] in the island of Nias.[3] In Kashmir it is not the bride's house which is closed against the bridegroom's party, but his own; his sister barricades the door when the bride is brought home and is only induced to admit her on payment of a compensation for receiving a strange woman into the household.[4]

What is perhaps the strongest ground for regarding ceremonial shows of violence or of resistance as reminiscences of forcible capture is the inadequacy and implausibility of the alternative interpretations that have been offered. It is frequently sought to interpret those usages as conventional displays of modesty or coyness on the part of the bride or of her friends. Thus, when among the Eskimo of Greenland a man removes his bride to his own home, it is etiquette for her to offer the most violent resistance, and for the man to catch her by the hair or anything else that offers a hold, and drag her, screaming and struggling, to his dwelling. We are told that this is "lest she should lose her reputation for modesty."[5] But one cannot readily believe that the conventional violence is necessitated by her prudery, real or

H. Piers, in C. Vallencey, *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, vol. i, p. 122; George Sand, *La Mare au Diable*, pp. 163 sqq.

[1] H. Egede, *A Description of Greenland*, p. 143.

[2] J. L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, vol. i, p. 263.

[3] H. Sundermann, "Die Insel Nias," *Allgemeine Missions Zeitschrift*, xi, p. 443.

[4] C. E. Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 155.

[5] F. Nansen, *The First Crossing of Greenland*, vol. ii, pp. 316 sq.

formal, for "it would be difficult to find a people more cynical and more devoid of shame." [1] When it is remembered that matrilocal marriage is the general rule amongst the Eskimo, the breach of that immemorial usage of the race is quite sufficient to account for the beseemingness of a protest and of a pretence of yielding only to forcible compulsion, without postulating delicate ideas of modesty, of which the Eskimo have no conception. Or again, amongst the Kamchadals, who attach great importance to the severity of the tests imposed upon the bridegroom during his probationary period of service, he is obliged, in order to establish finally his right to the bride, to undress her and touch her vulva in spite of every obstacle placed in the way of his doing so. The woman is dressed for the occasion in many layers of leather gowns and pantaloons securely sewn on her and made fast by a multitude of straps, so that she looks "like a stuffed figure"; she is, moreover, carefully guarded, and any attempt on the bridegroom's part is violently resisted by the elderly females of the family.[2] Similar usages are observed by the Koryak.[3] The suggestion that the procedure is inspired by a desire to make a display of the chastity and modesty of the bride can scarcely be reconciled with the fact that the Kamchadal bridegroom has a right to reproach the bride's mother for her negligence should he happen to find his bride still a virgin,[4] or with the circumstance that the ceremony is performed after the man and woman have cohabited as man and wife for four or five years.[5] Nor is it easy to ascribe a concern for making even an hypocritical show of modesty to the young women of Tahiti, who see nothing unbeseeming in copulating in public, but yet consider

[1] E. Petitot, in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, xliii, p. 470.

[2] G. W. Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka*, pp. 345 sq.; S. P. Krasheninnikoff, *The History of Kamtshatka*, p. 213.

[3] S. P. Krasheninnikoff, *op. cit.*, p. 232; W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, pp. 741 sq.

[4] G. W. Steller, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[5] S. P. Krasheninnikoff, *op. cit.*, p. 232. The final trial by which the position of the husband is established is an instance of the well-known form of taking possession by 'touching.' The bridegroom amongst the Ntlakápamux of British Columbia similarly takes possession of a woman by touching her heel (J. A. Teit, "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. i, p. 321). The heel of a woman is regarded by many primitive peoples as associated with her genital organs, owing to the common practice of covering the vulva with the heel while squatting. Among the Central Australian aborigines "the left foot of a woman is considered unclean" (F. H. Wells, "The Habits, Customs and Ceremonies of the Aboriginals of the Diamentina, Herbert and Eleanor Rivers in East Central Australia," *Report of the Fifth Meeting of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science*, p. 516).

it their duty to scratch, strike, and struggle on their wedding night.[1]

Mr. Crawley offers of 'marriage by capture' a mystical interpretation. "It is not the tribe," he tells us, "from which the bride is abducted, nor, primarily, her family and kindred, but her sex."[2] And M. van Gennep explains that "she leaves a certain restricted sexual society, at once familial and local, in order to be aggregated to another restricted sexual society, at once familial and local."[3] I do not understand what either M. van Gennep or Mr. Crawley means. This may be due in part to the feebleness of my intelligence, but I seriously doubt whether an Eskimo or a Papuan would comprehend better than I can how a bride is "abducted from her sex," or "from a certain restricted sexual society at once familial and local"; and it appears to me that, in any case, such explanations, whatever they may mean, are inadequate to account for an order of multiform usages found amongst people of every colour from the Poles to the Equator.

It has also been suggested that displays of pretended violence at wedding ceremonies have a magical purpose, and are intended to avert the envy and malice of evil spirits.[4] I am far from being disposed to underrate the part played by such magical purposes in primitive customs. It is, indeed, so general that almost every act and procedure amongst uncultured peoples contains provisions to secure 'good luck' and avert 'bad luck'; and it is more than probable that such intentions are frequently present as accretions in the observance of traditional usages, like the violence displayed in wedding rites, of which the original motive has been forgotten. But it would be a coincidence calling for conclusive explanation that the desire to avert the malice of spirits or ghosts should among so many peoples have taken the form of a simulated conflict between the families of the bride and bridegroom. Still less is it intelligible that the necessity for such magical safeguards should cease as soon as the due compensation has been paid. Quite commonly genuine abduction without any pretence whatever occurs among the same people side by side with fictitious and purely ceremonial sham-fights. The rejected Tartar suitor captures his reluctant bride in deadly earnest; while at the same time an ostentatious display of violence and resistance on the part of the two families and their friends is a regular feature of Tartar weddings when the transaction is the

[1] L. Tautain, "Étude sur le mariage chez les Polynésiens des îles Marquises," *L'Anthropologie*, vi, pp. 650 sq.

[2] A. E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, pp. 350 sq.; cf. 361, 370.

[3] A van Gennep, *Les rites de passage*, pp. 179 sq.

[4] A. E. Crawley, *op. cit.*, pp. 352 sq.; R. Karsten, *Studies in South American Anthropology*, vol. i, p. 198.

consummation of the most friendly agreement between them. Similarly, in the island of Bali, off the eastern extremity of Java, elopement with violence is quite common, while ritual and simulated violence are also regular features of marriages following upon the most peaceful contracts. A young man may elope with a young woman, or even seize her forcibly against her will, and carry her off and hide with some relatives; the girl's relatives, of course, pursue armed to the teeth until negotiations are opened and the bride-price settled. The forcible seizure of the bride, on the other hand, takes place in much the same way, after the whole matter has been already duly settled between the two families.[1] If that fictitious violence is to be regarded as a superstitious measure intended to placate malignant spirits, we should be compelled to look upon every instance in which a man runs away with a woman as an exercise in the practice of the magic art. Among the Banyoro of East Africa there is no mimic fight or simulated violence in the customary wedding usages; but the traditional procedure includes precautions against such violence. The people belonging to the bridegroom's family, who are sent to carry the bride home, are not allowed to approach the house until formal permission has been given to them by the bride's father. When, in a later stage of the proceedings, the two parties, the bride's and the bridegroom's, met near the latter's home, the friends of the bridegroom stopped the other party and politely requested them to give up all their weapons, and the ceremony could not be completed until they were thus disarmed.[2] If simulated violence be supposed to avert the wrath of evil spirits, it is difficult to see how precautions against the occurence of such violence can effect the same purpose.

Compared with those vague and plainly defective interpretations, the definite and direct explanation that simulated opposition to the removal of the bride from her parental home, simulated elopement, simulated violence in effecting that removal, have reference to a stage in which such opposition, such abduction, and such violence were real, is immeasurably more satisfactory, and is equally applicable to all forms and varieties of those all but universal usages. The only objection to the latter interpretation is that there is no evidence that forcible capture ever was the usual and normal mode of obtaining wives among any people, and that it is quite inconceivable that it could ever have been so. But that fatal objection to the interpretation of those customs as indications of a former practice of capturing wives, does not apply when the forcible removal of the woman from her home is regarded as referring not to violent rape in the course of a hostile raid, but

[1] G. A. Wilken, *De verspreide geschriften*, vol. i, pp. 480 sq.
[2] J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara or Banyoro*, pp. 269, 270.

to her removal by her lawful and acknowledged husband to his own home, in contravention of the immemorial primitive usage that she should never leave her own family and parental abode, and that the husband should take up his residence there and remain under the jurisdiction of his wife's people. The show of resentment, the opposition to the removal of the bride, are quite unintelligible as mere commemorations of former raids or acts of hostility; if, however, the ground of resentment and opposition is not the forcible marriage in itself, but the removal of the bride to the husband's tribe or home, there are very good reasons why the pretence should be persisted in long after it has ceased to be real. It has, for one thing, a very concrete and practical purpose, namely, the obtaining of due compensation—in other words, the payment of the head-money which is the price of the sanction of the woman's relatives to the breach of the older usage and their ancient claim. Whenever elopement takes place, that is to say, removal of the woman before payment of the bride-price, the usual course is for the woman's relatives to take the first opportunity of manifesting their indignation until the matter is amicably settled by the payment of the required compensation. That payment invariably puts an end to all ceremonial violence, resistance, and resentment. In West Africa, among the Futa, the assembled relatives guard the bride's door "to prevent her being carried away. At last, by the bridegroom's presents and generosity, their grief is assuaged."[1] Among the Muong of Indo-China, "when the bridegroom presents himself before the parents of the young woman to take her to his home, he must pay a certain sum of money. If he refuses, or if he offers only a portion of the stipulated price, he and his friends are pelted with a volley of earth-clods or mud."[2] Among the Muslim of India the bridegroom finds the bride's house shut and guarded and a wordy contest takes place with her relatives: "the party are at last admitted on paying a sum of money."[3] In New Zealand, the bride having been carried off after a lively struggle with her relatives, "the parents of the lady, with all her relatives, came upon the bridegroom for his pretended abduction. After much speaking and apparent anger the bridegroom generally made a handsome present of fine mats, giving the party a handsome feast."[4] An infuriated Maori mother who loudly cursed and

[1] "The Remarkable Captivity and Deliverance of Job ben Solomon," in Astley, *New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ii, p. 240.

[2] A. Cheon, "Note sur les Muong de la province de Son-Tay," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, v, p. 345.

[3] Jafar Sharif, *Qanoon-e-Islam, or the Customs of the Moosulmans of India*, translated by G. A. Herklots (London, 1832), p. 126.

[4] R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 163.

abused the bridal party on their return from marriage in a Christian church, said, on being presented with a blanket: "That was all I wanted; I only wanted to get a blanket and therefore made this noise." [1] The resentment of the bride's relatives and the whole procedure of elopement and 'capture' are real or formal according as the conditions which permit of the removal of the bride by her husband have or have not been complied with. Thus, in New Britain, the anger of the bride's family may, according to circumstances, be genuine or merely ritual. "When a considerable portion at least of the girl's price has been paid, the man builds a little house in the bush and elopes with his bride. The father thereupon collects his friends, and they sally forth, apparently in great anger, to kill the bridegroom. It is needless to say they do not find him, as they have no wish to do so, but they burn the house he has erected for his honeymoon; and not infrequently, on their return home, find the young married couple comfortably established in their own town. Should the elopement take place, however, before the bride's father has given a hint that he is satisfied with the payment already received, the expedition would be undertaken in real earnest, and, till the affair had blown over, the bridegroom would have to live in exile." [2]

The bride-price, as differentiated by its more important value and by its use as a means of bargaining from the customary presents out of which it developed, acquires that importance only where the woman is removed from her home; it is the price of that removal, not merely of access to her. Where marriage remains matrilocal there is no such development of the bride-price; there are also no ceremonies of capture or resistance. Both are unknown in North America, where matrilocal marriage is the rule. In Indonesia, where matrilocal and patrilocal marriage are almost everywhere found side by side, no bride-price and no rituals of capture accompany 'ambil-anak,' but only 'jujul' marriage where the bride is removed. Access to the bride is neither paid for nor resisted; there are no displays of opposition on the part of her relatives, nor do we anywhere hear of resistance on her part, of tears of supposed modesty, where she is not removed from her home. It is that removal, and not matrilocal possession of her, which is the occasion of those manifestations, whether genuine or merely conventional. The Biblical account of the marriage of Jacob offers a typical instance of 'marriage by capture.' Jacob runs away with his wives, and is hotly pursued by their

[1] W. Yate, *An Account of New Zealand*, p. 96.
[2] H. H. Romilly, *The Western Pacific and New Guinea*, pp. 26 sq.

incensed father and his kinsmen, who bitterly reproach him for the rape.[1] But the capturing husband and the captured wives were at the time old married people; they had been formally married for over fourteen years and had a family. The wrath of the women's relatives was not roused by his marrying them 'by capture,' but by the breach of the time-honoured usage of matrilocal marriage.

Matrilocal marriage, trial union, elopement, and compensation to the parents of the bride for her removal are all illustrated in the practice which is followed in Turkoman tribes. "The most singular customs of the people," says Fraser, "relate to marriage. . . . A youth becomes aquainted with a girl; they are mutually attached and agree to marry; but the young man does not dare to breathe his wishes to the parents of his beloved, for such is not etiquette, and would be resented as an insult. What does he do? He elopes with the girl, and carries her to some neighbouring 'obah,' where, such is the custom, there is no doubt of a kind reception; and there the young couple live as man and wife for some six weeks, when the 'reishsuffeeds,' or elders of the protecting 'obah,' deem it time to talk over the matter with the parents. Accordingly they represent the wishes of the young couple, and, joined by the elders of the father's 'obah,' endeavour to reconcile him to the union, promising on the part of the bridegroom a handsome 'bashlogue,' or price, for his wife. In due time the consent is given, on which the bride returns to her father's house, where, strange to say, she is retained for six months or a year, and sometimes two years, according, as it appears, to her caprice or the parent's will, having no communication with the husband unless by stealth. The meaning of this strange separation I never could ascertain. . . . Afterwards the marriage presents and price of the wife are interchanged and she goes finally to live with her husband."[2] That final removal is accompanied by an elaborate ceremonial of resistance and capture.[3]

There is an even more fundamental and potent reason for the ostentatious display of resistance and violence than the practical consideration of obtaining as high a bride-price as possible. The removal of the bride from her home to that of her husband constitutes a breach of the oldest usages of primitive marriage. Some peoples will not be induced by any compensation or consideration to allow their daughters to leave their home and to follow their husbands. The Brazilian Indians, when one of their daughters was forcibly taken away by a European, followed her 'en masse'

[1] *Genesis*, xxxi. 19 sqq.
[2] D. Fraser, *Journey from Constantinople to Teheran*, vol. ii, p. 372.
[3] H. Vámbéry, *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 323.

and yielded themselves as slaves to the abductor rather than break with the old usage that they should not part with their women.[1] Every breach of established usage, more especially of marriage usages, is disreputable and humiliating, if not actually immoral and wicked. Where patrilocal marriage customs are supplanting matrilocal marriage, proud aristocratic families refuse to adopt the change and insist upon their sons-in-law joining their daughters in their own homes.[2] The relatives who have been induced by economic considerations to yield to the man's desire to remove the woman from her home to his own, are bound to 'save their face' by the fiction that they are submitting to violence and compulsion.

Dr. Westermarck who, while looking with favour upon any suggestion of manifestations of modesty and coyness in the interpretation of those customs, reinforces the explanation by various subsidiary alternatives, adduces the reluctance of the young bride to leave the home in which she was brought up, the sorrow of the bereaved mother and of the family at parting with their daughter. Those are undoubtedly real causes which, as he quite justly claims, exist no less amongst ourselves than in the rudest society. The tears of the reluctant bride are doubtless in many instances perfectly genuine, although, like the resentment of the mother and the relatives, they have very generally assumed a conventional and obligatory character. Among the natives of Ruanda, if the bride is unable to produce the customary tears at the proper time, her relatives come to her assistance by giving her a sound thrashing.[3] But those psychological causes are of even greater consequence as regards their effects in primitive society than amongst ourselves; and the sentiments do not in the former depend exclusively upon personal attachment, but upon the even deeper and stronger attachment to custom and tradition. The reluctance of the women to leave their parental home takes, we have seen, in many primitive societies the form, not of tears at leaving it, but of a flat refusal to do so in any circumstances. The feelings of the mother take the form not of lamentations over the departure of her daughter, but of an established claim that she shall not depart and that her husband shall come and live with his wife's relatives; the feelings of the latter do not manifest themselves in sad farewells, but in the claim that no daughter of the tribe shall leave it and follow her husband into another clan.

One of the most familiar usages that have suggested an attenuated survival of 'marriage by capture' is the practice of lifting the

[1] See above, vol. i, p. 278.
[2] See above, vol. i, pp. 227, 283, 302.
[3] P. Schumacher, "Die Ehe in Ruanda," *Anthropos*, v, p. 386.

bride over the threshold of her husband's house. The custom is very widespread. It was observed by the Romans,[1] and is still found in modern Greece ;[2] it obtains in India,[3] in China,[4] in Java,[5] in Palestine,[6] in Egypt,[7] in Algeria,[8] and in various parts of Europe,[9] including England and Scotland.[10] The interpretation of the usage has given rise to a good deal of discussion. That it is reminiscent of a time when husbands, "taking their wives by force, brought them to their house," was the opinion of Plutarch, and has been followed by many modern writers.[11] Others again have thought that the custom does not point to a former practice of capturing brides, and have sought its explanation in superstitious ideas connected with the threshold as a place of particular danger and ill-luck, haunted by ghosts or by evil spirits.[12] It may well be, of course, that such ideas have become associated with a usage the origin of which is as completely forgotten by all peoples who observe it as it was by the ancient Romans ; but it is not obvious, if the threshold is a spot of such danger and so uncanny as to suggest to so many various peoples, from Java to Scotland, that it is not safe for a bride to step over it, why a bride should be the only person to be protected against such dangers by lifting her over the fatal spot.[13]

[1] Plutarch, *Quaest. Roman.*, xxix ; Vergil, *Aeneid*, iv ; *Lucan*, ii.

[2] C. Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im Neuen*, p. 97.

[3] G. d'Penha, "Superstitions and Customs in Salsette," *The Indian Antiquary*, xxvii, p. 117.

[4] J. F. Davis, *China*, vol. i, p. 285.

[5] G. A. Wilken, *De verspreide geschriften*, vol. i, p. 496.

[6] C. T. Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 114.

[7] J. L. Burckhadt, *Arabic Proverbs*, p. 116.

[8] E. Barclay, *Mountain Life in Algeria*, p. 84.

[9] K. Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter*, vol. i, p. 407 ; J. D. H. Temme, *Die Volksagen der Altmark*, p. 73 ; I. von Duringsfeld and O. Reinsberg-Duringsfeld, *Hochzeitsbuch*, p. 106 (Switzerland) ; L. de la Salle, *Croyances et légendes du centre de la France*, vol. ii, p. 47.

[10] Mrs. Gutch and M. Peacock, *Country Folk-Lore*, vol. v (Lincolnshire), pp. 233 sq. ; M. C. Balfour, *ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 93 (Northumberland) ; M. Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk-Stories of Wales*, p. 273 ; J. Napier, *Folk Lore : or Superstitious Beliefs in the West of Scotland*, p. 51 ; J. G. Dalyell, *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 291.

[11] F. B. Jevons, in translation of Plutarch, *Romane Questions*, pp. xcv sq. ; Avebury, *The Origin of Civilisation*, p. 102 ; E. Barclay, *loc. cit.* ; A. Rossbach, *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe*, p. 360 ; L. von Schroeder, *Die Hochzeitsgebräuche der Esten und einiger anderer finnisch-ugrischer Völkerschaften*, p. 92.

[12] J. G. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, vol. iii, pp. 11 sqq. ; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. ii, pp. 536 sqq. ; W. Crooke, "The Lifting of the Bride," *Folk-lore*, xiii, p. 242 ; E. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, pp. 140 sqq.

[13] In Salsette Island, near Bombay, the bridegroom also is lifted over

It appears to me that by far the most natural idea originally underlying the custom is, after all, that the entrance of the bride into her husband's home is the final and essential act in her transfer from her own home to that of her husband. It is a common custom to carry the bride the whole way from the one to the other.[1] This, of course, can have nothing to do with special dangers attaching to the threshold. In Engano it is the custom, when the bridegroom has come to an agreement with the bride's relatives, for him to lift her on his back, and in that position he has to defend himself for a few moments against the assaults of her male relatives.[2] Here again the lifting of the bride which takes place in her own home has no relation to the threshold. The entrance into her future husband's house is the final and irrevocable stage of her transfer to his home, and the conventional or ceremonial resistance or reluctance on the part of the bride is commonly accentuated in connection with the taking of that final step. Thus among the Nandi when the bride arrives before the door of her husband's house, nothing will induce her to cross the threshold until she has been coaxed and bribed by her future parents-in-law with the promise of a cow and a goat.[3] Among the tribes of British Central Africa and Nyasaland the whole wedding ceremony is spoken of as 'entering the house.'[4] Among the Baholoholo of the Congo the bride's entry into the man's hut is regarded as constituting the consummation of the marriage. "From that moment she is no longer a bride: she is a married woman. Should she fall dead the moment after, her father would not be called upon to return any of the bride-price."[5] Where patrilocal marriage has supplanted the older matrilocal usage, the consummation of the transaction is in fact the crossing of the threshold of the husband's dwelling; it is in accordance with all transitions between the two usages that the act should be done

the threshold (G. d'Penham, *loc. cit.*), and in many parts of India the bridegroom as well as the bride is carried to the wedding booth. But it is a very common phenomenon that rites and usages which originally have specific reference to one sex are, when the original purpose of the usage is forgotten, transferred to the other sex also.

[1] V. L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, vol. ii, pp. 75 sq.; H. H. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, vol. ii, p. 680; J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 90; Id., *The Bakitara or Banyoro*, p. 270; Id., *The Bagesu*, p. 196; J. Matthews, *A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone*, p. 118; P. Schumacher, "Die Ehe in Ruanda," *Anthropos*, v, p. 888; E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. ii, p. 79; vol. iv, p. 147; S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 354.

[2] H. von Rosenberg, "Beschrijving van Engano en van deszelfs bewoners," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, iii, p. 379.

[3] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 61 sq.

[4] D. Macdonald, *Africana*, vol. i, p. 137.

[5] R. Schmitz, *Les Baholoholo*, p. 175.

by the bride under a show of compulsion from her husband or his friends, or from her own relatives who have given their sanction to the transfer. It seems quite unnecessary to seek in magic or other ideas a more recondite explanation of the usage.

The view here taken coincides essentially with the most obvious and the most general interpretation of those widespread customs which are commonly included under the designation of ' marriage by capture ' ; but the conclusion to which we are led as regards the bearing of those facts upon social history is the exact opposite. Those usages are not evidence of the former prevalence of a custom of procuring wives by capture, but of the universal distribution of matrilocal marriage. They do not indicate that to seize women by force from neighbouring tribelets was the general method of obtaining wives in primitive humanity, but confirm our conclusion that for women to remain permanently in their own home and be joined there by their husbands was originally the general form of marriage. Hence it is that sexual selection in primitive societies is exercised by the women and by their relatives rather than by the men, that it is the man's qualifications as a husband which throughout primitive society are so elaborately tested, and that, as throughout the animal kingdom, it is the males who vie with one another to excel in those qualities which the women admire, and adorn themselves to charm them, while primitive womankind is careless of the arts of sexual attraction. Such a primitive condition of society is the reverse of that pictured in the theory that the forcible capture of women was the germ of marriage, and that wives were originally carried off by barbaric males to their own homes. The home originally belonged to the woman ; it was for the man to join her there, not for her to follow him to a home of which he never was the maker. Patrilocal marriage is a reversal and a violation of the primordial and time-honoured order, and as such must be excused and justified by a show of yielding to force. The transition from matrilocal to patrilocal marriage customs corresponds broadly to the change from a matriarchal to a patriarchal order of society. But that change has not in general been brought about by mere force, save where it has taken place in the rudest stages of social evolution. The prevalence of symbolic violence in the marriage usages of Europe bears out our conclusion that the change among the most advanced races is not of very ancient date. It is not the superior physical force of the male which has brought it about, but the development of economic conditions which women themselves have been the chief agents in creating.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SOCIAL EVOLUTION OF MONOGAMIC MARRIAGE

THE development of agriculture in its higher forms, and the establishment thereby of a regular food-supply, has been the great turning-point in human history. It has laid the foundation of civilisation, and marks the boundary between it and those social states which we speak of as uncultured, or, less accurately, as 'primitive.' That economic revolution has also been the decisive factor in the evolution of the sexual constitution of human society. The economic aspect is, it has been seen, paramount in the individual marriage relations of primitive society; it has likewise been the chief determining factor in the development of the various forms which the institution has assumed and in the general relations between the sexes. So long as the men possessed no fundable wealth, marriage has tended to remain matrilocal and the social order to retain consequently a matriarchal character, except where male dominance was established by brute-force in savage societies which have shown themselves incapable of further development. Definite economic power was first placed in the hands of men by the domestication of animals, which are always regarded as appertaining to the province of the hunter, and by the development of pastoral societies. That power has commonly been used to buy off the claims of women and of their families to the allegiance and services of husbands; women are purchased for cattle, and patriarchal society with patrilocal marriage becomes inevitably established among pastoral peoples. Where, on the other hand, agriculture, which from the first has been the province of women, has developed on an important scale without any intervening pastoral stage, the matriarchal order has often persisted and has even become accentuated in relatively advanced phases of culture. This has been the case in North America, where no domestication of animals has taken place, and most conspicuously among those tribes, such as the Iroquois and the Pueblos, in which agriculture attained in the hands of women an important development. Similarly, the matriarchal order is found persisting among

the peoples of Indonesia and of Micronesia, where the culture of rice and of padi supply the staple means of subsistence and pastoral conditions have not existed. The matriarchal character of society has been preserved among many African peoples who have remained chiefly agricultural. This happened notably in Egypt, which owed its wealth and culture to the Nile and to the fields which it fertilised, and where pastoral property never attained to any degree of importance. Elsewhere the stage of highly developed agriculture has been reached only after passing through a purely pastoral phase of long duration, as with the 'Aryans' of India and the Semites of Western Asia, who were driven by the desiccation of their pastoral lands towards the great alluvial plains, the granaries of the world. Among the Semitic nations of Western Asia women retained many relics of their primitive influence; their position, especially in earlier times, was very far from one of degradation and oppression. The code of Hammurabi shows countless provisions protecting the status of women, more particularly of priestesses; women could own property, houses, slaves; they conducted business and commerce, and could plead in court. Yet the contrast of Babylonian society with Egypt is sharp and conspicuous in this respect; "the man is more important than the woman, the father than the mother, the husband than the wife." Assyrian pictorial art, in glaring contrast with that of Egypt, scarcely ever represents a woman; only once the queen of Ashurbanipal appears in a court picture at Kuyunijk by the side of her lord.[1] That subordinate position of women becomes in time more pronounced. The development of agriculture in its most productive form in those societies which were originally pastoral, instead of raising the economic power and importance of the earth-cultivating woman, has accentuated beyond measure the already established supremacy of the owners of flocks and herds, and given rise to the most pronounced types of patriarchal society.

In the poorer and more broken lands of Europe neither a fully developed pastoral society in which man was the chief owner of wealth, nor agricultural cultivation on the large scale for which the Asiatic and Nilotic river-plains offered free scope, has existed. The men never attained in archaic times to predominant economic control as owners of large flocks; it was not from such a position of vantage that they passed to the ownership of broad and fertile acres; they never became rich enough relatively to the women to purchase Oriental harems. The land, broken up into small patches of cultivation, remained until an advanced period in the hands of the women who had formerly tilled it. Matriarchal society survived until the dawn of culture brought about by contact with the

[1] H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 47, 205 sq.

rich civilisations of the Orient ; and the man came as a suitor to the woman, through whom alone he could enter into possession of the land. The development of agricultural civilisations without any antecedent pastoral phase enhanced the matriarchal position of women not only as owners and heiresses of the arable land, but also through their traditional association with agricultural magic or religion, which assumed in archaic societies a momentous development in correlation with that of agricultural pursuits, the women retaining for a long time the character of priestesses.

But in spite of these favourable circumstances, that enhanced matriarchal influence, more especially in those regions where, as in Mediterranean Europe, the agricultural revolution took place amid highly developed cultural contacts and material industries, was unstable and of comparatively brief duration. The circumstances which favoured it rested upon tradition rather than upon existing economic conditions. Women had long ceased to be the cultivators of the soil. Their traditional ownership of it, by transmission of property in the female line, was, as has been seen, readily circumvented and reduced to a legal fiction. They possessed no other economic advantage. The regular and assured agricultural food-supply had released the men ; the cornfield abolished the economic importance of the hunter. The primitive economic function of the male came to an end. He was set free for other avocations. He had yoked his oxen to the plough ; he had by degrees taken over the bulk of agricultural labour. The industries which had hitherto been almost exclusively in women's hands, passed into those of the men. The household crafts which had originated with the household worker, pottery, woodwork, rude building, weaving, became masculine industries. They became greatly extended through the trading activities of the caravan driver and the seafarer. The fertility of the land had released the men ; they took over the work of the women. The latter, from being the workers, were left idle.

Thus the great economic revolution brought about by agriculture, while it accentuated for a while the matriarchal character of the archaic societies which it transformed, had ultimately the opposite result. In the end, no economic change established male supremacy more firmly and overthrew matriarchal society more completely. The sexual division of labour upon which social development had been founded in primitive societies was abolished. Woman, instead of being the chief producer, became economically unproductive, destitute, and dependent. The contrast between the toiling primitive woman and the idle lady of civilisation, which has been mistaken for an indication of the enslavement of the former and the freedom of the latter, marks the opposite relation. It is the

primitive toiler who is independent and the unemployed woman who has lost her freedom and is destitute.

One economic value alone was left to woman, her sex. In the conditions of uncultured societies there exists little competition, from a sexual point of view, among women; there is for them no risk of unemployment; an old maid is practically unknown. Hence the comparative absence of 'love,' that is, of individual preference, and of sexual jealousy in primitive humanity; sexual selection is purely economic. Primitive woman has therefore very little disposition to cultivate charm and exercise attraction. The arts of fascination are scarcely known to her. She is 'unfeminine.' Those arts have developed in relation to the decrease of her value as a worker and her release from toil. It is in response to the economic situation created by the loss of her value as a producer of wealth that the evolution of feminine grace has taken place. The woman who was no longer economically self-supporting became competitive in terms of the only value which remained to her, as an instrument of luxury and pleasure. The Arabs forbid all manner of work to their daughters, lest their beauty should suffer.[1] Woman cultivated her attractiveness, her body, her beauty, her adornment. To the biologist the aspect of the females in civilised society presents an anomaly without parallel. While the appearance of the male is studiously drab and inconspicuous, on the female's attire all the resources of art and of wealth are lavished, and the industries and commerce of whole nations are employed. To adorn her with the pigments and gloss of secondary male sexual characters, birds and mammals the world over are exterminated. The biological rule is reversed, and the rule of primitive humanity no less than the biological. That inversion corresponds to an even deeper inversion of the biological and primitive relations between the sexes, which is represented by the substitution of the patriarchal for the matriarchal social order.

Changes no less radical have been effected in male sentiment. The sexual instincts of the man became discriminating; he discovered beauty. Regard for personal attraction, discerning imaginative desire, love, jealousy, all those sentiments which are often regarded as part of the masculine sexual instincts, have received their main development in consequence of the revolution wrought by the plough. Women became the focus and symbol of the non-utilitarian values in which the fighter and the toiler sought refuge from the harshness of strife and the coarseness of economic realities. Around the transformed female clustered the growth of all his extra-worldly impulses.

The loss of woman's economic value as a worker abolished the

[1] W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 97.

purpose for which the association of individual marriage such as it is found in primitive societies, originally arose. Marriage, as we have seen, has very little to do with the sexual life of primitive man; pre-nuptial licence, often prolonged until advanced maturity, communal relations between clan-brothers and their wives, promiscuity during periodical tribal gatherings and festivals, numerous transient associations, far more than the economic partnership of marriage, constitute the sexual aspect of the relations between the sexes in primitive society. It is as a worker rather than as a sexual partner that primitive man desires to appropriate a wife. That original motive and function of individual marriage no longer exists where woman has ceased to be a worker. Sometimes, as we saw, the sudden economic change which has abolished that function has caused marriage to fall altogether into disuse.[1] In those societies which have reached a relatively high stage of material culture after passing through a pastoral patriarchal stage, the enormously increased purchasing power of the men enables them to gather about them large harems of wives and female slaves; the sexual freedom which is concomitantly limited by the proprietary rights arising from the same enhanced economic power of the men is thus compensated by their ability to acquire numerous women. Marriage, in those conditions, instead of being economic and unconnected with sexual objects, assumes, on the contrary, a purely sexual aspect and becomes the chief form of sexual relation.

Those conditions have not occurred where, as in Europe, agricultural and industrial culture have been attained without passing through any important pastoral stage. The chief object of marriage in the most ancient phases and throughout a considerable portion of European social history, is, as in the most primitive societies, economic, but in a somewhat different sense. It is not as a worker that a wife is desired in archaic European society, but as an heiress. The chief purpose of marriage is to gain access to the property, to the lands, which in a matriarchal social order were originally in the hands of the women and were transmitted through them, and to hand down that property to the man's own heirs. Archaic European marriage was thus, like primitive individual marriage, governed essentially by economic considerations, and, unlike marriage in opulent Oriental societies, had little reference to sexual life and the sexual aspect of the relation between the sexes. While polygyny to the utmost possible extent was the Oriental ideal, the juridic and economic marriage of archaic Europe, aiming chiefly at acquiring the rights of a matriarchal heiress and at breeding legal heirs to the acquired property, was of necessity essentially monogamic.

[1] See above, pp. 166 sq.

Monogamic marriage, the product of the transition from primitive to agricultural society without any intervening pastoral stage, is thus rooted in the special conditions which have led to European civilisation. It stands in profound contrast with the marriage institutions of pastoral societies, or of societies which have passed through a prolonged pastoral stage, and which are all, without an exception, in the highest degree polygamous.[1] Upon that economic foundation of the institution the whole development of European sentiments as regards the relations between the sexes may be said to have taken place. The convergent evolution of religious and ethical conceptions has ultimately become grafted upon the established economic institution, and has imparted to the latter a religious and moral character. Some aspects of that complex evolution of religious conceptions and associated sentiments will be considered later. For the present we shall confine ourselves to the social aspect of the development of monogamous marriage.

The social and religious traditions of Europe have invested the distinction between polygamy and monogamy with transcendent importance. In the writings of the older travellers and missionaries there is scarcely any feature of non-European societies which excites the same zealous denunciations as does polygamy. By comparison every other departure from European sexual codes, every vice even, is looked upon with leniency, or is traced to polygamy as the head fount of all sexual immorality. That attitude is readily intelligible; for the distinction between monogamy and polygamy is, in the traditional conceptions of Europe, not a quantitative one merely, but one of kind, which goes to the very root of all the sentiments and principles which form part of the sexual code of Christian Europe. Polygamous marriage implies the negation of those sentiments and conceptions; and the claim that they are innate and 'natural,' and that marriage is a primordial institution, is stultified when that marriage relation, instead of being monogamous, is polygamous. It was a firm belief in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that polygamy had been first invented by 'Mahomet,' and its prevalence in Africa and in Asia was set down to the direct influence of Islamic religion.[2] The

[1] L. T. Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler and M. Ginsberg, *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*, pp. 159, 161. "The single exception," says the authors, "is the Tobas of South America, as to whose classification we hesitated between the higher hunters and the pastoral, such pastoral life as they have being an importation from the whites." "Their mode of subsistence," says Azara, "reduces itself to hunting. But they have in addition a few inconsiderable herds of cows and sheep" (F. de Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale*, vol. ii, p. 161).

[2] See below, p. 286.

occurrence of polygamy in the New World was one of the most unpalatable and subversive ethnological discoveries. Efforts were made to suppress or minimise the fact; it was given out that representative North American peoples, such as the Iroquois and the Hurons, were monogamous, or had been so 'formerly.'[1] The traveller Heriot, in the beginning of the last century, prefixed to his travels the accounts of the old Jesuit authorities, and wrote that "the custom of marrying more than one wife is nowhere to be met with among nations in a state of refinement; and the rules of virtue as well as the precepts of the Christian religion tend to the prohibition."[2]

The grounds upon which the European conception of monogamous marriage is founded are, however, peculiar to European social development, and are without application or existence in any other society. None of the considerations which are urged by European sentiment against polygyny has any application in the conditions of uncultured society. Monogamy was favoured by early Christian moralists, who accounted marriage a necessary evil, as a reduction of that evil to a minimum, and on grounds of chastity and continence; but chastity and continence for their own sakes are not regarded as meritorious in uncultured societies. Monogamy is the only form of marriage which is in accordance with the sentiments of exclusive attachment which are assumed in European tradition to be the antecedents and foundations of the union; but such exclusive sexual attachment is not the antecedent of marriage in primitive societies, and is not understood. Polygamy is thought to imply disregard for the feelings of women and to be an outrage on those feelings. But there is no evidence of the existence of those sentiments among primitive women, and there is considerable evidence of their absence; women are everywhere in uncultured societies the chief upholders of polygamy, and the number of a man's wives is usually increased at their express instigation and request. An outrage on feelings which is not felt is not an outrage.

Absence of Jealousy amongst Women in Polygynous Families.

The testimony, often reluctant, as to the harmony which obtains between the several wives of the same man is too definite and general to be ignored. Thus among the Eskimo of Greenland "the most detestable crime" of polygamy gave rise to no jealousy among

[1] J. F. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. i, p. 555; F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. v, pp. 418 sq. Cf. below, p. 277, n[2].

[2] G. Heriot, *Travels Through the Canadas*, p. 324.

the women until they were instructed by the missionaries.[1] "They live together in the utmost harmony."[2] Among the North American Indians the wives "all live together in the greatest harmony."[3] Among Carib wives "there is," we are told, "no sort of jealousy between them, let the women of Europe exclaim at the miracle as they please."[4] Among the Arawaks "it is remarkable that there is so little evidence of jealousy between the wives of the same husband."[5] In ancient Mexico, says Father Torquemada, "the wives loved one another like sisters, a thing difficult to explain."[6] Among the various wives of the natives of Brazil there is no jealousy.[7] The Bakairi, like many other peoples, have wives in various villages; but that dispersion of the polygynous family is not due to any hostile feeling among the wives, for when the husband visits a wife, he is generally accompanied in his visit by a wife from another village, who takes the occasion of having a little pleasurable entertainment in the company of her co-wife.[8] Among the Guaranis "it is a strange thing that there is scarcely any quarrel between the women as to any preference shown by the head of the house."[9] Among the wild tribes of eastern Brazil, "the women agree well together."[10] Among the Tuyucas of the Rio Tikie, in the Upper Amazon basin, "the wives live in perfect harmony."[11] Among the Campas of Peru, the wives of the same husband love one another so tenderly that if one is neglected the others weep and are greatly distressed until their fellow-wife is restored to favour.[12] Among the Fuegians jealousy between co-wives is entirely unknown.[13] In Madagascar "the women do not quarrel amongst themselves unless some question of interest causes dissent, which is rare."[14] Among Kaffir wives "jealousy," says

[1] H. Egede, *A Description of Greenland*, p. 140.

[2] W. E. Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of the North-West Passage*, p. 528.

[3] F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. v, p. 419.

[4] J. B. du Tertre, *Relation des Caraïbes*, p. 420.

[5] D. C. Farabee, *The Central Arawak*, p. 95. Cf. G. von Koenigswald, "Die Cayuás," *Globus*, xcii, p. 381.

[6] E. J. de Torquemada, *Veinte i un libros rituales i monarquia Indiana*, vol. ii, p. 420.

[7] J. d'Anchieta, "Informação dos casamentos dos Indios do Brasil," *Revista Trimensal de Historia e Geographia*, viii, pp. 254 sq.

[8] C. von den Steinen, *Unter Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasilien*, p. 331.

[9] A. d'Orbigny, *L'homme américain*, vol. ii, p. 308.

[10] *The Captivity of Hans Stade of Hesse among the Wild Tribes of Eastern Brazil*, p. 142.

[11] T. Koch-Grünberg, *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern*, vol. i, p. 273.

[12] E. Grandidier, *Voyage dans l'Amérique du Sud, Pérou et Bolivie*, p. 140.

[13] C. Spegazzini, "Costumbres de los habitantes de la Tierra de Fuego," *Anales de la Sociedad Cientifica Argentina*, xiv, p. 166.

[14] A. and G. Grandidier, *Histoire physique, naturelle et politique de Madagascar*, vol. iv, Part ii, p. 203.

Delegorgue, "is unknown, and, far from dreaming of any sentiment of the kind, the first wife of a Kaffir will work doubly hard, and to the very limit of her strength in order to acquire enough wealth to enable her husband to buy another wife. This second wife, once acquired, is bound to the first by bonds of affection for which we have no word in our language. Those women are far more intimate than sisters. Between sisters there may be occasional rivalry and even jealousy, but between co-wives never." [1] In Ashanti "no jealousy prevails between the women." [2] In Sierra Leone "there is no sort of jealousy between the numerous wives." [3] Among the tribes in the neighbourhood of Kilimanjaro the wives are described by Mrs. French-Sheldon as utterly devoid of rivalry. "A new wife is hailed with delight, and all the established household exert themselves to the top of their bent to do her honour and welcome her into their midst." [4] Among the Lango of the Upper Nile there is no trace of jealousy between the wives of the same man.[5] In Mindanao the wives of a polygynous family live together in perfect harmony.[6] In New Zealand "polygamy was not the cause of disagreement or jealousy among the wives, who lived together in great harmony." [7] "There was no rivalry, except in mutual good offices, among the wives." [8] "They are," says another observer, "destitute of the feelings which characterise the females of other countries." [9] Among the Papuans of Dutch New Guinea there is a good understanding between wives.[10] In New Britain the accession of a new wife is hailed by her co-wives with joy.[11] The various wives of the Australian aborigines in New South Wales "live in perfect unity." [12] Chukchi wives get on together "quite harmoniously." [13] In Kamchatka "the several

[1] A. Delegorgue, *Voyage dans l'Afrique Australe*, vol. i, p. 154. Cf. vol. ii, p. 231; H. Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa*, vol. i, p. 264.

[2] A. B. Ellis, in *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 288.

[3] T. J. Alldridge, *The Shebro and its Hinterland*, p. 114.

[4] Mrs. French-Sheldon, "Customs among the Natives of East Africa from Teita to Kilimanolia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxi, p. 360.

[5] J. H. Driberg, *The Lango, a Nilotic Tribe of Uganda*, p. 154.

[6] A. Schandenberg, "Die Bewohner von Süd-Mindanao und der Insel Samal," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xvii, p. 12.

[7] W. Colenso, *On the Maori Races of New Zealand*, p. 26.

[8] J. L. Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, vol. i, p. 181.

[9] W. Brown, *New Zealand and its Aborigines*, p. 35. Cf. G. L. Craik, *The New Zealanders*, p. 197.

[10] Meyners d'Estrey, *La Papouaisie, ou Nouvelle-Guinée, occidentale*, p. 75.

[11] J. Pfeil, *Studien und Beobachtungen aus den Südsee*, p. 32.

[12] R. Hill and Hon. G. Thornton, *Notes on the Aborigines of New South Wales*, p. 4. Cf. T. Petrie, *Reminiscences of Early Queensland*, p. 61.

[13] O. Iden-Zeller, "Ethnographische Beobachtungen bei den Tschuktschen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xliii, p. 850.

wives of one husband live together quite peaceably."[1] Among the Kafirs of Hindu-Kush the women seem to get on very well together.[2] In Persian harems "the wives, instead of being jealous rivals, are usually the best of friends."[3] Turkish ladies in the old days are said to have evinced no jealousy whatever in regard to other wives or concubines.[4]

We occasionally come upon, it is true, in the accounts of travellers references to discords and quarrels among the women in a polygynous family.[5] But bickerings between women who live and work together are liable to take place whatever their relation to one another; and the occurrence of such quarrels is as strong an argument against a multiplicity of female servants, clerks, or shop-assistants, as against a multiplicity of wives. It appears that the disputes have no more to do with sexual jealousy in the latter than in the former cases; they seem to have reference mostly to economic matters. Women in West Africa, says Miss Kingsley, do not care "a tinker's curse" about the relations of their husbands with other women, provided that he does not waste on them the cloth, etc., which they regard as their due perquisite. If a man pays too assiduous attentions to another woman, his wives insist on his marrying her, so that she may share in the work of the household as well as in the profits, and thus put an end to all unpleasantness.[6] The Kaffir wives in Delagoa Bay, remarks another lady, "seem to live happily together as a rule, and work cheerfully"; but quarrels do sometimes take place as regards the distribution of the clothes which are provided by the husband. "Luckily the fighting is generally with woman's favourite weapon, the tongue; I have seldom heard of their coming to blows."[7] In Australia a wife will sometimes manifest great indignation if her husband proposes to introduce into the household a woman older than herself, who would be disposed to exercise over the younger wife the authority which is the privilege of grey hairs. She has, however, no objection whatever to her husband marrying a younger woman.[8]

[1] S. P. Krasheninnikoff, cited by M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 89.

[2] G. S. Robertson, *The Káfirs of the Hindu-Kush*, p. 537.

[3] C. J. Willis, *Persia as it is*, p. 63.

[4] M. Guer, *Moeurs et usages des Turcs*, vol. i, p. 423.

[5] See E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. iii, pp. 89 sqq. A large proportion of those remarks appears to represent assumptions as to what, in the opinion of the reporter, ought to take place, rather than observations; as when we are told that sororal polygyny is adopted because *if* the women were not sisters they would certainly quarrel, or that each wife has her separate appartments because *if* she had not she would surely quarrel with other wives.

[6] M. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 212.

[7] Rose Monteiro, *Delagoa Bay, its Natives and Natural History*, pp. 91 sq.

[8] G. Taplin, in J. D. Woods, *The Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 101.

As has been already noted, where polygamy is practised the women "are the chief supporters of the system," [1] and are "bitterly opposed to all teaching that inculcates monogamy." [2] An Akikuyu woman, speaking to a lady missionary, sent the following message to the women of Europe. "Tell them two things," she said; "one is that we never marry anyone we do not want to, and the other is that we like our husband to have as many wives as possible." [3] In South Africa, if a woman happens to be her husband's only wife, the ladies belonging to more fortunate households call on her to express their sympathy and to commiserate over her miserable and lonely condition.[4] It is very generally at the request and instigation of the women that a man takes other wives. Dalager, writing of the Eskimo, mentions that he once asked a married woman why her husband had taken another wife. "I asked him myself," she replied, "for I am tired of bearing children." [5] Among the Chukchi a wife sometimes insists upon her husband taking another wife; [6] and the same thing has been noted among the Koryak,[7] the Kirghis Tartars,[8] and the Ainu.[9] Among the Omahas second wives were taken at the suggestion and request of the first.[10] Among the Arawaks "when the first child is born the wife tells her husband that he should take another wife, because there is so much to do." [11] Among the Mundrucu and other tribes of Brazil it has also been noted that it is the wives who procure other wives and concubines for their husbands; [12] and among the Fuegians it is the women who insist upon their husbands having other wives.[13] In New Zealand it was generally at the request of his wife that a man took another; [14] and in Samoa a woman brought her sisters to her

[1] G. T. Basden, *Among the Ibos of Nigeria*, p. 97.

[2] A. L. Kitching, *On the Backwaters of the Nile*, p. 150. See above, vol. i, p. 331. Cf. D. Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi*, pp. 284 sq.; A. Kropf, *Das Volk der Xosa-Kaffern*, p. 153; W. Reade, *Savage Africa*, pp. 259 sq.; C. Delhaise, *Les Warega*, p. 153; S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 259.

[3] W. S. and K. Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People, the Akikuyu*, p. 124.

[4] D. Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 227.

[5] F. Nansen, *Eskimo Life*, p. 144. Cf. D. Cranz, *The History of Greenland*, vol. i, p. 147.

[6] W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 600.

[7] W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 754.

[8] E. and P. Sykes, *Through Deserts and Oases in Central Asia*, p. 121.

[9] H. von Siebold, *Ethnographische Studien über die Aino*, pp. 31 sq.

[10] J. O. Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 261.

[11] W. Curtis Farabee, *The Central Arawaks*, p. 95.

[12] C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, vol. i, pp. 106, 393.

[13] A. Cojazzi, *Los Indios del Archipelago Fueguino*, p. 16.

[14] W. Colenso, *On the Maori Races of New Zealand*, p. 26.

husband.[1] The same thing has been noted in New Guinea.[2] Among the Kaffirs a wife usually helps her husband to obtain another wife.[3] In Sierra Leone "it is very common for a woman who has a child to procure another wife for her husband during the time she is nursing."[4] In Ashanti "wives continually urge their husbands to take other wives or to purchase slave-girls as concubines."[5] Among the Hausa, women encourage their husbands to buy more wives because it adds to the respectability of the family.[6] In Loango the first wife asks the husband to marry other women.[7] Among the Banda "a woman is not jealous of her husband's other female companions; on the contrary, she urges him to increase the number of his wives."[8] In the Congo "when a Medge woman wishes to show her affection for her husband she requests her father to let him have one of her sisters or cousins";[9] and among the Ababua a wife "to prove the great affection which she feels for her husband will, during his absence on a journey, buy him a young and pretty girl whom she presents to him on his return."[10] "I have heard native women again and again advocating polygamy," says Mr. Mr. Dugald Campbell, "and almost forcing, at any rate coaxing, their husbands to marry more and more wives."[11] Among the Gallas and the Shangalla, "it is the women who solicit the men to increase the number of their wives. A young woman, having borne a child or two by her husband, entreats and solicits him that he would take another wife, when she names to him all the beautiful girls of her acquaintance, especially those that she thinks likeliest to have large families."[12] Among the Mongols a princess urged her husband to marry her sister even though the latter was already married.[13] Fan-Ki, the wife of the Emperor Chwang-Tchu, who is much praised in Chinese tradition as a model wife, is reported

[1] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 123.

[2] G. Landtman, *Nya Guinea farden*, p. 81.

[3] E. Blackwood Wright, "Native Races of South Africa," *Journal of the African Society*, ii, p. 269; A. Delegorgue, *Voyage dans l'Afrique Australe*, vol. i, p. 154.

[4] T. Winterbottom, *Description of the Native Africans of the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone*, vol. i, p. 149.

[5] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 228.

[6] F. Goldstein, "Die Frauen in Haussafulbia und Adamana," *Globus*, xliv, p. 63.

[7] R. E. Dennett, "Laws and Customs of the Fjort or Bavili Family," *Journal of the African Society*, i, p. 262.

[8] F. Gillier, "Les Banda," *L'Afrique Française*, 1913, Supplément, p. 349,

[9] A. Hutereau, *Notes sur la vie familiale et juridique de quelques populations du Congo Belge*, p. 62.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

[11] D. Campbell, *In the Heart of Bantu Land*, p. 160.

[12] J. Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, vol. ii, pp. 233 sq., 556.

[13] J. Curtin, *The Mongols*, p. 49.

as saying, " I have never ceased to send people in all the neighbouring towns to look for beautiful women in order that I might present them as concubines to my lord " ; and high praise is also bestowed upon T'ai-Fze, the wife of Wan, for the same conduct.[1] It is usual in China at the present day for wives to desire their husbands to obtain another wife [2] ; and Sir John Bowring relates that one of his female servants, a Christian convert, earnestly expressed her desire that her dear husband might be permitted to take another wife to look after him during her absence, " and seemed quite surprised that anyone should suppose such an arrangement to be in any respect improper." [3]

The outrage on the feelings of women which polygyny is thought to imply is the most substantial ground for the condemnation of the practice. There cannot be the slightest doubt that were polygyny introduced in a European country it would constitute an intolerable offence against the feelings and sentiments of the women. But the forms which feminine jealousy has assumed have, like masculine jealousy, developed in relation to social conditions and conceptions. Its primitive forms are, like all primitive sentiments, grounded in biological facts and requirements, and do not go beyond them. Statements to the effect that men are naturally more jealous than women, or women more jealous than men are almost devoid of meaning, because jealousy is not a primary cause, but a determinate effect. The mating instinct being primarily a feminine instinct and subserving feminine interests, the desire of the female to retain the male is biologically far more fundamental than the desire of the male to retain the female. The primary object of feminine jealousy is similar to that of primitive male jealousy, namely, not to lose the male who is desired by the woman as an economic assistant and protector in view of her functions. That object does not primitively have reference to the relations of the male with other females, so long as those relations do not constitute a menace to the economic association. The economic position of a wife in a polygynous family, in primitive and uncultured societies, is not endangered by the relations of the common husband to his other wives. On the contrary, since primitive women are workers, the accession of new workers in the family promotes the very object which is the biological purpose of the mating instinct in the female. Among the agricultural populations of Africa the accession of new wives not only facilitates the work of each, but increases the general wealth and well-being of the family, and thus forwards the aims of both the maternal and the derivative mating instincts of the women. Marked preference, or rather favouritism,

[1] M. von Brandt, *Sittenbilden aus China*, p. 19, after Han-Ying.
[2] J. H. Gray, *China*, vol. i, p. 243.
[3] W. C. Milne, *Life in China*, p. 188.

in regard to any one wife may to some extent prejudice the interests of the others, though it does not entail loss of the husband. But polygamy in uncultured societies is strictly regulated by economic interests; and the economic interests which induce a man to have many wives coincide with the economic interests which prompt a woman to have as comfortable a home and as ample a provision as possible for her children. Between the one desire and the other there is no sort of opposition or conflict. It is quite otherwise where women have no productive economic value and where monogamic institutions are established. The relations of a man with another woman threaten, in that case, both complete loss of the man and economic loss to the woman and her family; the purposes of the feminine mating instinct are antagonised and imperilled by such relations. Those extra-connubial relations are, as has just been seen, equally resented by the wives of a polygynous family, although in regard to one another there is no rivalry or jealousy; they desire their husband to marry his paramour so that she shall not constitute an economic loss, but an economic gain. As with the male, sentiments and feelings have developed in women in accordance with the existing economic conditions; the relation of monogamic marriage has been enriched by a cultural growth of sentiment which has to a great extent transformed the primitive biological feelings. Feminine jealousy, in monogamic countries, has assumed a form which is wholly incompatible with polygyny, in the same manner as masculine jealousy has assumed a form which is quite incompatible with polyandry and with the sexual communism which prevails throughout uncultured society.

No Condemnation of Polygamy outside European Countries.

In the absence of those objections and disadvantages which are the products of special conditions in highly developed stages of culture, there is no ground or motive for the prohibition or condemnation of polygamy in uncultured societies, and no merit in monogyny. The same reasons which render it desirable to have one wife make it all the more desirable to have several. Polygyny is the biological condition of the efficient operation of the sexual functions in the male. In the female the object of those functions is impregnation; that object is not advanced by multiplicity of sexual relations. The reproductive process being periodic, there are long intervals during which such relations are, for the female, biologically functionless. The object of the sexual functions in the male being to reproduce himself, that object is achieved all the more fully the more females he impregnates. In the vegetable kingdom, when the sexes are separate, in dioecious plants, one male

serves for the impregnation of numerous females. The male palm-tree stands surrounded by an enormous harem of female plants. Monogamous pairing is, as we have seen, extremely rare amongst animals. Such pairing, when it takes place during the breeding season, or a portion of it, is imposed by special conditions in the reproductive process of the female and the distribution of the food-supply, and requires, as an indispensable condition, the segregation of the pair in an isolated territory. Whenever the pressure of those conditions is relaxed, and as soon as segregation ceases to be complete, multiple sexual relations take place even in the most characteristically pairing species of birds. Human groups are never, and can never be, segregated in single pairs; the development of even the rudest form of human society, the development of the human mind, the development of all human specific characters, would, in those conditions, be impossible.

The grounds of the European objection to polygamy are incomprehensible to uncultured peoples. Among the natives of South Africa "our objection to it seems to be looked upon by them as arising from some radical difference of race which incapacitates us from judging of its fitness or otherwise." [1] The American Indians "laugh at the European for having only one wife, and that for life." [2] Although uncultured races are as a rule very ready to be influenced by, and to adopt European moral and social standards, they are disposed to look upon European ideas concerning monogamy as the symptom of a peculiar mental deficiency or form of degeneration. In East Africa "the natives are inclined to look down on us Europeans for our monogamy." [3] The Singhalese regard monogamy as partaking of the nature of bestiality and brutishness.[4]

Far from polygyny being regarded with reprobation as a manifestation of moral laxity or self-indulgence, or of lack of consideration for the feelings of women, it is everywhere in uncultured societies regarded by men and women as a merit and a sign of worth, as a laudable ideal and even as a moral virtue. Dr. Keating questioned an intelligent Fox Indian on his notions of what constituted a 'good man,' and his answers were so edifying that the author thought that they lent support to the theory of the innate nature of moral sentiments. But that satisfactory result was marred in one point; among the virtues which, in the Indian's conception, were distinctive of the ideal good man, he

[1] E. Blackwood Wright, "Native Races in South Africa," *Journal of the African Society*, ii, p. 269.

[2] J. Long, *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader*, p. 95.

[3] G. Lindblom, *The Akamba*, p. 79 note.

[4] J. Bailey, "An Account of the Wild Tribes of the Veddahs of Ceylon," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, N.S., ii, p. 291.

laid special stress upon the duty of polygamy. "A good man," he said, "should keep as many wives as he can support." [1] Polygamy, Dr. Keating observes elsewhere, "is held to be agreeable in the eyes of the Great Spirit as he who has the most children is held in the highest esteem." [2] The view is easily intelligible: to support as many fellow-creatures as possible is not only a mark of social efficiency and of wealth, and therefore a matter for praise and pride, but a form of philanthropy and a mark of liberality and unselfishness, while stinginess in the matter is, like deliberate bachelorhood, the stamp of a mean and selfish man. The respect which the possession of a large number of wives inspires in uncultured societies is not mere servile regard for great possessions, but esteem for ability and industry. "He who has most wives is considered the best hunter, being obliged to provide for them by his own industry." [3] In Africa "polygamists are usually hard workers and aristocrats; men who by virtue of hard work and royal blood are able to work and support a number of wives. In other words, where a savage state of society obtains polygamists are, as a rule, the best type of men and the most staunch upholders of tribal life and customs." [4] The number of a man's wives is therefore the measure of his respectability, and of the consideration which he enjoys. The sentiment obtains not only among uncultured peoples,[5] but also in the highest non-European cultures, as among Muslims,[6] and in China.[7] The Brahmanical sacred books lay down that "many wives are a form of prosperity (or social eminence)." [8]

[1] W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River*, vol. i, p. 227.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 155.

[3] J. Long, *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader*, p. 95.

[4] D. Campbell, *In the Heart of Bantuland*, p. 159.

[5] E.g., J. Macgillivray, *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. 'Rattlesnake,'* vol. ii, p. 8; A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 184; Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage faict en terre de Brésil*, pp. 301 sq.; Yves d'Evreux, *Voyage dans le nord du Brésil*, p. 88; A. Dessalines d'Orbigny, *L'homme américain*, vol. i, p. 194; H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. i, pp. 120, 512 n.; S. S. Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *Journal of the Roya. Anthropological Institute*, xlvii, p. 47; J. H. Weeks, *Among Congo Cannibals*, p. 137; G. Lindblom, *The Akamba*, p. 79; M. Buchner, *Kamerun*, p. 31; T. Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans of the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone*, vol. i, p. 145; G. S. Robertson, *The Káfirs of the Hindu-Kush*, p. 534.

[6] Carra de Vaux, art. "Family (Muslim)," in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. v., p. 743.

[7] W. C. Milne, *Life in China*, p. 187.

[8] *The Satapatha-Brâhmana*, xiii. 2. 6. 7 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xliv, p. 313).

A man of social standing must as a matter of duty have a large number of wives; to possess only a few is a source of shame and disgrace. The son of a Sherbro chief, on being asked how many wives his father had, displayed considerable embarrassment, for in truth his family was in somewhat decayed circumstances, and the young fellow was naturally sensitive on the point. He at last admitted rather shyly that his father had "only twelve wives." [1] Where adverse economic conditions render polygamy difficult or impossible for the majority of the men, it is nevertheless their constant ambition and hope that they may some day rise above the squalid and shameful state of monogamy. "There was not a single young man in Kaffirland," observes Sir T. Shepstone, "who did not hope and believe that he would live to marry three or four wives, though the majority of men had only one wife because they had not the means to support more." [2]

There could be no stronger evidence to show that the sentiments and principles of European tradition concerning the relations between the sexes are products of a late cultural development than the incomprehensibility and inapplicability of the ideal of monogamy to uncultured humanity. Previous to the Christian era the terms 'monogamy,' 'bigamy,' 'polygamy,' in the sense in which we use them, were unknown, and there existed no words to indicate what they denote.[3] The 'prohibition' of polygyny, which was thought 'natural' and "to be met with among all nations in a state of refinement," was promulgated for the first time in any part of the world in the code of Justinian in the sixth century of our era,[4] Considerable diversity exists among uncultured and barbaric races as regards the extent to which polygyny is practised, but no authenticated instance is known outside Christian nations of a people among whom polygyny is an object of moral reprobation, or is definitely condemned or forbidden by tribal custom.

Limitations of Polygyny.

A limit is sometimes said to be imposed by tribal custom to the number of wives which a man may have. The form in which such statements are couched is often similar to that in which, very usually, the existence of polygamy is admitted; in the majority of

[1] Anon., "Leben in den Faktoreien bei Sherbro," *Globus*, xlvii, p. 248.

[2] E. Blackwood Wright, "Native Races in South Africa," *Journal of the African Society*, ii, pp. 268 sq.

[3] E. Hruza, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des griechischen und römischen Familienrechts*, vol. ii, p. 21.

[4] Justinian, *Institutiones*, i. 10. 6.

accounts of uncivilised tribes polygamy is said to be 'permitted,' 'allowed,' 'authorised,' or 'tolerated.' Since there is not the slightest likelihood that the issue of such an 'authorisation' ever entered the mind of any uncivilised people, it is improbable that the limitation of polygyny rests anywhere upon a tribal edict. The Iroquois tribes, we are told, condemned a man who married more wives than he was able to support comfortably.[1] The rule appears superfluous in any primitive society, and particularly so in one so matriarchal as that of the Iroquois. If a man's contribution to the support of his wives was not regarded by them as satisfactory, he was "ordered to pick up his blanket and budge."[2] No primitive woman will continue for a day with a man who is unable to support her if a more competent partner is available; and we have had ample evidence in the preceding chapter of the enormous importance attached by all uncivilised peoples to the tangible demonstration of a man's ability to support a wife as a condition of his being able to obtain one at all. Where women are difficult to obtain, a monopoly of wives by any individual is sometimes resented in communistic societies. In some Australian tribes the right of a man who is unable to procure a wife, to challenge another who has several is recognised.[3] Among the Wasania of British East Africa men are not permitted to marry more than three wives, "as it is considered that no man is able to provide food, etc., for more than this number."[4] A similar rule obtains amongst the Bongo;[5] and among the Lendu a man's allowance is restricted to four wives.[6] The same number is prescribed by Islamic law. Among the Kugamma of Northern Nigeria "a man is limited to six wives."[7] The Chandel Rajputs are restricted to seven wives.[8] The privilege which is generally allowed to kings and chiefs in this respect is sometimes subject to a legal or recognised limit. The number of wives of the king of Ashanti is said to have been fixed at 3,333.[9] Among the Jews, kings appear to have

[1] J. F. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. i, p. 555. Cf. W. Smith, *History of the County of New York*, p. 50; Pfefferkorn, *Beschreibung der Landschaft Sonora*, vol. i, p. 388.

[2] See above, vol. i, p. 270.

[3] See above, p. 205.

[4] W. E. H. Barrett, "Notes on the Customs and Beliefs of the Wa-Giriama, etc., British East Africa," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xli, p. 30.

[5] G. Schweinfurth, *Im Herzen von Afrika*, vol. i, p. 330.

[6] F. C. Cunningham, *Uganda and its People*, p. 331.

[7] O. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes of Northern Nigeria*, p. 245.

[8] W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, vol. ii, p. 198.

[9] T. E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*, p. 387; J. Beecham, *Ashantee and the Gold Coast*, p. 122.

been limited to an allowance of forty-eight wives, although the number was commonly exceeded.[1] Not only the number of wives, but even more commonly the number of children, is, as has been seen, limited by the tribal enforcement of economic prudence. It is noteworthy that such an enforcement of the requirements of economic necessity, and the natural objection of the majority to the monopoly by individuals of available women, do not appear to have anywhere led to the enforcing of monogyny as a tribal rule.

The term 'polygyny' is now employed in preference to the once more generally used word 'polygamy' to denote plurality of wives. The usage draws a useful distinction between polygamy with plurality of wives only and multiple marriage with plurality of husbands, or polyandry. But many writers do not make use of the distinction consistently, for they do not employ, in opposition to polygyny, the corresponding term 'monogyny,' but speak of limitation of marriage to one wife as 'monogamy,' thus conveying a misleading impression. The word 'monogamy' not only denotes marriage in which there is only one husband and one wife, but also connotes the recognition of that form of marriage as a moral or legal standard which precludes multiplicity of wives. Statements to the effect that a given people are 'monogamous,' or 'to a large extent monogamous,' or, as we even find sometimes stated, that they are "generally rigorous monogamists," whatever that may mean, are liable to suggest that a principle or law enforcing monogamy is recognised among those peoples. Monogamy in that sense is not known outside Christian nations. So far as regards such a principle, marriage in which there are but two wives is as much a polygamous marriage as one in which there are two hundred, and a people among whom only one man in a hundred has more than one wife is no more monogamous than one among whom every man has six wives.

Since marriage is primitively an economic and not a purely sexual relation, the polygynous or monogynous, polygamous or monogamous, nature of the relation is far from representing the actual extent and character of the sex relations. It has been said that even in Europe, where alone monogamic marriage has developed as an established institution, monogyny has up to the present never existed.[2] The Romans and the Greeks were monogamous in their marriage institutions, but scarcely monogynous in their sex relations. In Abyssinia, among the Shoa, who are Christians, "monogamy, it is true, is established by the Church, but concubinage is the habitual and general custom, the king and

[1] *II Samuel* xii. 8.
[2] I. Bloch, *The Sexual Life of Our Time*, pp. 196, 253.

his five hundred wives leading the way." [1] The Chevsurs of the Caucasus were formerly polygamous, but are now members of the Orthodox Church, and, of course, monogamous. But the change in institutions has made very little essential difference in the extent of their sex relations; the changes of partner are so frequent that men in middle life have commonly had some ten wives.[2] In polygamous countries, where a man cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time, he makes up for the unfortunate circumstance by frequent changes. "The Muslim of small means, who cannot afford to marry two or more wives or to purchase slave-girls," observes Dr. Rohlf with special reference to Morocco, "compensates himself by marrying one woman after another." [3] In Egypt, where, Lane tells us, few could afford to have more than one wife, marriages were so transient and separations so common that scarcely any man had the same wife for many years together; partners were commonly changed as often as twenty or thirty times in a couple of years, and Lane knew men who took a new wife every month or two.[4] A Bedawi will marry a young woman merely to enjoy her company for a few weeks, after which he sends her away.[5] The case is mentioned by Lane-Poole of a dyer in Baghdad who had lived all his life in strict monogamy and connubial fidelity; when he died, at the age of eighty-five, he had had 900 wives! Women are met with who have had forty husbands.[6] The association between the reduction of polygyny and frequent changes of partners is equally conspicuous in the lower phases of culture. Thus, the Guaycurus and other allied tribes of the southern Chaco usually married only one woman at a time; but the connections were so loose and transitory that the state of things is said to have been equivalent to general sexual promiscuity, every woman associating with every man.[7] As Dr. Torres observes, 'successive polygyny' would be a more accurate designation for their marriage customs than 'monogamy.' [8] Similarly, in the Island of Guam, in the Ladrones group, a man did not usually marry more than one wife; but marriage was merely an incident in their sexual life, which approached

[1] J. L. Krapf, *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours during Eighteen Years' Residence in East Africa*, p. 41.

[2] G. Radde, *Die Chewsuren und ihr Land*, p. 90.

[3] G. Rohlfs, *Reise durch Marokko*, p. 142. Cf. F. Goldstein, "Die Frauen in Haussafulbien und in Adamana," *Globus*, xciv, p. 62.

[4] E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 251. Cf. E. L. Butcher, *Things seen in Egypt*, pp. 47 sq.

[5] J. L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, p. 157.

[6] S. Lane-Poole, *Cairo*, p. 137.

[7] See above, pp. 82 sq.

[8] L. M. Torres, *Los primitivos habitantes del delta del Paraná*, pp. 446 sq.

as closely to general unrestricted promiscuity as is possible.[1] In like manner the natives of the Pageh Islands have been cited as an instance of a people among whom marriage does not exist; there is, however, an economic marriage amongst them which usually takes place in old age, and is monogamous.[2] The same state of things is common in several parts of Indonesia and Micronesia.[3] Simultaneous polygynous marriage is not very common among the Sakai forest tribes of the Malay peninsula, but their sexual relations are so promiscuous that it is said that every woman cohabits in turn with every man.[4] So again the Ao Nagas are theoretically classifiable as 'monogamous'; but their purely economic marriages which are a provision for the comfort of their old age, take place as a sequel to a life of unrestricted sexual licence.[5] Mr. Hodson remarks that among the Naga tribes of Manipur, polygamy is found to be least prevalent among those tribes where the custom of the 'bachelors' hall' and pre-nuptial licence are most fully maintained, and that it prevails most where those customs have fallen into disuse.[6] The extent of licence and looseness in sexual relations is, in fact, among uncultured peoples, as a rule proportional to the limitation of polygyny in marriage relations; and when we are informed that a given people in a low state of culture are 'monogamous,' the presumption is generally found to be justified that the relations between the sexes approach, with that people, to a condition of unrestricted promiscuity. Such 'monogamy' can, of course, afford no sort of support to the view that sexual relations were originally monogamous.

The number of wives which a man is able to support is necessarily limited by economic conditions. "The poor man is a monogamist all the world over," says Weule.[7] In countries where polygamy is most general, poor men can seldom afford to have more than one wife, and often have none at all. Among the Banaka and Bafeku of the Cameroons "only beggars and vagabonds are monogamous."[8]

[1] W. E. Safford, "Guam and its People," *The American Anthropologist* N.S., iv, p. 716.

[2] See above, pp. 124, 154.

[3] F. S. A. de Clercq, *Bijdragen tot de kennis der Residentie Ternate*, p. 131. id., "Alerlei over de Residentie Manado," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsh Indië*, ii, p. 33; C. Bosscher and P. A. Matijssen, "Schetser van de rijken van Tomboekoe en Banggaai op de oostkust van Celebes" *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, ii, p. 97; F. J. P. Sachs, *Het eiland Seran en zijne bewoners*, p. 105; J. G. F. Riedel, "De Minahassa in 1825," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xviii, p. 480.

[4] See above, pp. 48, 79, 87.

[5] See above, pp. 69, 155.

[6] T. C. Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 94.

[7] Weule, cited by G. Lindblom, *The Akamba*, p. 81.

[8] Von Oertzen, "Die Banaka und Bapuki," in S. R. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien*, p. 32.

In French equatorial Africa, " all slaves are monogamous." [1] In the Aleutian Islands the number of man's matrimonial connections varied with the season.[2] Among the Chukchi Mr. Bogoras knew a gentleman who rejoiced in seven wives ; but he suffered reverses of fortune and lost his herds. Most of his wives also departed, and he became a monogamist.[3] The differences as regards the ability to support a number of wives are far more pronounced in highly civilised societies where the contrasts of fortune and social position are greatest, than under the relatively equalitarian conditions of the lower cultures. Among Orientals whose marriage institutions are polygamous, the marriages of the bulk of the population are monogynous ; polygamy is thus very much less general among Islamic or Hindu nations than among the Australian or the Fuegian aborigines. Polygamy has always been rare amongst the Turks.[4] In Cairo at the beginning of the last century, Lane thought that not one man in twenty had two wives.[5] According to Vincenti, from thirty to thirty-five men per thousand were polygamous in the old Turkish dominions, while no more than one in a thousand had more than two wives.[6] In Persia only two per cent. of the population have more than one wife.[7] In India, amongst Hindus and Buddhists respectively, the excess of wives over husbands is 8 and 7 per thousand.[8]

In the lower phases of culture polygyny is, as a rule, much more uniformly distributed, although chiefs, old men, and distinguished warriors are naturally in a position to keep more wives than other men. The number of wives which a man is able to support is, in those stages of culture, dependent upon the economic circumstances of the tribe, as it is dependent, in higher stages, upon those of the individual.

A hunter can supply only a very limited number of persons with animal food, and that supply is extremely precarious and variable. Even the association of a single pair would be scarcely practicable

[1] G. Bruel, *L'Afrique équatoriale francaise*, p. 189.

[2] J. G. Georgi, *Description de toutes les nations de l'Empire de Russie*, vol. iii, p. 129.

[3] W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 599.

[4] M. Guer, *Moeurs et Usages des Turcs*, vol. i, p. 422 ; Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters*, vol. i, p. 176 ; C. von Vincenti, *Ehe im Islam*, p. 7 ; C. N. Pischon, *Der Einfluss des Islam auf das hausliche, sociale und politische Leben seiner Bekenner*, p. 13 ; S. S. Cox, *Diversions of a Diplomatist in Turkey*, p. 529.

[5] E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 252.

[6] C. von Vincenti, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 sq.

[7] Ameer Ali, *Mahomedan Law compiled from Authorities in the Original Arabic*, vol. ii, p. 25.

[8] H. H. Risley and E. A. Gait, in *Census of India*, 1901, vol. i, " India," Part i, p. 447.

in many wild countries, and only the most skilled hunter could provide a continuous supply of food for himself and one woman. The life of primitive societies of hunters is made possible by the communistic principles and sentiments which compensate, by a distribution of the collective supply, for variable individual production. Hence very small groups live poorly and are in constant danger of starvation. Not only the number of women, but even more frequently the number of children in a family, is restricted by poverty and by the tribal usages arising from it. In several primitive societies a man is not considered justified in rearing more than two or three children; the rest are disposed of by infanticide.[1] In several tribes the majority of men have not more than two or even one wife at a time. In others most men have no wife at all. Thus among the Patagonians "the majority of the Indians, too poor to afford the luxury of a female companion, remain single. They have relations with unmarried women, who may, without being exposed to any reproach, accord them their favours." [2]

The limitation of polygyny down to the level of monogyny in the lowest phases of culture is found in its most pronounced form, or rather exclusively, under certain very definite conditions, namely, amongst forest dwellers, such as the Veddahs of Ceylon, the forest tribe of the Malay Peninsula and of Borneo, and of South America. The reasons for this are sufficiently clear. Life is extremely difficult to support by hunting in the interior of forests. Game, though fairly abundant, is scattered and difficult to pursue. The forest tribes of South America are always on the verge of starvation. The game which they obtain is of negligible quantity; monkeys constitute their chief supply of flesh-food. They, in point of fact, always endeavour to settle on the banks of the large rivers, and live by fishing rather than by hunting. The positions of vantage by the waterside are, however, fiercely disputed, and the weaker tribes are constantly being driven back into the interior of the forests. Their diet there is often reduced to birds, insects and reptiles.[3] Women can contribute little towards the means of subsistence; the few fruits which may be gathered can be collected equally well by the men as by the women, and wild honey, which forms a staple article of diet of the Veddahs and the Land Dayaks, is gathered by the men. Those tribes have no form of agriculture and few household industries with the exception of the manufacture of weapons by the men. Their needs as regards shelter

[1] See above, pp. 27 sq.

[2] A. Guinnard, *Trois ans d'escalvage chez les Patagons*, p. 122.

[3] P. Marcoy, *Voyages à travers l'Amérique du Sud de l'Océan Pacifique à l'Océan Atlantique*, vol. ii, p. 392.

are very small. In those conditions a number of women cannot contribute more to a man's needs and comforts than one woman, and each additional wife adds a considerable burden to the slender resources of the hunter without offering him any corresponding advantage. The conditions are radically different from those obtaining among the Australian aborigines or the Fuegians, for instance; with both, the women make important contributions to the food-supply, and with the Fuegians, the tribe is frequently entirely dependent upon them for its subsistence. The depths of the jungle and forest are among the most unfavourable of human habitats, and the tribes which are found dwelling therein at the present day have, one and all, been driven thither by the pressure of powerful enemies, and are confined there by weakness and fear. For the same reasons, the South American forest tribes, the Veddahs, the Indonesian tribes are distinguished not only by the reduction in the number of wives, but also of children; it is amongst them that families are most radically limited by infanticide.

The distribution of polygyny among uncultured races and the extent to which it is practised are thus governed by economic conditions exclusively. Neither traditional tribal custom nor any other factor appears to influence to any appreciable degree the operation of the economic causes. Much has been said in this connection concerning the relative proportion of the sexes, and it used even to be supposed that polygyny gave rise in some manner to an excess of female births.[1] But there is no reliable evidence to show that the numerical proportion of the sexes plays any important part in determining the extent of polygyny. Estimates as to that proportion among uncultured populations are extremely difficult, unreliable, and misleading; and an alleged preponderance of women or of men is often, as we have had occasion to note in discussing Tibetan polyandry,[2] nothing more than an assumption in support of the observer's theories. Polygyny occurs where there is a numerical preponderance of men, as does polyandry where there is a preponderance of women. The circumstance is readily intelligible. Females in uncultured societies are generally married at a far earlier age than males. Accordingly, even where the numbers of the sexes are, as is the general rule, approximately equal, there are many more married females than married men. Among the Australian aborigines the average age of marriage for the girls is about eleven; the men, in most tribes, do not marry until thirty or forty. In those conditions extensive polygyny is possible even though the number of females should be considerably smaller than that of the men.

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 169. [2] See above, vol. i. pp. 666 sq.

Statements and estimates as to the actual extent to which polygyny is practised in a given community are, for similar statistical reasons, liable to be grossly misleading. As a general rule a man has one wife before he acquires two, two before he obtains three, and so forth. Where, as is frequently the case, the men marry relatively late, the majority will be found to have either no wife or one only, although everyone of those men will have three, four or five wives before he dies. In speaking of the natives of the Solomon Islands, Parkinson says that they are excessively polygamous, it being not unusual for a chief to have as many as fifty wives, and most of the men having four, five or more. Since the number of women is limited, he goes on to say, a large number of men have no wives, or one wife only; but "as a man advances in years and in consequent influence, so does the number of his wives increase in exact proportion." [1] In any polygamous society most of the men will probably be found at any time to have one wife only, even though all of them will later have two and more. A man who begins by having one wife before acquiring three or four is no more a monogamist than an as yet unmarried man is vowed to celibacy. Statements which are so commonly made and cited to the effect that "many men have only one wife," or that "the majority of the men are monogamists," are therefore quite misleading.[2]

The expansion of Western civilisation has enormously reduced polygamy in every part of the world and in every phase of culture. This is by no means due solely to the influence of European opinion and of missionaries, although the latter have suppressed the practice throughout whole quarters of the globe, and the former has through the constant pressure of its condemnation modified the customs of even those Orientals who are most opposed to western influence. Papuan savages have now "an exaggerated idea of the wickedness of polygamy"; [3] and African negroes "call the ancestors of the tribe 'polygamists' as if it were a swear-word, though they are a thousand times worse than polygamists themselves." [4] The Hindus of the more wealthy castes now look upon polygamy as not respectable.[5] In northern China, more especially in the Shantung province, the same view is taken [6]; and in Shanghai, society weddings now take place in European style,

[1] R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 451 sq.

[2] Cf. below, p. 303 n.

[3] W. H. R. Rivers, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 242.

[4] M. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 322. Cf. G. McCall Theal, *The Yellow and Dark-skinned Races of Africa south of the Zambesi*, p. 350.

[5] L. S. S. O'Malley, in *Census of India*, 1911, vol. v, part i, p. 326.

[6] J. H. Gray, *China*, vol. i, p. 184.

with lavender gloves, wedding-ring, and all.[1] Egyptian and Turkish princes affect frock-coats and monogamy;[2] and the Angora Government has recently made polygamy illegal in Turkey. The complete change in economic conditions brought about by European expansion has been an even more potent factor than the influence of European ideas. The rise in the cost of living and of luxury has rendered quite impossible the harems of mediaeval pashas,[3] and the same causes have similarly affected the conditions of what we should call middle and lower-class households. The higher uncultured races are no longer dependent upon feminine labour and household industry, but on European products paid for with the wages of male labour; and in some parts of Africa those conditions have tended to abolish not only polygamy, but marriage.[4] The most remote and segregated tribes in the lowest phases of culture, even though they may seldom have come in contact with a white man, are no less affected by those conditions. Their hunting grounds have shrunk and become impoverished, their life, from one of sufficiency and independence, has become one of nondescript squalor; directly or indirectly they have become dependent upon the alms and toleration of the white man and on the refuse of European industry. Nowhere do the conditions in which native tribes are found by the traveller at the present day represent their natural state. Polygyny decreased among the American tribes of Canada within a few years of the first settlement of Europeans amongst them.[5]

Alleged Instances of Primitive Monogamous Institutions.

The occurrence of monogynous marriage as a general usage amongst uncultured peoples has, however, been greatly exaggerated, and many inaccurate statements in this respect are current. The zeal which the subject has aroused has tended to falsify reports in

[1] J. and A. C. Dewey, *Letters from China and Japan*, p. 253.

[2] A. B. de Guerville, *New Egypt*, p. 147; J. L. Farley, *Modern Turkey*, p. 115.

[3] *Ibid.* Lane remarks that in his day polygamy was much more prevalent among the middle classes than among the upper classes in Egypt, the reason being the enormous expense which the maintenance of several wives in an adequate style entailed. Where no such luxurious style was necessary, in middle-class households, polygamy was far more common (E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* vol. i, p. 252).

[4] See above, pp. 166 sq.

[5] See above, p. 64.

this respect to an even greater extent than in regard to pre-nuptial sexual freedom or any other form of unchastity. As a matter of fact, not only is no uncivilised people certainly known to have monogamous institutions, but very few statements concerning any of those peoples among whom monogyny is said to be usual or general and to represent their original customs, will bear investigation. In view of the prevalent misconceptions on the subject, we shall examine a few of those statements; and again we cannot do better than to take as our guide Dr. Westermarck, whose instances and conclusions have been very frequently appealed to and reproduced without enquiry.

In the recent remodelled edition of his work, Dr. Westermarck has considerably modified his former statements and has eliminated several examples which he formerly adduced as evidence of 'primitive monogamy.' Thus, for example, the Iroquois were formerly represented by Dr. Westermarck as 'monogamous'; the impression was indeed conveyed that they were so strictly and rigorously; they were said to be "purely monogamous," and were repeatedly appealed to as a favourite and conspicuous instance.[1] Those statements have now been entirely withdrawn, and Dr. Westermarck acknowledges that they are opposed to our information.[2] The Pima and allied tribes of the Gila region of Arizona were also formerly cited on the authority of Domenech as examples of monogamy,[3] but the claim is now modified to the irrelevant one that polygyny is "more or less unusual" amongst them.[4] Mr. Hodge says that "polygamy was only a question of the husband's ability to support more than one wife." Marriage among the

[1] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, 1901, pp. 435, 500, 506.

[2] *Ibid.* (1921), vol. iii, p. 4. Cf. above, p. 257 and n.[1] for the statements of Lafitau and Charlevoix. Morgan also repeated the statement that among the Iroquois "polygamy was not permitted nor did it ever become a practice" (L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 324). We have abundant testimony as to the prevalence of polygamy among the Iroquois (*Relations des Jésuites*, 1644, p. 51; La Potherie, *Histoire de l'Amérique septentrionale*, vol. ii, p. 31; N. Perrot, *Mémoire sur les moeurs, coutumes et religion des sauvages de l'Amérique septentrionale*, pp. 27, 178; G. H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren*, vol. i, p. 59; D. Jones, *A Journal of Two Visits made to some Nations of Indians on the West Side of the River Ohio*, p. 75; O. Dapper, *Die unbekante Neue Welt, oder Beschreibung des Weltteils Amerika*, p. 150). It is probable that, as in many other instances, the purely matrilocal character of marriage with the Iroquois was mistaken for monogyny. In the middle of the last century the official Commissioner reported with regard to the Seneca Iroquois that "polygamy no longer exists among them" (P. E. Thomas, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1857–58, p. 310).

[3] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.* (1901), p. 435.

[4] *Ibid* (1921), vol. iii, pp. 3 sq.

Pima " is entered into without any ceremony and is never considered binding. Husband and wife may separate at pleasure, and either is at liberty to marry again. . . . Unchastity prevailed to an inordinate degree among both sexes." [1] Of the Apaches it is asserted by Dr. Westermarck that " formerly " " only one woman was deemed the proper share of one man." [2] His authority is Major Cremony, who says that an Apache once told him so and descanted upon the evils of polygamy. " These recitals," comments Major Cremony, " will serve to show that the Apaches have pondered over some of the most abstruse and perplexing social problems." [3] The sociological speculations of the Apaches, " the most barbarous people thus far discovered in these parts," [4] did not prevent them from showing honour and respect to a man in proportion to the magnitude of his matrimonial establishment; and the women were " by no means averse to sharing the affection of their lords with other wives." [5] Among the Apaches " a man will marry his wife's younger sisters as fast as they grow to maturity. Polygamy is the nuptial law." [6] Dr. Morse reported polygamy to be general among all the eastern tribes of North America which he knew; [7] and Catlin reports the same thing of the more southern tribes. " Polygamy," he says, " is countenanced amongst all of the North American Indians, so far as I have visited them." [8] Commenting on the subject from his wide experience of all Plains tribes, Colonel Dodge observes: " Polygamy seems to be the natural condition of mankind, at least it is a custom among almost all primitive and naked people. Each red man has as many wives as his inclination prompts and his wealth allows. Of the lovers which any Indian maiden may have, it is safe to say at least half already have two or more wives." [9] The Indians of the Klamath River in northern California are mentioned by Mr. Powers as being monogynous.[10] But their marriage customs were a recently

[1] F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. ii, p. 252.

[2] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 5.

[3] J. C. Cremony, *Life among the Apaches*, pp. 249 sq.

[4] P. de Castañeda de Nacera, " Relación de la Jornada de Cibola," in *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i, p. 448.

[5] J. C. Cremony, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

[6] J. G. Bourke, " Notes on the Gentile Organisation of the Apaches of Arizona," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, iii, p. 118. Cf. H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. v, p. 641; E. Domenech, *Journal d'une mission au Texas et au Mexique*, p. 135.

[7] J. Morse, *A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs*, p. 349.

[8] G. Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians*, vol. i, p. 118.

[9] R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, p. 200.

[10] S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, pp. 22, 56.

introduced and elaborate system designed to preserve the exclusiveness of an aristocratic class. The loose matrilocal marriages of the Pueblo tribes are also at the present day monogynous, or rather successively polygynous; but Mr. Bandelier has shown that before the advent of the Spanish Padres their marriages were simultaneously polygynous.[1]

Father Lafitau says that "polygamy appears to prevail to a greater extent in the southern than in the northern portion of the American continent."[2] Dr. Westermarck is of the opposite opinion,[3] and so far as regards the generality of the practice in any one tribe, and the number of wives in a family, he is very probably right, for most of the native populations of South America were at the time of the European conquest much poorer than the majority of North American tribes, and the material conditions of many of them were and still are extremely wretched. Among the peoples of the Andean region, who presented a conspicuous exception to the general poverty, polygamy was extensive among the upper classes, headmen in Chilian tribes commonly having as many as twenty wives.[4] D'Orbigny, after mentioning that among the Peruvians polygyny was, as everywhere in advanced societies, mostly a privilege of the wealthy, says that "amongst all other nations the principle obtains, and is a general custom conditioned by the ability, bravery, and social position of the men, and one which is held in high honour."[5] Among the Tupi-Carib tribes of the coastal regions, polygamy was general. Thus in the northern portion of Brazil, "the savages are extremely covetous of having a number of wives"; they are esteemed in proportion to the extent of their matrimonial establishments.[6] In the southern part of the coast "polygamy, that is plurality of wives," reports an early observer, "obtains in all the country; the men are permitted to marry as many women as they please, and those who have the largest number are accounted the most worthy."[7] Some considerable sections of the Tupi tribes established themselves in the interior

[1] A. F. Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the South-Western United States*, p. 175.

[2] J. F. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. i, p. 554.

[3] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. iii, p. 3.

[4] T. Guevara, *Historia de la civilizacion de Araucania*, vol. i, p. 208.

[5] A. Dessalines d'Orbigny, *L'homme américain*, vol. i, p. 194.

[6] Yves d'Evreux, *Voyage dans le nord du Brésil*, p. 88.

[7] Jean de Lery, *Histoire d'un voyage faict en terre de Brésil*, pp. 301 sq. Cf. *Noticia do Brasil*, p. 277; F. A. de Varnhagen, *Historia geral do Brasil*, vol. i, p. 128; "Descripção geographica do America Portugueza," *Revista Trimensal do Instituto historico e geographico do Brasil*, i, p. 206; A. Thévet, *Les singularitez de la France Antartique*, pp. 210 sq.; J. V. Couto de Magalhaes, *O selvagem*, p. 113; L. M. Torres, *Los primitivos habitantes del delta del Parana* (*Universidad Nacional de La Plata. Biblioteca Centenaria*, vol. iv), p. 447.

in the region of Paraguay, and are usually spoken of as Guaranis. Among the Guarani tribes, according to Dr. Westermarck, "chiefs alone are allowed to have more than one wife." [1] The statement is given on the authority of Father Charlevoix, whose remark refers to Christian Indians; [2] but it is quite unnecessary to have recourse to his casual and second-hand remark for information concerning the Guaranis. Dr. Westermarck adds a reference to Father Hernandez. What Father Hernandez has to say concerning the monogamy of the Guarani is as follows: "The Guarani family, in their state of heathenism, suffered from a fundamental defect, for polygyny reigned amongst them, and they thus violated the natural law which is the basis of marriage." [3] Father Ruiz de Montoya loudly laments the unrestricted and ineradicable polygamy of the Guaranis; some of them had as many as twenty and even thirty wives.[4] D'Orbigny, summing up our information on the subject, says: "The customs of the Guaranis are almost identical in all sections of the race. . . . All of them practise polygamy." [5] The Chiriguanos, another Carib race of the eastern interior, are also referred to by Dr. Westermarck as "allowing" chiefs only to have more than one wife.[6] Colonel Church says that among the Chiriguanos, "polygamy was customary," though at the present day, they being mostly Catholics, it is "not often met with"; "bigamy is more common." [7]

The aboriginal tribes of the interior of South America, which formerly occupied the coast, had been driven into the less favoured regions, after centuries of fierce warfare, by the Tupi-Carib tribes; they were spoken of as 'Tapuyas,' that is to say, 'savages.' Information concerning their original domestic customs is exceedingly scanty. "For nearly two centuries after the Discovery," says Colonel Church, "general ignorance prevailed regarding the tribes of the interior of Brazil. Any description of those found in the 'sertão' (wilderness) by modern explorers has to be very carefully weighed if we desire to reach conclusions of any value." [8] Several vague reports have been

[1] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 2.

[2] P. F. X. de Charlevoix, *The History of Paraguay*, vol. i, p. 202: "The men among them who have embraced the Christian religion never marry among their relations, even within the degrees which the Church readily dispenses. But Caciques have more wives than one."

[3] P. Hernandez, *Misiones del Paraguay. Organización social de las doctrinas Guaranies de la Compañia de Jesús*, vol. i, p. 84; cf. p. 85.

[4] A. Ruiz de Montoya, *Conquista espiritual hecha por los religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus en las Provincias del Paraguay, Parana, Vruguay, y Tape*, p. 14.

[5] A. Dessalines d'Orbigny, *L'homme américain*, vol. ii, pp. 306, 307.

[6] E. Westermarck, *loc. cit.*

[7] G. E. Church, *Aborigines of South America*, p. 238.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 76. The difficulty of such enquiries is greatly augmented

current as to the partial or strict monogamy of the Tapuyas.[1] The Hessian, Von Stade, who was taken prisoner by them and was probably the first to come in close contact with them, says: "The greatest part among them have one wife, but some have more. Several of their kings have thirteen or fourteen wives."[2] Father Vasconcellos, who gives one of the oldest accounts of the Tapuya tribes, says: "they take many wives, and as there is no dowry amongst them, they think they honour the women very much by marrying them. Nor is there so much love between them as to prevent them from dismissing them at their pleasure."[3] The old Dutch geographer, Dapper, referring to a detailed relation, states that the Tapuyas "had as many wives as they pleased."[4] Prince Wied came upon some Tapuyas; their polygamy was so incorrigible

by the impossibility of obtaining any reliable information from the natives themselves, owing to the notoriously obliging disposition of all South American aborigines, who are above all anxious that any information they may give shall accord with the wishes of the questioner. An old missionary complains that none of the duties of ministers of religion amongst them proved so difficult as that of confessing them. "They reply to any question one may put to them," he remarks, "far less in accordance with the truth than with the tone of voice or the manner in which the question is asked. If one asks them, for instance, Have you committed such and such a sin? they will reply 'yes,' although they are quite innocent of it. If one says to them, Have you not committed such a sin? they reply, 'no,' although they are very guilty of it. If one proceeds to put the same questions the other way about, they will admit what they had previously denied and deny what they had confessed" (Pére Guillaume d'Etre, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. viii, p. 252. Cf. A. von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America*, vol. i, p. 311).

[1] Messrs. L. T. Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler and M. Ginsberg enter in their tables the 'Tapuyas' and the 'Ges' under "monogamy, regular" (*The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*, p. 194). The term 'Ges' was invented by Von Martius as an ethnic denomination for the 'Tapuyas' (C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, vol. i, p. 258), and the usage has been adopted by some other writers, such as Ehrenreich and Von den Steinen. (Cf. J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 562 sq.; W. Kissenberth, "Bei den Canella-Indianern in Zentral-Maranhao (Brasilien)," *Baessler-Archiv*, ii, p. 45.) Those tribes are thus duplicated in Messrs. Hobhouse, Wheeler and Ginsberg's tables, besides being represented by several surviving Tapuya tribes, notably by the Botocudos (p. 180). The authority given for the monogamy of the 'Tapuyas' is "Jesuit Letters." The 'Ges' are set down as monogamous on the strength of a laudatory reference in Von Martius, but he does not say that they were monogamous.

[2] *The Captivity of Hans Stade of Hesse in A.D. 1547–1555 among the Wild Tribes of Eastern Brazil*, p. 142.

[3] P. Simam de Vasconcellos, *Noticias curiosas e necessarias dos cousas do Brasil*, p. 134.

[4] O. Dapper, *Die unbekannte Neue Welt, oder Beschreibung des Weltteils Amerika*, p. 566.

that even when ordained as Christian priests, they ran away into the forest and at once married several wives.[1] The Tapuyas are represented at the present day by the Botocudos, and the two names are ethnically equivalent. The Botocudos are in the most pronounced degree polygamous ; most men have three or four wives.[2] Among the Coroados, who are generally reckoned as Tapuyas, though this is disputed by some authorities, " polygamy obtained to such a shameful extent as to border on animal promiscuity." [3]

Among some of the forest tribes of the upper reaches of the Amazon basin, which for centuries have been hunted down like wild beasts in slave-raids, or ' correrias,' polygamy is reported to be rare, or confined to the chiefs ; but no instance has been found of a monogamous tribe. The natives of the Uaupes river, north of the Tikie, often do not have more than one wife ; promiscuous intercourse takes place during their frequent drinking-bouts, and " the women are naïvely obscene and bestial." [4] On the Tikie river " polygamy is a privilege of the chiefs," who generally have three of four wives.[5] Among the Huitoto tribes of the Putumayo region polygyny is confined to the chiefs.[6] Mr. Whiffen, to whom Dr. Westermarck refers, and who in turn refers to Dr. Westermarck for theories of primitive monogamy, says that in some tribelets south of the Tikie, chiefs have not more than one wife, but makes the curious statement that " it is extremely hard to distinguish at first between wives, concubines, and ' attached wives.' " [7] Polygamy is general among the Sipibo, Jivaros, and all the tribes of the Ucayali,[8] but rare among the Amahuaca, and confined to chiefs among the Tiatinagua and the Conebo.[9] As regards the distribution of polygamy in the southern portion of the upper Amazon basin, M. Ordinaire says : " In all the tribes living west of the Pajonal and which appear to have been most under Christian influence the men have only one wife, whereas in the wilder region of the upper Ucayali they are in the habit of having several wives." [10]

[1] Prince Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied, *Travels in Brazil*, p. 66;

[2] J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil*, vol. i, p. xii ; J. J. von Tschudi, *Reisen durch Südamerika*, vol. ii, p. 283 ; A. H. Keane, " On the Botocudos," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, p. 206.

[3] W. C. von Eschwege, *Journal von Brasilien*, vol. i, p. 121.

[4] H. A. Coudreau, *La France équinoxiale*, vol. ii, pp. 174, 176.

[5] Th. Koch-Grünberg, *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern*, vol. i, p. 273.

[6] W. C. Farabee, *Indian Tribes of Eastern Peru* (*Papers of the Peabody Museum*, vol. x), p. 141.

[7] T. Whiffen, *The North-West Amazons*, p. 159. Cf. W. E. Hardenburg, " The Indians of the Putumayo," *Man*, x, p. 135.

[8] W. C. Farabee, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 118 ; O. Ordinaire, " Les sauvages du Pérou," *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vi, p. 288.

[9] W. C. Farabee, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 107, 156.

[10] O. Ordinaire, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

Dr. Westermarck mentions by name eleven South American tribes altogether as being, without qualification, 'monogamous:' to wit, the Guaycurus, Canellas, Shamboia, Paressi, Chavantes, Curetus, Purupurus, Mundrucus, Otomacos, the Ackawoi and Macusi.[1] The Ackawoi, of Guiana, who are stated by the Rev. W. H. Brett to be monogamous, are, however, admitted not to be so invariably.[2] Of the Macusi, Schomburgh says that "while polygamy is the native usage among all other tribes of Guiana, it is only rarely met with among the Macusi."[3] Von Martius says that it is permitted by their usages, though infrequent.[4] Not only the number of wives, but also that of children is limited by the practice of abortion, so that many couples have no children.[5] "The Otomac nation," says Father Gumilla, "is unique and singular in that we have not met with men with two, nor with three wives, according to the detestable usage of polygamy, so deeply rooted amongst all the other nations, both of the Orinoco and of its affluents."[6] Baron Humboldt, who knew the Otomacs best of all the tribes of the Orinoco, and who obtained full information from the missionaries living amongst them, speaks very disparagingly of Father Gumilla's account of them; he calls him "one of the most credulous travellers we know." Humboldt describes the Otomacs as drunken savages with "unbridled passions,"[7] and says that "all the Indians who will not be baptised live in a state of polygamy."[8] Father Gilii, who takes special note of the Otomacs, says that there is no tribe on the Orinoco in which polygamy does not obtain.[9] Wallace states that the Mundrucus "have each one wife."[10] But that is not in accordance with any of our information concerning the Mundrucus. Drs. Von Spix and Von Martius say that "each man takes many wives according to his power and influence"; and that polygamy is more firmly established an institution among the Mundrucus than in any other tribe of the Amazon. The polygamy of the Mundrucus constituted the chief obstacle to the labours of the Jesuit missionaries amongst them, for the converts absolutely

[1] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 1.
[2] E. F. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 223.
[3] R. Schomburgh, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, vol. ii, p. 312; cf. vol. i, p. 358.
[4] C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, vol. i, p. 642.
[5] R. Schomburgh, *loc. cit.*
[6] J. Gumilla, *El Orinoco ilustrado*, vol. i, p. 197.
[7] A. von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoxial Regions of America*, vol. ii, p. 505.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 504, 455; cf. p. 249.
[9] F. S. Gilii, *Saggio di storia americana*, vol. ii, p. 253.
[10] A. R. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, pp. 516 sq.

refused to give up their numerous spouses.[1] Father Ignace says that "the Mundrucus had for principle that it was licit to have as many wives as their husband was capable of maintaining."[2] Bates found the Mundrucus polygamous.[3] We are therefore justified in regarding with some reserve Wallace's repetition of the same statement with reference to the Curetus and the Purupurus, of whom he says that he never saw any and that "little is known of their domestic customs."[4] No existing tribe is known by the name of Purupurus, which is sometimes loosely applied to the tribes inhabiting the banks of the River Purus.[5] Spix and Martius did not form a high opinion of the sexual customs of the Curetus, who pressed their daughters on the travellers.[6] According to Chandless polygamy is practised by the chiefs among all the tribes of the Purus river; among the Ipurinas it is general.[7] Of the Shamboia, that is to say, the Carajas, Castelnau says that "polygamy is unknown among these Indians."[8] But Dr. Krause, who lived amongst them and to whom we owe the only full account of the tribe from direct knowledge, merely says that "in general the Carajas have only one wife; only chiefs are able to support many wives simultaneously and living together in the same house." The young women are monopolised by the caciques, so that younger men have to be content with old women as temporary companions.[9] When the first wife becomes too old, a man not seldom takes a second wife.[10] Concerning the domestic customs of the Capiekrans, or Canellas, that is, the non-Tupi tribes of the interior of Maranhão, we possess little information. Father Ignace, in his compilation, mentions that they were monogamous.[11] But his statements refer mostly to their condition after they had been converted and gathered into 'aldeas'; it does not appear in his

[1] J. B. von Spix and C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Reise in Brasilien*, vol. iii, p. 1339. Cf. C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's zumal Brasiliens*, vol. i, p. 392.

[2] E. Ignace, "Les Capiekrans," *Anthropos*, v, p. 478 n.

[3] H. W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons*, vol. i, p. 128. The Mundrucus referred to in Tocantin's article ("Estudos sobre a tribu Mundurucu," *Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico Geographico e Ethnographico do Brasil*, xl, Part ii, p. 113), which is written in a patriotic tone, were, according to the author, settled in 'aldeas.'

[4] A. R. Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 509, 515.

[5] W. Chandless, "Ascent of the River Purus," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxxvi, p. 92.

[6] J. B. von Spix and C. F. Ph. von Martius, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 1222.

[7] W. Chandless, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[8] F. de Castelnau, *Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud*, vol. i, p. 446.

[9] F. Krause, *In dem Wildnissen Brasiliens*, p. 325.

[10] P. Ehrenreich, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, p. 27.

[11] E. Ignace, "Les Capiekrans," *Anthropos*, v, p. 477.

chief authority,[1] and is probably derived from some article in the local press to which he refers. Dapper, who, in speaking of the tribes of Maranhão, distinguishes clearly between the Tupi tribes and the wild tribes of the interior, expressly states that among the latter "each man has as many wives as seems good to him."[2] The report concerning the alleged monogamy of the Chavantes, or Xavantes, an extremely warlike Tapuya tribe which inflicted enormous losses upon the early Portuguese settlers in the province of Goyaz until they were exterminated and their remnants reduced to civilisation, rests upon a statement of Dr. Pohl,[3] reproduced, with some heightening, by Dr. Von Martius.[4] But at the time a few descendants of the tribe were seen by Pohl, they were acting as shepherds and farm-labourers in the employment of the whites.[5] Nothing, so far as I am aware, is known concerning their domestic customs in their natural state. The monogamy of the Guaycurus was, as we have already seen,[6] scarcely distinguishable from complete sexual communism. Not only was it 'successive polygamy,' their temporary unions scarcely ever lasting more than two years, but the more or less official matrilocal relation was accompanied by recognised simultaneous polygyny and polyandry. The matrilocal character of the association may, as in many other instances, have given rise to the impression that it was essentially monogamous. One of the last representatives of the Guaycurus was seen by Azara. He was living with three wives.[7]

Dr. Westermarck's list of South American tribes which have been alleged to be 'monogamous' could be enlarged;[8] but it is

[1] F. de Paulo Ribeiro, "Memoria sobre as nações gentias que presentemente habitam a Continente do Maranhão," *Revista Trimensal de historia e geographia*, iii. The account, which deals mostly with the history of the tribes, contains no definite statement as to their matrimonial usages, but mentions that the women were unchaste and the men indifferent to their conduct (p. 186).

[2] O. Dapper, *Die unbekante Neue Welt, oder Beschreibung des Welltteils Amerika*, p. 448. Father Yves d'Evreux's detailed account of the tribes of Maranhão has probably reference for the most part to the Tupinamba tribes; he does not mention any monogamous tribe, and says that polygamy was held in high honour among the Maranhão Indians (Yves d'Evreux, *Voyages dans le Nord du Brésil*, p. 88).

[3] J. E. Pohl, *Reise im Innern von Brasilien*, vol. ii, p. 195.

[4] C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, vol. i, p. 274.

[5] Cf. A. de St. Hilaire, *Voyage dans l'intérieur du Brésil*, Part iii, vol. ii, p. 122.

[6] See above, pp. 82 sq.

[7] F. de Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale*, vol. ii, p. 146.

[8] E.g., P. Lozano, *Descripción chorographica del Gran Chaco*, p. 83 (Malbala); G. d'Etré, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. viii, p. 255 (Itucalis); J. da Silva Guimarães, 'Memoria sobre usos, costumes e linguagem dos

not without significance that eight out of ten of those instances are contradicted on good authority. Some of Dr. Westermarck's authorities may be right, and some that I have cited may be wrong; but the fact remains that in no instance is the alleged monogamy of any of those South American tribes established with anything like certainty, and a margin of error of eighty per cent. is too large for scientific conclusions. The fact that an authenticated instance of a monogynous tribe should be so difficult to find among the natives of South America is somewhat striking; for the conditions of native South America, where the aboriginal population has been broken up into innumerable tribelets living in constant warfare with one another, driven into the recesses of forest, and on the verge of starvation and extinction, are such that nowhere have we more right to expect a reduction of polygyny down to the level of general monogyny. Many of the poorer tribelets consist of scarcely more than three families. When, in such tribelets, polygyny is said to be confined to the headman, such a distribution represents a greater proportion of polygyny than is to be found in any Muhammadan country.

The Guanches of the Canary Islands are very generally described in modern accounts as having been monogamous.[1] The source of those statements is probably the work of Father Abreu de Galindo, who wrote towards the middle of the seventeenth century, when any surviving remnants of the Guanche race were Christians. His account is extremely edifying; he not only states that they married but one wife, but is also at much pains to demonstrate that no less could be expected of them, since polygamy is "contrary to the nature of man and of woman," and can exist only as a detestable aberration introduced into the world by "the depraved sect of Mahomet."[2] He further digresses to show how much greater is the wickedness of polyandry—which was also commonly practised by the Guanches—than that of polygamy, "for woman having been formed out of the rib of man," etc. He states further that marriage among the Guanches was dissoluble by death alone.[3] His report is, however, unsupported except by writers who have copied it, and is in contradiction with all the older accounts. Friar de Espinosa,

Apiacas," *Revista Trimensal de historia e geographia*, vi, p. 299 (Apiacos); G. Marguin, "La Terre de Feu," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 6e Série, x, p. 501 (Onas).

[1] A. C. Cook, "The Aborigines of the Canary Islands," *The American Anthropologist*, N.S., ii, p. 478; E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 25; G. Chil y Naranjo, *Estudios historicos climatologicos y patologicos de las Islas Canarias. Primera Parte, Historia*, vol. i, p. 472.

[2] J. de Abreu de Galindo, *Historia de la conquista de las siete Islas de Gran Canaria*, pp. 91 sq.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

who dwelt many years in the Guanche community of Candelaria, states that the Guanches "had as many wives as they pleased and could support. And as their marriages were easily contracted, so were they dissolved with equal facility, for when the husband was tired of his wife, or she of him, he sent her back to her home, and she could marry another without any penalty, and he another woman, as often as they pleased." [1] Gomara states that the Guanches "married many wives." [2] Sir Edmund Scory says, "they were married with little ceremony, that I could hear; and the marriage was no sooner made, but it might be as quickly broken." [3] Galvano reports that "they took many wives." [4] Cadamosto says that "their women were not common, but each takes as many as he pleases." [5] Bernaldez reports that "each one had his wife, or wives, but for very slight reasons the bond was dissolved . . . and indeed they, both men and women, had no more shame than animals." [6]

The monogamy ascribed to some Berber tribes of Northern Africa offers a meagre offset against the polygamy universally prevalent throughout that continent. The Tuareg have several times been stated to be "strictly monogamous." [7] But, if correct, the statement can apply to some of the north-western tribes only. In the southern and eastern Sahara, the Tuareg "usually have from two to four wives." [8] According to another report "they scarcely ever have less than four wives." [9] The monogamy of the northern Tuareg has been supposed to be a relic of their former Christianity.[10] If so, it was certainly an

[1] A. de Espinosa, *Del origen y milagros de N.S. de Candelaria*, p. 12. The sentence has been most extraordinarily mistranslated by Sir Clements Markham. The words of the Spanish text are: "Y tenian las mugeres que querian y podian sostentar. Y como el casamiento era facil de contraer, facilmente se derimia, etc." Those plain and unambiguous words are turned, in Sir Clement's translation, into unmeaning nonsense: "The women had what they wanted, and got their sustenance" (C. Markham, *The Guanches of Tenerife*, p. 35). Is the cause of original monogamy such as to call for actual tampering with the documents?

[2] F. L. de Gomara, *Historia general de las Indias*, p. 294.

[3] E. Scory, in *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, p. 787.

[4] *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. x, p. 6.

[5] A. de Ca da Mosto, "Navigationi," in G. B. Ramusio, *Navigationi et Viaggi*, vol. i, fol. 106.

[6] A. Bernaldez, *Historia de lo reyes catolicos D. Fernando y Dona Isabel*, vol. i, pp. 179, 187.

[7] H. Duveyrier, *Les Touaregs du Nord*, p. 429; M. Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar*, p. 18; C. Aymard, *Les Touaregs*, p. 93; J. Chavanne, *Die Sahara*, pp. 181 sq., 315, 454.

[8] A. Buchanan, *Exploration of the Aïr*, p. 238.

[9] C. Jean, *Les Touaregs du Sud-Est*, p. 193.

[10] "It seems clear," says Dr. Barth, "that a great part of the Berbers of the desert were once Christians (they are still called by some Arabs 'the

innovation on their former customs. "Among the Numidians and the Moors," Sallust tells us, "each man marries according to his means as many wives as he can; some two, others more, and the kings many more."[1] A Berber chief thus addressed the Byzantine General Salomo: "You Romans may well have cause for anxiety concerning your progeny, for you are allowed but one wife; we may have fifty, if we are able, and our race shall never fail."[2] In spite of a number of suspiciously dogmatic assertions, there appears to be considerable doubt about the 'strict' monogamy of the northern Tuareg. The nomadic Tuareg commonly have establishments in the various villages which they visit;[3] hence the appearance of monogamous households which has so often deceived travellers in various parts of the world, where the actual relations are polygamous. Of the Tuareg of Agades, Barth says that "most of them are the progeny of wayfarers, begotten from fortuitous and short-lived matches."[4] Nothing could, in any case, be farther from representing monogynous relations than the marriages of the Tuareg. They invariably keep concubines in addition to the official wife, and with the latter's full sanction.[5] Many do not marry at all, and are satisfied with an extensive harîm of purchased girls. Marriage, when it takes place, is contracted late in life, is of the loosest description, and is the sequel to unrestricted libertinage.[6]

The eastern Sahara derives considerable wealth from the salt trade and from traffic with caravans; the western, or Moroccan region is, with the exception of a few of the lower valleys of the Atlas and some patches of oasis, a land of such poverty and desolation that the inhabitants have difficulty in keeping body and soul

Christians of the Desert'), and that they afterwards changed their religion and adopted Islam; notwithstanding which they still call God 'Mesi,' and an angel 'anyelus,' and have preserved many curious customs which bear testimony to their ancient creed" (H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, vol. i, p. 209. Cf. Ibn Khaldum, *Histoire des Berbères et des Dynasties Musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. De Slane, vol. i, p. 209; Abu'l Hasan, *Annales regum Mauritaniae*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, pp. 7, 15, 83; Procopius, *De aedificiis*, vi. 4). Two tribes of the western Sahara, the Beni-bu-Zeggu and the Zekkara, assert that they are descended from Christians (H. M. P. La Martinière and N. Lacroix, *Documents pour servir à l'étude du Nord-Ouest Africain*, vol. i, p. 122; Gaguière, "Les Beni-bou-Zeggara," *Bulletin de la Société de Geographie*, 1910, pp. 491, 515).

[1] Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum*, lxxx. 6.

[2] Procopius, *De bello Vandalico*, ii. 11.

[3] See above, vol. i, p. 285.

[4] H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, vol. i, p. 496.

[5] M. Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar*, p. 18; *The Travels of Ibn Batuta*, pp. 234 sq.

[6] See above, p. 157.

together. So precarious are the means of existence that most of the natives live from year's end to year's end on dates alone; the men are haggard with hunger, and whole populations are decimated by famine.[1] In those conditions it would not be surprising if large households were not common. Nevertheless, there is little definite evidence of general monogyny, with the exception of a few communities, such as the Dads of the lower Atlas, and polygamy is found in every district. Dr. Westermarck cites Chavanne, who refers to Vincent as stating that he "did not meet a single man who had a plurality of wives."[2] Dr. Rohlfs met one at Tafilet, in the heart of the same region, who had three hundred;[3] and Mr. W. B. Harris, who perhaps knows that region better than any other Englishman, speaks of the harîms and of the large polygamous households and slave-girls of the Sharifian families.[4] Of the inhabitants of the more southerly region of the Moroccan Sahara, the large Beraber province, it is reported that "modesty is unknown. The women are free and far from shy. Polygamy does not lessen the power which they wield over their spouses."[5] When, in Morocco, polygamy is limited by poverty, sexual customs are correspondingly licentious. "In their habits," says M. Salmon, quoting from an Arab account of the Saharan tribes, "a complete absence of the sentiment of honour as regards women is noticeable. . . . They are entirely careless of the misconduct of their women."[6]

From India, Dr. Westermarck has not succeeded in culling a dozen instances of tribes concerning which monogyny has been predicated. Among these are the Khasis. "The practice of polygamy," says Mr. Gait, "is usually said to be uncommon amongst them"; but he adds: "an educated Khasi whom I consulted assures me that polygamy is by no means unknown. It was formerly considered meritorious for a Khasi to beget offspring by different wives."[7] Among the Nagas, who are also adduced as an example

[1] S. Nouvel, *Nomades et Sédentaires au Maroc*, p. 107; G. Rohlfs, *Reise durch Marokko, übersteigung des grossen Atlas, Exploration der Oasen von Tafilet*, etc., pp. 76, 83, 121 sq.: "Der Hunger spricht aus ihren Augen"; W. B. Harris, *Tafilet*, pp. 126, 290; H. Schirmer, *Le Sahara*, p. 273. Cf. Sallust, *Bell. Jugurth*, 89.

[2] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 25. We now possess a fairly complete list of the tribes of that region (*L'Afrique Française*, 1912, Supplément, pp. 289 sqq.; W. B. Harris, "The Nomadic Berbers of Central Morocco," *Geographical Journal*, 1897, vol. i, pp. 638 sqq.); it would be interesting to learn the names of those "monogamous tribes."

[3] G. Rohlfs, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[4] W. B. Harris, *Tafilet*, pp. 286, 289.

[5] R. de Segonzac, *Voyages au Maroc*, p. 136; cf. p. 127.

[6] G. Salmon, "Les institutions Berbères au Maroc," *Archives Marocaines*, vol. i, p. 142.

[7] E. A. Gait, in *Census of India*, 1901, vol. i, p. 199.

of Indian monogamy, "polygamy is very common, and is limited only by the men's resources." [1] Concerning the Meches, the Rev. S. Endle, who gives a somewhat idealised account of his parishioners, does not claim that they are monogamous, but merely makes the usual statement that polygyny is not common except among the well-to-do.[2] A less tender account states that they "place few restrictions upon their natural appetites." [3] The Mikirs, who are cited by Dr. Westermarck as monogamous, are expressly stated by Mr. Stack in his monograph of them, to be polygamous.[4] The Kukis are first stated to be "strictly monogamous" on the authority of an account which is then admitted to be in contradiction with all others, the claim that "polygyny and concubinage are strictly forbidden," being next restricted to the Old Kukis, and finally to "some of them." That residue consists, in fact, according to Colonel Shakespear, of the Kohlen clan, whose sexual laxity strongly savours of promiscuity.[5] Colonel Cole, the late superintendent of the Lushai Hills, says that among them polygamy is merely "uncommon," and that the chiefs usually have two or three concubines in addition to their principal wife.[6] The Nayadis and the Kavaras of Southern Malabar, whom Dr. Westermarck states to be "strictly monogamous," have, according to Mr. Stuart, barely emerged from a condition difficult to distinguish from promiscuity; they are "monandrous with great freedom of divorce." [7] It is noteworthy that polygamy in India is characteristic of the more primitive rather than of the more advanced races. In southern India the most ancient aboriginal inhabitants are supposed to be the Yenadie, Villee, and Vede; they are polygamous, and among the Yenadie, "each man takes from one to seven wives; four is a common number." [8]

"The early discoverers of the Philippines," says Dr. Westermarck, "found legal monogamy combined with concubinage." [9]

[1] J. McSwiney, "Assam," *Census of India*, 1911, vol. iii, p. 79.
[2] S. Endle, *The Kacharis*, p. 30.
[3] *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. iv, p. 44.
[4] E. Stack, *The Mikirs*, p. 19.
[5] J. Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, pp. 155, 166.
[6] H. W. G. Cole, "The Lushais," in *Census of India*, 1911, vol. iii, p. 139.
[7] H. A. Stuart, in *Census of India*, 1891, vol. xiii, p. 151.
[8] J. Shortt, "Aborigines of Southern India," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, N.S., iii, pp. 374, 384, 388.
[9] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 15, after S. de Mas, *Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842*, vol. i, p. 20. This is an erroneous inference from the mention in an early relation that one wife was chief wife, and that only her children could inherit. Both the inference and the statement from which it is drawn are incorrect. Juan de Placencia enters into considerable detail concerning the rights of inheritance. "If one had children by two or more legitimate wives," he says, "each child received

What the early discoverers of the Philippines found was, according to one of the oldest accounts, that the natives "marry as many wives as they can afford to keep"; [1] what Magellan found was that "they have as many wives as they wish"; [2] what de Legazpi found was that "the men are permitted to have two or three wives if they have money enough to buy and support them." [3] What the discoverers found in the Bisayan, or Middle Islands, was that "all the men are accustomed to have as many wives as they can support. The women are extremely lewd, and they even encourage their own daughters to live a life of unchastity." [4] The greatest difficulty encountered by the Friars and Jesuits in converting the natives was that of inducing them to part with their wives; [5] and a special council was even held with the express object of suppressing polygamy among the natives.[6] Mention is made of one valuable convert who had three wives, all noble and of equal rank—and therefore not 'concubines'; [7] and of many more men who "encountered great difficulty in putting away their many wives." [8] Father Chirino assures us that "we are gradually uprooting that hindrance to conversion so common among those people and so difficult to remove, the practice of having several wives." [9] "Among the Bagobo and some other tribes of Southern Mindanao," says Dr. Westermarck, "a man may not take a second mate until a child

the inheritance and dowry of his mother, with its increase, and that share of his father's estate which fell to him out of the whole. If a man had a child by one of his slaves, as well as legitimate children, the former had no share in the inheritance, but the legitimate children were bound to free the mother, and to give her child something" (J. de Placentia, *ap.* F. de Santa Ines, "Cronica de la provincia San Gregorio Magno," Extracts translated in E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. vii, p. 181).

[1] "De Moluccis Insulis" (Rome, 1523), translation in E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1808*, vol. i, p. 330.

[2] A. Pigafette, "Primo Viaggio intorno al Mondo" (1525), in *op. cit.*, vol. xxxiii, p. 173.

[3] Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, "Relation of the Filipinas Islands and of the Character and Conditions of their Inhabitants" (1569), translation in *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 61. Cf. Diego Aduarte, "The History of the Province of the Holy Rosary, of the Order of Preachers in Philippines, etc.", in *op. cit.*, vol. xxx, p. 200: "They had many wives"; *op. cit.*, vol. xxxi, p. 205: "They married and unmarried daily with one or more wives"; Luis de Jesus, "General History of the discalced religious of St. Augustine," *op. cit.*, vol. xxi, p. 210: "Their intoxication and lust went to excess; they had what wives they could support."

[4] Miguel de Loarca, "Tratado de las yslas Philipinas" (1582), *op. cit.*, vol. v, p. 119. Cf. F. Cartelli, *Viaggi racontati in dodici ragionamenti*, p. 145.

[5] Father Pedro Chirino, "Relacion de las Islas Filipinas i de lo que en ellas an trabaiado los padres dae la Compañia de Jesus" (Roma, 1604), translation in *op. cit.*, vol. xii, pp. 291, 317 sq.; vol. xiii, p. 52.

[6] Juan de la Concepcion, *Historia general de Philipinas*, vol. iii, pp. 409 sqq.

[7] P. Chirino, *op. cit.*, vol. xii, p. 291.

[8] *Ibid.*, vol. xiii, p. 162.

[9] *Ibid.*, vol. xiii, p. 98.

has been born to the first union." Since pregnancy usually precedes marriage, there is nothing very remarkable about the rule; and it can only be for the sake of rhetorical effect that Dr. Westermarck refrains from quoting the first part of the sentence from his authority, namely, that "a man may have as many wives as he desires and can afford." [1] "Among the Subanu," he proceeds to tell us, "a plurality of wives is permissible but not common." Velarde found the Subanu "worse than Moors," and "married to several wives," [2] and Combes informs us that they were in the habit of exchanging wives.[3] Concerning the Italons, Dr. Westermarck cites a highly edifying passage from Father Arzaga, who gives us much more incredible information concerning them; [4] but Father Diaz, on the contrary, complained that they were polygamous.[5] The Tinguianes, we are informed, "are monogamists." [6] They are most certainly nothing of the kind. Mr. Cole, the only authority concerning the tribe who need be taken into account, tells us, on the contrary, that there is amongst them no objection to a man having two wives, and that "from the first times to the present a man might have as many concubines as he could secure." Pre-nuptial cohabitation is, as with all other tribes, the rule, and a man is not bound to marry a girl even if he has had several children from her, and can leave her without incurring any reproach.[7] "Generally the Negritos of the Philippines are strictly monogamists." Among the Negritos "a man may marry as many wives as he can buy. . . . Polygamy is allowed throughout the Negrito territory, and it is not uncommon for a man to marry several sisters." [8] Finally, we are told by Dr. Westermarck that "the

[1] F. C. Cole, *The Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao*, p. 103.

[2] Pedro Murillo Velarde, "Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas," in E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. xliv, p. 91.

[3] Francisco Combes, S.J., "Historia de las islas de Mindanao, etc.," in *op. cit.*, vol. xl, p. 164. They were moreover much addicted to homosexual practices (*ibid.*, pp. 160 sq.).

[4] Cited by Mozo, "Noticia de los gloriosos triumphos, etc.," p. 19; reproduced by Blumentritt, *Versuch einer Ethnologie der Philippinen*, p. 33. See E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. xlviii, p. 62.

[5] Casimiro Diaz, "Conquest of the Filipinas Islands and Chronicles of the Religious of our Father St. Augustine," in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. xlii, p. 255.

[6] On the authority of J. Foreman, *Philippine Islands*, p. 216. Mr. Foreman's is a most charming book on the Philippines, but on matters of ethnology, except as regards the writer's personal observations of the Tagalog, entirely worthless and unreliable.

[7] F. C. Cole, "Traditions of the Tinguian, a Study of Philippine Folk-Lore," *Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series*, vol. xiv, N. 1, pp. 12, 54, 59, 111, 120.

[8] W. A. Reed, *Negritos of Zambales* (*Ethnological Survey Publications*, vol. ii, part ii.), p. 61.

wild Tagbanuas of Palawan do not allow polygyny." [1] But we are informed by the official authority on the region that both polygyny and polyandry are permitted by their customs, although not much practised at the present day.[2]

The Igorots of Luzon have been specially instanced as an example of 'primitive monogamy,' and also of a "lofty ideal of chastity." But after what we have already seen of the methods by which such a picture has been drawn, the less said about the matter the better.[3] The statements that they are "strictly monogamous," [4] and "have the highest respect for the marriage tie," [5] are no better substantiated than those concerning their alleged chastity. Mr. Foreman states that "polygyny seems to be permitted, but little practised." [6] Mr. Reyes Lala informs us that there is no rule against it, and that it is practised.[7] Dr. Jenks says that "a man may have two wives," and he knew one who had five.[8] The missionaries expressly denounced the polygynous habits of the Igorots, stating somewhat quaintly that "they practise bigamy, for they have many wives." [9] "In case of adultery," says Dr. Westermarck, "the guilty party can be compelled to leave the hut and the family for ever." [10] Dr. Jenks says that there is no tribal law against adultery, and that married men commonly frequent the 'olags' of the unmarried girls who solicit them.[11]

We have seen that the 'primitive chastity' which has been ascribed to the forest tribes of the interior of the Malay Peninsula is as imaginary as that alleged of the Igorots.[12] The supposition of Father Favre that "they have kept marriage in the purity and unity of its first institution," [13] is scarcely less fanciful. As with other forest tribes, polygynous relations appear to take with them

[1] On the very doubtful authority of Dean Worcester, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 108.

[2] E. Y. Miller, *The Bataks of Palawan* (*Ethnological Survey Publications*, vol. ii), p. 184.

[3] See above, pp. 49 sqq.

[4] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 15.

[5] F. H. Sawyer, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines*, pp. 255 sq.; H. Meyer, "Die Igorotes von Luzon," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 1883, p. 385.

[6] J. Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 133.

[7] R. Reyes Lala, *Philippine Islands*, p. 98.

[8] A. E. Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, p. 59.

[9] Casimiro Diaz, "Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas," in E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, vol. xxxvii. p. 244.

[10] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 15.

[11] A. E. Jenks, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

[12] See above, pp. 48 sq.

[13] Père Favre, "An Account of the Wild Tribes inhabiting the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and a few Neighbouring Islands," *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, ii. p. 264.

the form of unrestricted licence and successive transitory associations rather than of extensive polygynous establishments. But there is no definite evidence of any principle or tribal usage of monogamous marriage in any tribe. Messrs. Skeat and Blagden are disposed to present the facts concerning their marriage customs in the light of the supposition that primitive races "who live simpler lives are commonly, from the exigencies of the case, monogamists." [1] Yet monogamy does not appear to be observed as a general rule by any of them. Among the Semang there is no such rule; some have two wives.[2] "A Sakai marries two wives," [3] their polygamy is only limited by their means.[4] Among the Sakai of Selangor the women have several husbands,[5] and they are particularly addicted to the use of aphrodisiacs.[6] Concerning the Jakuns, a 'Proto-Malay' race, Messrs. Skeat and Blagden make the curious statement that they are "as a rule fairly strict monogamists." [7] Dr. Westermarck reinforces that flaccid affirmation by the assurance of Father Favre that they "are only allowed one wife," [8] and by that of Mr. Skeat that he does not remember a single case in Besisi where a Jakun had more than one wife.[9] Nevertheless, the Jakuns are reported to have occasionally two wives. They exchange them temporarily amongst themselves at their padi festivals.[10] Their "as a rule fairly strict" monogamy is described by Miklucho Maclay as being scarcely distinguishable from unrestricted sexual communism.[11] Among the Mantras, a tribe of the Jakuns, polygyny, Dr. Westermarck tells us, "is said to be forbidden." [12] But he omits to give the context of the statement,

[1] W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, vol. ii, p. 55 n.

[2] F. A. Swettenham, "Comparative Vocabulary of the Dialects of the Wild Tribes Inhabiting the Malayan Peninsula, Borneo, etc.," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 5, p. 156.

[3] X. Brau de Saint-Pol Lias, *Pérak et les Oramgs Sakeys*, p. 280.

[4] M. J. Errington de la Croix, "Étude sur les Sakaies de Pérak," *Revue d'Ethnographie*, i, pp. 338 sq. Cf. G. B. Cerruti, *Nel poese dei ieieni. Fra I Sakai*, p. 149.

[5] W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 68, after J. A. G. Campbell.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 56. A less perfect example of guarded affirmation, of which Professor Freeman was guilty, set Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's nerves on edge. "Upon the passage, if brought to me in an undergraduate essay," he remarks, "I should have much to say. . . . 'The women doubtless would be largely spared!' It reminds me of the young lady in Cornwall who, asked by her vicar if she had been confirmed, admitted blushingly that 'she had reason to believe, partially so'" (A. Quiller-Couch, *The Art of Writing*, pp. 176 sq.).

[8] P. Favre, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[9] W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 76.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 70. [11] See above, p. 79.

[12] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 11.

which is anything but edifying. "It is nothing rare," says Father Bourien, "to meet individuals who have been married fifty times"; and, in spite of the alleged prohibition, some nevertheless live in simultaneous polygamy.[1] "Most of the Binua, according to Logan," says Dr. Westermarck, "have only one wife, whilst other authorities inform us that polygyny is not permitted among them; Favre met one who had two wives, but 'he was censured and despised by the whole tribe.'" But what is actually stated by Logan is: "Most of the Binuas have one wife, but some have two, and there does not appear to be any rule on the subject"; and he adds that separation is most easy, that husbands commonly exchange wives, and that adultery is frequent and unresented.[2] The opinion of the "other authorities," namely, Father Favre, that the tribes of Malaya "have kept marriage in the purity and unity of its first institution," does not, therefore, appear to be borne out.

The older reports concerning the natives of the Andaman Islands represented them as living promiscuously and as having no regular marriage. Mr. Man, to whom we owe the first detailed account concerning the Andamanese, gave a quite opposite description of their sexual regulations. According to him their marriages are not only monogamous, but indissoluble except by the death of one of the parties, and adultery, which is punishable by the death of both transgressors, is rare; the women are "models of constancy," and "bigamy, polygamy, polyandry, and divorce are unknown."[3] That account, contrasting as it does so strongly with earlier impressions, has often been regarded as a conspicuous vindication of the doctrine of primitive monogamy. Dr. Westermarck, however, has very wisely omitted from his new book the statement to which he gave prominence in his earlier editions, and has now very little to say concerning the Andamanese Islanders.[4] Mr. Man was, in fact, a gentleman of somewhat impetuous temperament, who knew only the coastal natives of the mission station, never learned their language, and "had no facilities for living in the jungle and studying the Andamanese in his own haunts."[5] From

[1] M. Bourien, "On the Wild Tribes of the Interior of the Malay Peninsula," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, N.S., iii, p. 80.

[2] J. R. Logan, "The Orang Binua of Johore," *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, i, pp. 270, 268.

[3] E. H. Man, "Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii, p. 135.

[4] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 12. In this Dr. Westermarck has shown better judgment than most writers about the Andamanese, including the compilers of official publications, who have simply transcribed Mr. Man's expressions (Sir R. C. Temple, *Census of India*, 1901, vol. iii, p. 65; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. v, p. 369; C. Boden Kloss, *In the Andamans and Nicobars*, p. 188).

[5] M. V. Portman, *A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, pp. 635,

the much more complete study of Mr. Portman, we derive a different picture of Andamanese customs. Another account informs us that "after puberty the females have indiscriminate intercourse, save with their own fathers, until chosen or allotted as wives, when they are required to be faithful to their husbands. . . . Sexual connection may take place before the men, women and children of the party. If any married or single man goes to an unmarried woman and she declines to have intercourse with him, by getting up or going to another circle, he considers himself insulted, and, unless restrained, would kill or wound her," [1] It would thus appear that marriage does not limit the man to monogynous relations. Marriage is entered into as a rule late in life; the women become "fairly good wives afterwards, but are not 'models of constancy'"; separation, though not common, is by no means unknown.[2] From a still later account it further appears that even the statement as to the rule of monogamy is not correct; polygyny is not 'unknown,' but is now merely "almost unknown owing to the scarcity of women" in the ports.[3] It thus appears that the customs of the Andamanese do not essentially differ from those of many other primitive peoples among whom sexual liberty is only modified by a late monogamic or pseudo-monogamic marriage; and the earlier much-discredited accounts turn out after all not to be so far removed from the truth as subsequent contradictions of them.

Concerning the natives of the Nicobar Islands, "at least those of the most northern island," Dr. Westermarck refers to the statement of Mr. Distant, who says that they "have but one wife, and look upon unchastity as a very deadly sin." [4] The old missionary, Nicolas Fontana, who resided for many years among the Nicobarese, makes a similar statement. "Adultery," he says, "is accounted

622. The Andamanese are divided into at least twelve tribes, many of whom, before the English occupation, had never seen one another, and who cannot understand one another's languages. It can scarcely be supposed that their customs are identical, and very little is known of the more segregated tribes.

[1] E. Owen, "On the osteology and dentition of the Inhabitants of the Adaman Islands," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, N.S., ii, p. 35, from the report of a sepoy who, escaping from the convict settlement at the Andamans, returned after more than a year's sojourn with the natives.

[2] M. V. Portman, *op. cit.*, p. 627. There appears no reason to doubt the report of Lieutenant St. John that in some tribes marriage only lasts until the child is weaned, when the man and the woman separate, each seeking a new partner (Sir E. Belder, "The Andaman Islands," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, N.S., v, p. 43).

[3] R. F. Lowis, "The Andaman and Nicobar Islands," *Census of India*, 1911, vol. ii, p. 67.

[4] W. L. Distant, "The Inhabitants of Car Nicobar," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, iii, p. 4.

highly ignominious and disgraceful . . . should it be proved, the woman would not only be dismissed with infamy, but on some occasions even put to death." [1] But the impression made by this severe Nicobarese ideal of virtue is entirely spoiled when we come to enquire what constitutes 'adultery.' It appears from the same account that what is termed 'adultery' consists in having relations with persons of a different 'caste.' Within the same 'caste,' on the other hand, "by the intervention of a small token given publicly, and consisting of nothing more than a leaf of tobacco, the reciprocal lending of their wives of the same caste is exceedingly common." [2] From one of the latest accounts of the Nicobarese we learn that sexual intercourse is entirely unrestricted before marriage, that marriage is dissoluble at will, and that it scarcely limits the previous freedom of either the man or the woman. "The relations of the sexes are singularly unfettered by convention," and it is sometimes "a fine point to be decided by a court of arbitration" whether people are married or not.[3] "There seems to be no objection to a girl having as many lovers as she likes before marriage, and altogether the state, when entered upon, is one that presses very lightly on the people." Most of those marriages are monogynous, but there is no rule in that respect, and polygyny, as well as polyandry, is also found.[4]

The Veddahs of Ceylon are the favourite illustration of 'primitive monogamy.' But, as we have seen, it is beyond question that their present social condition is anything but primitive [5]; and there could, therefore, be no more inappropriate example than the Veddahs as a basis for general conclusions concerning primitive social conditions. Their actual sex relations are very imperfectly known, and accounts are full of contradictions. Mr. Gillings states that "adultery and polygamy are still common among them." [6] Professor Virchow thinks that polygyny is found among the Veddahs occasionally.[7] The Singhalese affirm that in pre-European days, when the Veddahs were not so cowed as they are at present, they used to make raids for the purpose of capturing young girls.[8] There is no sufficient ground to impugn the accuracy

[1] Nicolas Fontana, "On the Nicobar Isles and the Fruit Mellori," *Asiatick Researches*, iii, p. 152.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

[3] R. F. Lowis, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

[4] C. Boden Kloss, *In the Andamans and Nicobars*, p. 238.

[5] See above, vol. i, p. 198.

[6] J. Gillings, "On the Veddahs of Bitenne," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, ii, p. 86.

[7] R. Virchow, "The Veddahs of Ceylon," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, ix, p. 369.

[8] J. Bailey, "An Account of the Wild Tribes of the Veddahs of Ceylon," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, ii, p. 291.

of those statements. Drs. Sarasin, after a careful study of the Veddahs, arrive at the conclusion that the apparent absence of polygyny amongst them at the present day is solely owing to the difficulty of procuring women and to the wretched economic conditions in which they are now found.[1] The number of children, most of which are killed, is as strictly limited by those conditions as that of wives.

It has been suggested that the African Pygmies, concerning whose domestic customs very little detailed information is available, are monogamous. "The Central African Pygmies," says Dr. Westermarck, "seem to be mostly monogamous, in spite of Sir Harry Johnston's statement that polygamy among them 'depends on the extent of their barter goods.'"[2] The statement made twenty years ago by Sir Harry Johnston is almost literally repeated by the Gaboon Pygmies themselves, when questioned on the subject. They say that a Pygmy "may have as many as two or three wives; it depends on the man's being able to pay the head-money."[3] The Pygmies of the Ituri forest have been said, with considerable emphasis, to "have no more than one wife in their hut."[4] A later traveller describes them as 'monogamous.' But that statement is, strangely enough, immediately followed by the remark that as soon as the men acquire a sufficiency of barter goods, the women "discard their native objection to competitors in the affection of their spouses."[5] Mr. Leslie says that among the Congo Pygmies "a man may have as many wives as he can afford to buy."[6] Mgr. Le Roy, who is perhaps one of the most competent authorities on the Central African Pygmies, says that "polygamy is not condemned among them; on the contrary, if it is not universal, it is because it is not always possible. Monogamy is found in several camps; but if it is possible for anyone of them to procure a second or a third wife, he does not fail to so so."[7]

[1] P. and F. Sarasin, *Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen au, Ceylon*, vol. iii, p. 465. Cf. J. E. Tennent, *Ceylon*, vol. ii, p. 441: "The community is too poor to afford polygamy."

[2] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 22; H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 539.

[3] F. W. H. Migeod, "A Talk with some Gaboon Pygmies," *Man*, xxii, p. 18.

[4] J. David, "Notizen über die Pygmaen des Ituriwaldes," *Globus*, lxxxvi, p. 196. Marriage with the Pygmies is matrilocal. The West African gentleman whose wives "stretch over three hundred miles of country" (see above, vol. i, p. 282) has also "no more than one wife in his hut."

[5] L. J. Vanden Bergh, *On the Trail of the Pygmies*, p. 244.

[6] R. H. Leslie, article "Pygmies," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. xxii, p. 679. Cf. *A Manual of the Belgian Congo, published by the Admiralty*, p. 144; A. Hutereau, *Notes sur la vie familiare et juridique de quelques populations du Congo Belge*, pp. 3 sq.

[7] Mgr. le Roy, "Les Pygmées," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xxix, pp. 258, 281.

Sir Harry Johnston says of the Pygmies of the Tanganyika region: "according to the evidence which I have myself collected they seem to approach very near to promiscuity, and even incest, in their marital relations." [1]

So high an authority on South African anthropology as Dr. Theal formerly stated in so many words that the Bushman "was a strict monogamist." [2] He, however, later recognised that he had been misled.[3] "It is certain," says Mr. Stow, "that among the greater part of them a plurality of wives was allowed, the number being regulated by the force of circumstances. . . . The younger men frequently contented themselves with one, while few of the middle-aged had less than two." [4] Kicherer says that "the men have several wives, and conjugal affection is little known." [5] Campbell says: "The men have frequently four or five wives and often exchange wives with each other." [6] The tribes of Bushmen which survive in south-western Africa are polygamous; [7] and among the Kalahari Bushmen three or four wives is a common allowance.[8] Among the Tati Bushmen "a man will have as many as four wives or even more. Plurality of wives is largely a matter of wealth, and it gives a man distinction. King Khama strictly forbids polygamy in his country, so that it is quickly dying out. Amongst the wandering Masarwas of Khamas's country it would be difficult to enforce such a regulation." [9]

Dr. Westermarck has not been able to discover any suggestion of monogamy in Polynesia or in Melanesia. There is no trustworthy evidence of any native monogamous institution in New Guinea. Polygamy, commonly very considerable in extent, is reported from every part of the country.[10] Sporadic allegations of

[1] H. H. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, p. 674.

[2] G. M. McCall Theal, *The Portuguese in South Africa*, p. 21

[3] Id., *The Yellow and Dark-skinned People of Africa south of the Zambesi*, p. 47.

[4] G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, p. 95.

[5] *An Extract from the Rev. Mr. Kicherer's Narrative of his Mission to South Africa*, p. 6.

[6] J. Campbell, *Travels in South Africa*, vol. i, p. 30.

[7] H. Kaufmann, "Die Auin. Ein Beitrag zur Buschmannforschung," *Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten*, xxiii, p. 157.

[8] S. Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, p. 106.

[9] S. S. Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlvii, p. 47. Dr. Westermarck sums up the last information by saying that "the Tati Bushmen are mostly monogamists" (E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 23 n. 7).

[10] D. L. White, in *Annual Report on British New Guinea*, 1893–4, p. 75 (Sud Est Island); C. Kowald, *ibid.*, 1892–3, p. 62 (Mekeo); A. C. English, *ibid.*, p. 66 (Rigo District); C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 79, 83, 510, 712 sq.; R. W. Williamson, *The Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea*, p. 169; G. Brown, *Melanesians and*

limited polygyny or of monogyny come for the most part from those coastal districts which have long been under missionary influence. The Papuans have proved themselves amongst the most docile pupils of the missionaries, and have, in the districts where the latter have established themselves "acquired an exaggerated notion of the wickedness of polygamy." "I cannot help suspecting," says Dr. Rivers, "that they concealed the occurrence of the practice in a few cases"; [1] and that suspicion is amply confirmed in several instances. Dr. Seligman says that in the Wagawaga district "it is denied that any man has more than one wife at the present day, and it is stated that even in the old days very few men had two." [2] But the Government official for the Wagawaga district reports that the number of a man's wives ranges at the present day "up to five." [3] The Rev. James Chalmers, the pioneer English missionary in south-eastern New Guinea, did not come upon any monogamous tribes in those districts where missionary labours have been most fruitful. "Polygamy," he says, "exists amongst some tribes more than others. It is very prevalent around Aroma, Hood Bay, Maiva, Elema, and Namau." [4] Dr. Westermarck reproduces the statement of Dr. Finsch that in the Geelvink Bay district, the oldest missionary settlement in Dutch New Guinea, "not only is polygamy forbidden, but concubinage and adultery are unknown." [5] Other, and more authoritative reports, give no countenance to such a statement. An account drawn up by a commission of Dutch investigators states that "a man is permitted to marry two women," although "this happens but seldom." [6] Heeren Van der Lith and

Polynesians, p. 119; W. N. Beaver, *Unexplored New Guinea*, p. 96; Id., "A Description of the Girara District, Western Papua," *The Geographical Journal*, xliii, p. 412; M. Egidi, "La Tribú di Tanata," *Anthropos*, ii, p. 680; H. Zöller, *Deutsch-Neuguinea*, p. 277; H. Zahn, in R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, vol. iii, pp. 302, 308; C. Keyser, *ibid.*, pp. 45, 90; M. J. Erdweg, "Die Bewohner der Insel Tumleo, Berlinhafen, Deutsch-Neu-Guinea," *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, xxxii, p. 279; M. Moszkowski, "Die Volkerstämme am Mamberamo in Holländisch-Neuguinea, und auf den vorgelagerten Inseln," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xliii, p. 339; C. Mayners, d'Estrey, *La Papouaisie, ou Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale*, pp. 94, 136.

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 242.

[2] C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 509; E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 17.

[3] J. Hennesy, in *Annual Report on British New Guinea*, 1893–4, p. 97.

[4] J. Chalmers, "On the Manners and Customs of some of the Tribes of New Guinea," *Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow*, xviii, p. 64.

[5] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 16; O. Finsch, *Neu-Guinea und seine Bewohner*, p. 101.

[6] *Nieuw Guinea ethnographisch en natuurkundig onderzocht en beschreven in 1858 door een Nederlandsch Indische Commissie*, p. 161.

Snellman say that in the Doreh districts, the chief missionary centre, "if they are able to pay for them, they can marry several wives," and in other parts of Geelvink Bay, "each man is permitted to take as many wives as he can pay for, and the majority have more than one wife." [1] One of the Geelvink Bay missionaries throws light on what appears to be the ground of many inaccurate reports. "Polygamy," he says, "is universal among the Papuans, especially the more well-to-do, and even those who have but one legal wife often have three or four slaves as concubines who are obliged to minister to the lust of their lords and masters. The Papuans have usually not more than one wife in their house. The second and third wives are mostly to be found on another island, which the man visits once or twice a year. But at Rhoov and other islands, they all live together." [2] The same source of misstatement, which is common wherever marriage is matrilocal and polyoecious, is illustrated from the other extremity of New Guinea. The Rev. W. Y. Turner received the impression that the natives of Motu were monogamous, but subsequently discovered that, in addition to the wives with whom they happened to be living, the men had other wives in the next village.[3]

Nowhere among the Australian aborigines is there even a tendency towards monogyny. "Polygamy to the fullest extent is an Australian institution." [4] It is very probable that the extent of polygyny has become considerably reduced in Australia since the advent of Europeans. Collins says: "we found more instances of plurality of wives than of monogamy." [5] Dr. Westermarck says that Mr. Curr "has discovered some truly monogamous tribes." [6]

[1] P. A. van der Lith and J. F. Snellman, in *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. iii, pp. 212, 214. The monogamy reported of some tribes of the Maclay Coast (N. von Miklucho-Maclay, "Anthropologische Bemerkungen über die Papuas der Maclay-Kuste in Neu-Guinea," *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indie*, xxxiii, p. 245; id., "Ethnologische Bemerkungen uber die Papuas der Maclay-Küste in Neu-Guinea," *ibid.*, xxxv, p. 89), appears, curiously enough, to be the result of the influence not of Christianity, but of Islam. Those tribes are in close contact with Alfur populations, who are Muhammadans. From them they have adopted not polygamy, but an extravagant notion of the amount of head-money which they can demand for their daughters. The price of a wife is consequently so exorbitant that scarcely anyone can indulge in more than one (C. Meyners d'Estrey, *La Papouaisie, ou Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale*, p. 49).

[2] J. van Hasselt, "Die Noeforezen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, viii, p. 185.

[3] W. Y. Turner, "The Ethnology of Motu," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vii, p. 475. Cf. G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 119.

[4] J. Browne, "The Aborigines of Australia," *The Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle*, 1856, p. 537.

[5] D. Collins, *An Account of the English Colony of New South Wales*, vol. i, p. 560.

[6] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 20.

But nobody else has; and Dr. Malinowski, Dr. Westermarck's disciple, is compelled to contradict him, and to admit that "polygyny seems to be found in all the tribes." [1]

The customs of the now extinct Tasmanians appear to have been practically identical with those of the Australian aborigines. "Plurality of wives was the universal law among them. Amongst the Oyster Bay tribe, in 1821," says Mr. Lloyd, "I scarcely ever knew an instance of a native having but one gin. On the contrary, two or three were the usual allowance." [2] They commonly lent one another their wives; [3] they manifested no feelings of jealousy and "the blacks were in the habit of forcing the gins to visit the whites in order to obtain what they could from them." [4]

The Fuegians, although their material conditions are perhaps more wretched than those of any other uncultured people, are in the most pronounced degree polygamous. "Whether among the Alacaluf, the Yahgans, or the Onas," says Captain Bove, "a man marries as many wives as he likes; it is, however, rare to find a man with more than four wives." Polygamy is so deeply rooted among them that it constitutes the most insuperable obstacle to their conversion; even after they have been 'converted,' Fuegians insist upon having two or three wives.[5] "Polygamy," says Cojazzi, "is the basis of the family among the Onas; it has entered almost ineradicably into their customs." [6]

[1] B. Malinowski, *The Family among the Australian Aborigines*, p. 387.

[2] G. T. Lloyd, *Thirty Years in Tasmania and Victoria*, pp. 44 sq. Cf. T. Dove, "Moral and Social Characteristics of the Tasmanians," *The Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science*, etc., vol. i, p. 252; H. de la Billardière, *An Account of a Voyage in Search of La Pérouse*, vol. ii, p. 60; J. Watt, *The History of Tasmania*, vol. ii, p. 78; H. Ling Roth, *The Aborigines of Tasmania*, p. 124; J. Bonwick, *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*, p. 71. Mr. Bonwick thinks that the strange statement of Dr. Milligan that "they were monogamous, but the practice of divorce was recognised and acted upon, on incompatibility of disposition, etc." (quoted by Bishop Nixon, *The Cruise of the Beacon*, p. 29), is only intelligible on the supposition that it referred to the time when the natives were on the verge of extinction, and when about fourteen of them were kept in huts by the Government under the charge of Dr. Milligan (J. Bonwick, *loc. cit.*).

[3] J. Bonwick, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[4] C. Meredith, in *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Tasmania*, 1873, p. 28.

[5] G. Bove, *Patagonia. Terra del Fuoco. Mari Australi*, p. 131.

[6] A. Cojazzi, *Los Indios del archipelago Fueguino*, p. 16. Cf. J. M. Beauvoir, *Los Shelknam : Indigenos de la Tierra del Fuego*, p. 207; E. A. Holmberg, *Viaje al interior de Tierra del Fuego*, p. 58; C. B. Gallardo, *Los Onas*, pp. 214, 217; D. Lovisato, "Appunti etnografici con accenni geologici sulla Terra del Fuoco," *Cosmos di Guido Cora*, viii, p. 150; Th. Bridges, "Das Feuerland und seine Bewohner," *Globus*, xlvii, p. 332; C. W. Furlong, "The Vanishing People of the Land of Fire," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*,

The Seri Indians are polygamous.[1] The Ainu of Japan are polygamous. They take "as many wives as they can support."[2] When reproved by missionaries, they say that such has ever been their ancient custom."[3]

It would be difficult for any hypothesis to be so uniformly and directly in contradiction with the facts upon which it may be supposed to depend for evidence than the theological doctrine of primitive monogamy. Whatever the variability of the practice of polygyny among uncultured peoples, no monogamous primitive society is known. "The evidence," say Messrs. Hobhouse, Wheeler and Ginsberg, summing up their collection of reports, "does not make for the association of monogamy with the lowest culture, but only of monogyny with one particular form of that culture [the

cxx, p. 221; id., "The Southernmost People of the World," *ibid.*, cxix, p. 130; P. Hyades and J. Deniker, in *Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn*, vol. vii, p. 378. There are, even concerning the Fuegians, the testimony to whose 'ineradicable polygamy' is pretty well as emphatic as it could be, a number of minimising statements. Mr. J. M. Cooper gives the following somewhat extraordinary summing up: "As to polygamy, there is no tribal sentiment, apparently, at least among the Yahgans and Onas, against a man having two or even more wives, yet *de facto*, monogamy is the more common rule" (J. M. Cooper, *Analytical and Critical Bibliography of the Tribes of Tierra del Fuego and Adjacent Territory* (*Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 63), p. 166). There seems to be an impression that the use, even where there is not the slightest pretext for it, of such cautiously guarded phraseology constitutes in itself a scientific achievement. On the same page Mr. J. M. Cooper states that "there is no polyandry" among the Fuegians, and refers to Father Beauvoir, who says that it is common (see above, vol. i, p. 647). The statistical fallacy to which I have referred (above, p. 275) is conspicuously illustrated in some of the statements. Thus, for example, MM. Hyades and Deniker say of the Yahgans: "Although there are quite a large number of men who have two, three, or even four wives, the more common custom is to have one" (P. Hyades and J. Deniker, in *Mission scientifique du Cap Horn*, vol. vii, p. 378). Now the Yahgans numbered in 1913 about 100 surviving individuals, of whom not more than 50 were to be found in one part of the country. "Practically all have largely given up their native culture" (J. M. Cooper, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 sq.—"practically," "largely!"). If, for argument's sake, we assume MM. Hyades and Deniker's "quite a large number of men" to mean half-a-dozen—surely a very moderate estimate—we should have at least 50 per cent. of men living in polygynous marriage. But in any polygamous community 50 per cent. of the younger men, it is not too much to assume, will not yet have acquired more than one wife, although every one of them will have three or four before he is fifteen years older. Such statements do not afford the slightest evidence that the men with only one wife are 'monogamists,' and the presumption is that they are not.

[1] W. J. McGee, "The Seri Indians," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i, pp. 11, 279.

[2] C. S. Forbes, "The Western Shores of Volcano Bay, Yesso," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxxvi, p. 177.

[3] J Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-Lore*, pp. 231, 233.

forest tribes], and that only partially." [1] Their extensive tables, though containing several disputable entries and open to criticisms as regards some questions of classification and interpretation, exhibit in an excellent manner the general distribution of polygyny in the various cultural phases of uncivilised humanity. The factors which are supposed to make for monogamy, the authors observe, " in every grade, when considered as a whole, are seen to be overborne by the opposite forces making for polygamy." [2] Polygamy is equally extensive in its distribution in the lowest and in the highest phases of primitive culture. There is a continuous increase in the extent of polygyny, the number of a man's wives and the proportion of polygamous men, corresponding to the advance in economic conditions, and reaching its maximum in pastoral societies, which are without exception polygamous. On approaching the border of settled civilisation, there is a sudden drop in the extent to which polygyny is practised. The complex conditions of civilisation establish everywhere a sharp distinction between the rich and the poor. The latter form the bulk of the population; simultaneous polygyny is seldom possible for them.

While polygamy is everywhere becoming reduced or disappearing with the advent of more complex economic conditions, there is no reliable instance of a people among whom monogamy was once the rule having adopted polygamy. Most allegations that a given people were 'formerly' monogamous, such as that of Father Charlevoix concerning the Hurons,[3] or of Major Cremony's concerning the Apaches,[4] are manifestly destitute of significance, and are but unsupported suppositions. Whenever it is stated on more solid grounds that a change from monogamous to polygynous marriage customs has taken place among a given people it will be found, I think invariably, that their earlier condition was one of unrestricted relations within the permissible degrees, accompanied or not by transitory or late economic association between individuals; with the increase of restrictions such a people would naturally pass to some form of polygamous marriage. But such a change is a very different thing from an evolution of social organisation from monogamy to polygamy. Thus the Alfurs of the Minahassa peninsula of North Celebes are mentioned by Dr. Westermarck, on the authority of Dr. Hickson, as having formerly been monogamous, but as having become polygamous in consequence of " a degeneration from the old customs brought

[1] L. T. Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler and M. Ginsberg, *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*, p. 162.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[3] See above, pp. 257, 277.

[4] See above, p. 278.

about perhaps by Mohammedan influence" ;[1] and he might have mentioned a much more emphatic and authoritative statement of Professor Wilken to the same effect concerning the Alfurs of Buru.[2] But no one acquainted with the ethnology of the Malay Archipelago supposes that the condition of the coastal tribes of the Alfurs represents their primitive state ; and so far removed are the Alfurs of Minahassa from being primitive that a strong aristocratic caste has developed amongst them, who refuse to intermarry with the common people,[3] a condition of things which, we happen to know, dates only from the end of the seventeenth century, when it replaced the free communism which had been immemorial amongst them.[4] There are, however, several surviving examples of tribes of the same race which, segregated from external influences, have maintained their more primitive social conditions. Their 'monogamy' is of the same type as is commonly met with in the Indian Archipelago, and bears little resemblance to what we understand by monogamous relations. Thus Heer Sachs admits with reluctance that he was unable to discover among the Alfurs of the interior district of Setie, in the island of Ceram, anything that can be properly termed marriage. "They live in a state of free love. The woman keeps company with the man of her choice for such length of time as it pleases both." The children belong to the woman and the putative father has no responsibilities in regard to them.[5] Among the Alfurs of Pelang, off the coast of northern Celebes, the sex relations are such that no real marriage bond is said to be known amongst them ;[6] and in Minahassa itself, in the secluded district

[1] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 14. Dr. Hickson (S. J. Hickson, *A Naturalist in North Celebes*, p. 277) derived the statement of opinion in all probability from N. Graafland, *De Minahassa haar verleden en haar tegenwoordige toestand*, vol. i, pp. 469 sq.

[2] G. A. Wilken, "Bijdrage tot de kennis der Alfoeren van het Eiland Boeroe," *De verspreide geschriften*, vol. i, pp. 48 sq. : "De monogamie schijnt bij de Alfoeren inheemsch te zijn ; de polygamie schijnt eerts van lateren tijd te zijn, en warschijnlijk op het voorbeld der Mohammedanen in zwang te zijn gekomen."

[3] N. Graafland, *De Minahassa*, vol. i, p. 317.

[4] J. G. F. Riedel, "De vroegere regten en verpligtingen der Alifoeroes van Noord-Selebes," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xviii, p. 163. There are, according to Wilken, indications that the Alfurs of Minahassa, who are now endogamic, were previously exogamic (G. A. Wilken, "Over de verwantschap en het huwelijks en erfrecht bij de volken van het Maleische ras," *De verspreide Geschriften*, vol. i, p. 376).

[5] F. J. P. Sachs, *Het eiland Seran en zijne bewoners*, p. 105.

[6] J. J. de Hollander, *Handleiding bij de beoefening der land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië*, vol. ii, p. 236 ; C. Bosscher and P. A. Matthijsen, "Schets van de rijken van Tomboekoe en Banggaai op de oostkust van Celebes," *Tiidschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, ii, p. 97 ; F. S. A. de Clerq, *Bijdragen tot de kennis der Residentie Ternate*, p. 131.

of Tounsawah, the Alfurs live in a state of gross sexual communism.[1] At the present day among the Alfurs of Minahassa marriage is an economic association which is entered into as a sequel to unrestricted sexual freedom; if a suitable husband cannot be readily found for a girl, her father will sometimes pay young men to entertain her until the desired husband is forthcoming.[2] The married state is itself attended with frequent changes of partner; "a man may readily obtain a divorce without any better reason than that he has fixed his heart on another woman." [3]

The same remark which has been made concerning the origin of the present form of polygyny among the Alfurs might perhaps be extended to many of the brown races of the Malayan region. The particular forms of polygamy existing among some of those peoples at the present time may to some extent be set down to an adoption of Islamic usage.[4] Their native marriage institutions appear to be variations of a fairly uniform type, which in its more primitive forms is represented by the close approximation to promiscuity of the Alfurs, which is also found in the Pageh Islands and in many other localities, and the very transient associations of the Dayaks; and in its more developed form by the matriarchal organisation of the Menangkabau.

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, "De Minahassa in 1825, bijdrage tot de kennis van Noord-Selebes," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xviii, p. 486. It should be mentioned that Riedel curiosuly ascribes the 'immorality' of the mountain tribes of Tounsawah in part to contact with the coastal tribes—who are described as less flagrantly immoral. I scarcely think that even Dr. Westermarck would be prepared to enspouse so strange an argument; but the fact that Riedel suggests it adds weight to his always careful and trustworthy testimony.

[2] F. Junghuhn, *Die Battalander auf Sumatra*, vol. ii, p. 324.

[3] S. J. Hickson, *op. cit.*, p. 281; N. Graafland, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 470. F. S. A. de Clercq, "Allerlei over de residentie Manado," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, vol. ii, p. 33.

[4] One comes, however, to mistrust more and more that interpretation. It is a stock "explanation of polygamy," deriving from the mediaeval notion that polygamy was a Muslim invention, and one finds it mentioned indiscriminately with reference to all manner of peoples. Thus Vámbéry suggests it in regard to the polygamy of the Kirghis (H. Vámbéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 248), a suggestion which is nothing short of absurd; for all Turki tribes, whether Muslim or not, are polygamous, and the constitution of their polygamy differs entirely from the Islamic type of marriage. In much the same manner another writer ascribes the rules of hospitality of the Kirghis to the influence of the Kurán (A. de Levchine, *Description des Hordes et des Steppes des Kirghiz-Karaks*, p. 347). Both among the Tartars of Central Asia and among the Malays a considerable proportion of polygamous households results from the strict observance of the levirate; yet the levirate is strictly forbidden by Islamic law (*Kurán*, Surat iv). Such instances of the 'Islamic influence' interpretation tend to make one very suspicious of it even where it appears plausible.

Status of different Wives in Polygynous Families.

The women in a polygynous family are often spoken of in reports as 'concubines,' with the exception of the one first married. In his admirable book on the Melanesians and Polynesians, the Rev. George Brown speaks of the younger sisters of a Samoan wife, who join her in her husband's household, bringing their own dowry, as 'concubines.'[1] The distinction between wives and concubines belongs in general to advanced stages of society, although among some warlike tribes who keep female slaves, a distinction is drawn between such captured slaves and wives of their own nation. In most cases, however, the word 'concubine' is merely a term of depreciation. In some uncultured societies one wife, often, though by no means invariably, the one first married, is distinguished by a special status, and is referred to as the 'chief wife.' It has been suggested that in such cases the 'chief wife' is in reality the only 'real' wife, and that the others are little better than 'concubines,' thus implying that such marriages, although in appearance polygamous, are theoretically monogamous, and that "monogamy is, or formerly was, the rule among the people and polygyny either a novelty or an exception."[2] But, as can be clearly shown, development has commonly taken place in the opposite direction. The distinction between a 'chief wife' and other wives, derived from the institutions of some relatively advanced societies, when extended to peoples in lower stages of social culture frequently exists in the mind only of the observers. Where the wives are sisters, the eldest sister naturally exercises over the younger ones a certain authority and enjoys a certain precedence, which would be the same whether they were married or not, and an older woman usually has the privileges of seniority which are universally recognised among primitive people. But those distinctions are altogether different from that between the 'chief wife' and other wives which is found in some societies, and which is very rare among uncultured peoples.

Speaking of the Carrier Indians, the Rev. A. G. Morice says: "John McLean writes that, though polygamy was allowed among the Carriers, 'only one of the women is considered as wife.' He is certainly mistaken in this respect. All were theoretically on the same footing in the household, though, as a matter of fact, the husband will unconsciously allow a greater influence to some favourite, who may have been the last in order of priority of

[1] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 123.
[2] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. iii, pp. 30.

co-habitation. The wives of the same man called themselves sisters."[1] In California, among the Northern Maidu, the wives "all have equal rights; there is no noticeable difference in rank between them."[2] Of the native tribes of South America, we are frequently told in the older reports that they have many wives, "but one is always the chief wife."[3] The phrase appears to have become stereotyped. But in the more scientific reports of modern qualified investigators that supposed precedence seems to disappear. Among the Carajas there is no distinction between the various wives.[4] Among the tribes of the Tikie, the wives are on a footing of perfect equality.[5] Among the Onas "all wives have the same rights and the same obligations."[6] In India among the Bhuiya, the Dongi and other tribes, there is no precedence whatever amongst the various wives.[7] Among the tribes of the Hindu-Kush, "all wives are of equal rank, priority of marriage does not confer any claim."[8] Among the Bataks of Sumatra there is absolute equality between the numerous wives of the same husband.[9] Among the southern Australian aborigines the only privileges enjoyed by one wife over others appear to be those which an older woman assumes in regard to younger ones, whether she has joined the family first or last.[10] Among the Queensland tribes, however, we are told, in so far as there can be said to be any 'chief wife' at all, she is usually the youngest.[11] Among the Papuans of the southern districts of New Guinea, "there is no distinction between the wives as to rank and precedence,"[12] and among those of the northern districts formerly

[1] A. G. Morice, "The Great Dené Race," *Anthropos*, v, p. 990.

[2] R. B. Dixon, "The Northern Maidu," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, xviii, part iii, p. 239.

[3] *Noticia do Brazil*, p. 277; Jean de Lery, *Histoire d'un voyage faict en terre de Brésil*, pp. 301 sq.; F. A. de Varnhagen, *Historia geral do Brasil*, vol. i, p. 128; P. Hernandez, *Misiones del Paraguay. Organizacion social de las doctrinas Guaranies de la Compañia de Jesús*, vol. i, p. 85; C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, vol. i, pp. 105, 392; *The Captivity of Hans Stade of Hesse in A.D. 1547–1555 among the Wild Tribes of Eastern Brazil*, p. 143.

[4] F. Krause, *In den Wildnissen Brasiliens*, pp. 322, 325.

[5] Th. Koch-Grünberg, *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern*, vol. i, p. 273.

[6] C. R. Gallardo, *Los Onas*, p. 222.

[7] W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, vol. ii, pp. 74, 247.

[8] J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, p. 76.

[9] J. F. von Brenner, *Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras*, p. 249.

[10] G. Taplin, in J. D. Woods, *The Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 101.

[11] W. E. Rott, "North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 10," *Records of the Australian Museum*, vii, p. 12.

[12] C. Kowald, in *Annual Report on British New Guinea*, 1892–3, p. 62; Cf. K. Vetter, "Bericht . . . über papuanische Rechtsverhältnisse," *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel*, 1897, p. 89.

belonging to Germany "there is no question of any of the wives being 'chief wife.'"[1] The wife who is spoken of as the 'chief wife' is very frequently merely the favourite for the time being, and very often the last married. Thus among the Sioux the oldest wife, being generally the eldest sister, enjoyed a certain precedence; but the one who was last married had an equal status.[2] Among the Chukchi, an old wife is deposed and becomes the servant of the younger ones, or is driven from the home.[3] The same fate befalls the 'chief wife,' when she grows old, among the Eleut Tartars.[4]

Distinctions between the various wives are found chiefly in Africa and in Asia. But even in Africa that is by no means invariably the rule, especially among the more primitive populations. Among the Central African Pygmies there is no 'chief wife'; all the wives are on exactly the same footing.[5] Among the Congo tribes no difference in status exists between the various wives.[6] One wife may, of course, as everywhere, be the favourite, but she may be "the first or the fifth, a freewoman or a slave."[7] In Angola all wives are, likewise, on exactly the same level.[8] Among the Banaka and the Bafuku of the Cameroons, the only 'chief wife' is the favourite for the time being.[9] Among the Tubori of Senegambia there is no difference of status between the various wives.[10] In Abyssinia there is no distinction between wives except the husband's particular fancy at any moment, "the

[1] H. Zahn, in R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, vol. iii, p. 302.

[2] J. O. Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 225.

[3] W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, pp. 601, 597. Mr. Bogoras remarks: "E. Westermarck, quoting from W. Hooper, mentions that among the Chukchee, repudiated wives are to a certain extent supported by their former husbands. W. Hooper, however, speaks about those wives who have been put aside for some new favourite. . . . I would call even that statement exaggerated."

[4] Abu'l Ghazi, *A General History of the Turks, Moguls and Tartars*, vol. ii, p. 408. Cf. below, p. 326.

[5] A. Hutereau, *Notes sur la vie familiale et juridique de quelques populations du Congo Belge*, p. 62.

[6] J. H. Weeks, *Among Congo Cannibals*, p. 125; E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, *Notes ethnographiques sur les peuples communément appelés Bakuba, ainsi que sur les peuplades apparentées. Les Bushongo*, p. 115; E. Torday, *Camp and Tramp in African Wilds*, pp. 95, 135; J. Vanden Plas, *Les Kuku*, p. 223.

[7] R. P. van Wing, *Études Bakongo*, p. 225.

[8] L. Degrandpré, *Voyage à la côte occidentale de l'Afrique*, vol. i, p. 102.

[9] Von Oertzen, "Die Banaka und Bafuku," in S. R. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien*, p. 97.

[10] R. Lamouroux, "La region du Toubouri. Notes sur les populations de la subdivision de Fianga," *L'Anthropologie*, xxiv, p. 682.

favourite for the time being (wife or concubine) having all authority over the rest, who submit in the meekest manner with the exigencies of the degrading situation." [1] Similarly, on the Gold Coast, the first wife, when she grows old, generally becomes the drudge and servant of the younger ones.[2] The same thing takes place in Nigeria,[3] among the Baele of the Western Sahara,[4] and in the Sudan.[5] In Madagascar the equality of wives is recognised as a juridic principle; should any dispute arise between them, they submit it to the husband, saying, "Here is our husband, before whom we are all equal." [6]

The term 'chief wife' has most commonly reference, in Africa, to the distribution of duties among the wives, who are the agricultural labourers. A 'chief wife' is regarded as necessary to direct the work of the others, in the same manner as it is considered necessary in a gang of workmen to appoint a foreman.[7] Among the Yatenga tribes the function of the 'chief wife' is strictly confined to that office of forewoman; "outside that prerogative which the first wife enjoys, all the wives have the same rights and duties." [8] In Senegambia the 'chief wife' is selected with regard to her capacity as a manageress; if she proves incompetent, her position is given to another wife.[9] Similarly, among the tribes of British Central Africa, a man may change his 'chief wife' whenever he thinks fit.[10] Frequently, when a man's establishment is considerable, or he possesses extensive fields, it is found necessary to appoint several 'chief wives.' In South Africa there are two or three 'chief wives,' a 'right-hand' and 'left-hand' one, or a 'chief wife' and a right and a left-hand one.[11] "Where there are several wives it

[1] Captain Graham, "Report on the Manners, Customs, and Superstitions of the People of Shoa," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xii, Part ii, p. 636.

[2] A. H. Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, vol. i, p. 313.

[3] R. K. Granville and F. N. Roth, "Notes on the Jekris, Sobos, and Ijas of the Wari District of the Niger Coast Protectorate," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii, p. 107.

[4] G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, vol. ii, p. 117.

[5] E Marno, *Reisen im Gebiete des Blauen und Weisen Nil*, p. 349.

[6] A. and G. Grandidier, *Histoire physique, Naturelle et politique de Madagascar*, vol iv, p. 193.

[7] Cf. S. R. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien*, pp. 270 sq.: "The higher position is probably due to the necessity for a labour-supervisor rather than to any preference of the husband or higher social status of the women."

[8] L. Tauxier, *Le Noir du Yatenga*, p. 243.

[9] H. Hecquard, *Voyage sur la côte et dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique occidentale*, p. 145.

[10] H. S. Stannus, "Notes of some Tribes of British Central Africa," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xl, p. 309.

[11] G. McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol. vii, pp. 396 sq.;

is usual to divide the household into three groups or grades, the house of the 'right-hand' wife, the 'great wife,' and the 'left-hand' wife, the husband stating on each re-marriage to which 'house' he is adding 'rafters.'"[1] The 'second in command' exercises the functions of the 'chief wife' if the latter is absent or engaged.[2] Among the Yergum of northern Nigeria all the wives of a man are equal in status, "but special duties are allocated to the first three. The first wife has charge of the guinea-corn, the second of the garo, and the third of the bean bins."[3] Among the Medge, when the number of a man's wives becomes too large to accommodate them in one hut or one compound, he divides his establishment, appointing a 'chief wife' for each group.[4]

The distinction between a 'chief wife' and other wives may, however, in certain advanced social conditions, have a real juridic significance; and that distinction and significance have had a very important bearing upon the development of monogamic institutions. A woman of higher social rank naturally enjoys a superior status which she owes to her birth and not to her marriage. That status is entirely independent of whether she has been married before or after other wives;[5] it has also no reference to the husband's special predilections. Among West African chiefs, 'chief wives,' who are usually princesses married for reasons of policy, occupy different huts and are only occasionally visited by their husband, who lives in his own hut with his favourite wives or slave-girls.[6] It is a very common rule in Africa and in Asia that the first wife of a young man is selected for him by his parents or by his father with a view to contracting an advantageous family

D. Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, pp. 13 sq., 360 sq.; J. Macdonald, "Bantu Customs and Legends," *Folk-Lore*, iii, pp. 338 sq.; B. Ankermann, "L'ethnologie actuelle de l'Afrique méridionale," *Anthropos*, i, p. 933; J. Maclean, *Compendium of Kaffir Laws and Customs*, pp. 11 sq., 25 sq., 45, 69 sq., 113 sq.

[1] *The Natives of South Africa*, edited by the South African Native Races Committee, p. 29.

[2] W. Bosman, *A New Description of Guinea*, pp. 419 sq.; J. B. Labat, *Relation historique de l'Éthiopie occidentale*, vol. i, p. 429; D. E. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Kuste*, vol. i, p. 170; A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 204.

[3] O. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes, etc., of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, p. 372.

[4] A. Hutereau, *Notes sur la vie familiale et juridique de quelques populations du Congo Belge*, p. 62.

[5] C. Wiese, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Zulu im Norden des Zambesi, namentlich Angoni," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxii, p. 192; G. Volkens, *Der Kilimandscharo*, p. 252; A. H. Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, vol. i, p. 313; A. and G. Grandidier, *Histoire physique, naturelle et politique de Madagascar*, vol. iv, Part ii, p. 195; E. Best, "Maori Marriage Customs," *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, xxxvi, p. 29,

[6] M. Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 375.

alliance; whereas the husband is free to follow his own inclinations as regards the choice of subsequent wives.[1] Hence the fact that a woman has been married from choice and affection constitutes, in Africa, a slur upon her social position.[2] Sometimes the 'chief wife' is the one whom a man marries on succeeding to a particular office or title. African kings usually select a 'chief wife,' or more commonly have one chosen for them, on assuming the crown. Thus among the southern Bantu, when a man succeeds to the 'stool,' or chieftainship, all his wives become 'illegitimate,' for it is a rule that none of his children can be heir unless he has been born after the father's accession, or, so to speak, 'in the purple.' Hence a Bantu chief, after his accession, "summons his councillors and naïvely enquires how a man without a wife can give them entertainment," although he may already have a score of wives or more. The councillors and people then proceed to select a wife for the lonely bachelor, and that wife is the 'great wife' and 'mother of the kraal.'[3] Among the Binjhalsa of Bengal a man is bound to take a new wife when he succeeds to the rank of 'zemindar,' or landowner, even though he is already married; the new wife is the 'Pat rami,' or 'principal wife.'[4] The suitable social rank of a man's first wife, who is usually selected for him by his relatives, is regarded as of the highest importance, as is manifest from the solemn family councils and consultations and the prolonged diplomatic negotiations which attend such a selection.[5] In aristocratic communities it is one of the most heinous offences to marry into an inferior class, thereby imperilling the close segregation of the aristocratic class. Among many peoples a wife, or rather the first wife, must be of a particular race. Thus among the Bambala, the first wife must be of Bushongo blood, while others may belong to any tribe.[6] Among the Chinese the 'great wife' must be a Tartar lady.[7]

Although considerations of policy may repeatedly determine the numerous matches entered into by powerful princes and potentates, and, at a more lowly social level, North American warriors or African traders may marry again and again for the sake, chiefly, of

[1] E. Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 186; H. Labouret, "Mariage et polyandrie parmi les Dagari et les Oulé," *Revue d'Ethnographie et des Traditions populaires*, i, p. 274; A. de Levchine, *Description des hordes et des steppes des Kirghiz-Kazaks*, pp. 364 sq.

[2] See above, vol. i, p. 524.

[3] H. A. Junod, *Les Ba-Ronga*, p. 133; *The Natives of South Africa*, edited by the South African Native Races Committee, p. 31.

[4] L. S. S. O'Malley, in *Census of India*, 1911, vol. v, p. 327.

[5] S. Pallas, *Travels in Siberia and Tartary*, p. 12; A. de Levchine, *loc. cit.*

[6] E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, *Notes ethnographiques sur les peuples communément appelées Bakuba. Les Bushongo*, p. 114.

[7] J. H. Gray, *China*, vol. i, p. 212.

forming advantageous alliances, it is obvious that the trouble, scheming, and expense incurred in securing a wife of suitable social qualifications cannot, usually, be indulged in more than once. Hence it is a general rule that such social and mercenary considerations are taken into account by a man's family in regard to his first wife only. Those social desiderata and requirements being once satisfied, a man must, as a rule, perforce be content to be guided in the selection of his subsequent wives by such subordinate and less reputable considerations as love, youth, beauty and industry. The position of a man's first wife is thus often quite apart from any relative status bestowed upon her by her marriage, socially superior to that of his subsequent acquisitions.

Those considerations acquire an enormously enhanced importance with the development of social distinctions and of private property. These introduce into the marriage relation an element which is unknown in primitive matriarchal society, and of but limited importance in the ruder phases of patriarchal society, but which comes to be, in many advanced societies, the paramount consideration, namely, the breeding of legitimate heirs. A 'legitimate' wife is primarily a wife who can give birth to a 'legitimate' heir. It is the legitimacy of the heir which makes the wife 'legitimate'; a wife who is barren is not regarded as legitimate, and can in all lower cultures be divorced. Sometimes, as, for instance, among the Maori, when no distinction of social rank exists between the wives, the 'chief wife' is she who first gives birth to an heir, irrespectively of the order in which the women have been married, and all other wives become, ipso facto, relegated to a markedly secondary position.[1] Where primitive tribal organisation is still strong, but is passing from a matriarchal to a patriarchal order, a 'legitimate' child means a child which belongs to his father's and not to his mother's clan. The breeding of illegitimate children defeats the main object of procreation, the increase of the tribe and its perpetuation. The breeding of such 'illegitimate' children is consequently as great an offence against patriarchal society, as the transference of women to another tribe is against matriarchal society. Islam condemned 'al-motah' marriage, a purely personal and free contract between a man and woman which was exceedingly common in 'the Days of Ignorance,' because it gave the man no legitimate offspring, that is, an offspring that could be reckoned to his tribe and not to the tribe of the mother, and have rights of inheritance within the paternal tribe.[2] A marriage which thus fails to comply with that patriarchal principle and

[1] A. S. Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, vol. i, p. 179.
[2] W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 84 sq.

does not give the father an heir is "the sister of harlotry." On patriarchal principles the woman who gives her own name to the child and not her husband's, that is, who follows the matriarchal and not the patriarchal law, is a harlot.

One of the merits attaching to polygyny in the eyes of uncultured peoples is that it increases the number of a man's progeny.[1] But where the transmission of private property becomes an important consideration, it is often anything but expedient to have a multitude of heirs. In order to obviate too great a fragmentation of a man's property, the bulk of it, or the whole, is sometimes transmitted in Africa to the children of his 'chief wife' only.[2] Where property consists mostly of cattle, the economic objection to a large number of heirs is not vital; but it becomes acute where the patrimony is small and consists perhaps chiefly of a house and land. A multitude of heirs would then mean the dissipation of the property and the virtual destruction of the family. Such small landed property is unusual in Africa. But in Morocco, where cultivated land is often the chief part of the estate, the subdivision of that property amongst the numerous heirs of a polygynous family results in the individual shares being so small that they are not worth cultivating. Consequently it is common to see gardens that were once beautifully cultivated, allowed to lie fallow and abandoned from this cause.[3] In those conditions—and they are the conditions of settled agricultural society—what is desirable is not a large progeny, but an heir, and what is required is not a large number of legitimate wives, but one legitimate wife. That other wives should be 'legitimate' is not only of no importance, but is positively undesirable.

It is fairly obvious that the position of the mother of the legitimate son and heir, the 'legitimate' wife, and the distinction in rank between her and other wives, must become more and more sharply pronounced in proportion to the growing importance of private property. That differentiation will inevitably be further accentuated by the natural reluctance of self-respecting families to allow their daughters to occupy a subordinate position which becomes ever more disreputable and 'illegitimate.'

[1] Cf. W. W. Read, *Savage Africa*, p. 242; J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 269; J. H. Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, p. 150; W. Munzinger, *Ueber die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos*, p. 65.

[2] H. Lichtenstein, *Reisen im Südlichen Afrika*, vol. i, p. 478; A. Kroff, *Das Volk der Xosa-Kaffern*, p. 153; C. Wiese, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Zulu im Norden des Zambesi, namentlich Angoni," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxii, p. 192; W. S. and K. Routledge, *With a Primitive People; the Akikuyu*, p. 134; A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 64; G. Volkens, *Der Kilimandscharo*, p. 253; L. Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 348; E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herrero*, pp. 42 sq.

[3] W. B. Harris, *Tafilet*, p. 141.

The wife, in settled civilised society, thus acquires an entirely new function. With primitive people she is primarily an economic associate, a provider of food, a hewer of wood and a drawer of water, a labourer; she is, as a labourer, the chief producer and the chief source of wealth in early forms of agricultural society. With the loss of those economic values in pastoral and higher agricultural civilisation, only her sexual value is left. That sexual value consists, in purely pastoral cultures, in her attractiveness, in her function as an instrument of pleasure and of happiness; the beauty of idle women is cultivated, and they are gathered together in large harems. Settled agricultural civilisation bestows upon woman a new function and a new sexual value, that of legitimate wife, of mother of legitimate heirs to property.

The contrast which we have noted between pastoral and purely agricultural societies is thus further accentuated by the respective functions of wives in the two forms of culture. Pastoral property is readily subdivided and multiplies; the importance of transmitting undivided to one or a few heirs is not pressing. Essentially pastoral peoples, such as the Semites and the Arias of Asia, have never completely taken up agricultural pursuits, and have in general retained with almost fanatical conservatism their pastoral traditions.[1] Yet the acquisition of other forms of property has undoubtedly tended to reduce, even among them, the extent of polygyny. Muhammad, who in the ecclesiastical imagination of the Middle Ages was credited with having invented the detestable doctrine of polygamy, confirmed, in reality, the general tendency of advancing economic development by reducing the permissible number of legitimate wives to four.[2] In India, polygamy has in like manner constantly tended to become restricted to very moderate limits, and a body of opinion disapproving of the practice has long existed. The economic conditions of the present day, together with the unrelaxing pressure of European opinion, is converting the polygamous institutions of the East into virtual monogamy.

Polygamy and its Decay amongst the Jews.

An evolution exactly similar to that which is taking place at the present day in the Oriental world took place under the Roman Empire among the Jews. Like all other Semitic peoples, the Jews were polygamous. The traditional patriarchal family is the type of the polygamous family, and the harems of Jewish Kings were

[1] Compare below, vol, iii, p. 111.

[2] *The Korán*, iv. 3. Cf. S. H. Leeder, *Veiled Mysteries of Egypt*, pp. 363 sq.

vaunted for their exuberance.[1] Nowhere in the exceptionally minute and fastidious laws of the Jews is any condemnation of polygamy to be found, and no reference exists in their literature to any preference for monogamy. Hebrew Law, on the contrary, assumed polygamy.[2] Among later Talmudist doctors opinions varied: by some it was recommended that a man should not have more than four wives,[3] while according to other authorities he might have as many wives as he could afford to support.[4] Moses Maimonides said: "It is lawful for a man to marry as many wives as he pleases, even to a hundred, either simultaneously or successively. Nor have any the right to raise an objection." [5] Justin Martyr reproaches the Jews of his day with having "four or even five wives," and for "marrying as many as they wished." [6] In Italy as late as the sixteenth century a Jew who had no children by his wife married another; a formal dispensation for the bigamy had, however, to be obtained from the Catholic ecclesiastical authorities.[7] In Spain, Jews were polygamous as late as the fourteenth century,[8] and they are so still in some polygamous countries.[9] The first pronouncement against polygamy among the Jews took place in the eleventh century at Worms, at a Rabbinical Synod under Rabbi Gershom Ben Juda; but it was a merely local resolution which has never been recognised as having the authority of a law. Since no law has ever existed against polygamy among the Jews, should a Jew in England at the present time contract a bigamous marriage, it could not be dissolved according to Jewish law without going through a formal proceeding of divorce.[10]

[1] *Genesis*, iv. 19; *Judges*, viii. 30; xii. 9–14; *I Chronicles* ii. 26, 46, 48; iv. 5; vii. 4; viii. 8; *II Chronicles*, xxiv. 3; *I Samuel*, v. 13; *I Kings*, ix. 1–3; Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, xvii. 1. 3.

[2] *Exodus*, xxi. 9; *Leviticus*, xviii. 18; *Deuteronomy*, xxi. 15–17.

[3] *Talmud*, Y^{e}bhamôth, 44_{a}, J. Selden, *Uxor Ebraica*, p. 45.

[4] *Ibid.*, 65^{a}, J. Selden, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[5] J. Selden, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[6] Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo*, 131. 141.

[7] J. Selden, *op. cit.*, p. 51, from an Italian MS. in the Vatican library.

[8] J. Jacobs, *An Inquiry into the Sources of the History of the Jews in Spain*, p. xxv.

[9] J. E. Polak, *Persien; das Land und seine Bewohner*, vol. i, p. 209.

[10] M. Mielziner, *The Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce in Ancient and Modern Times*, p. 31. Almost all modern literature, both Christian and Jewish, concerning Jewish marriage is of necessity strenuously, and sometimes fiercely, apologetic. The writers endeavour to indicate the existence of some 'ideal of monogamy' among the ancient Jews. The task is found to be very difficult. The chief arguments used are, first, that monogamy is 'assumed' in the New Testament. But the New Testament, as we have it, is an Hellenistic and Romanised production, and certainly edited for an Hellenistic and Romanised public; and no argument

Although polygamy had not by any means passed away from among the Jews in Roman times, they had steadily become less and less polygynous; monogamy tended more and more to become the general rule.

The 'chief wife' was called 'beiulah'[1] and secondary wives 'âmâ.'[2] The 'âmâ' were Jewesses married by purchase from their own people, and therefore perfectly 'legal' and wholly respectable wives. But, as in Africa, since they were purchased on the understanding that they were to be secondary wives, the price was correspondingly less than for a chief wife, and, what comes to the same thing, they belonged to poorer families of less elevated social rank. An 'âmâ' who bore no children could be re-sold by her husband; if, however, she bore a son, she could not be re-sold.[3] In addition to the 'âmâ,' or 'secondary wives,' there were slave-girls captured in war. Of these, large numbers were forthcoming at the time of the wars of the Jews against the Canaanites and Midianites.[4] These were called by the Phoenician name of 'pilegesh.'[5] Special slave-girls were, as

can therefore be drawn from it concerning the customs of the Jews in Roman times. The mystic union of the Church and of Christ has even been adduced as evidence of the customs of the Jews in the Roman epoch; but that conception belongs entirely to Hellenistic and not to Jewish theology. Again Adam and Eve are brought forward as evidence of an original monogamic ideal. But, in the first place, the myth in its present form is a comparatively late one, as is the whole editing of the Old Testament. And even if the older myths represented the human race as originating from a single pair, as many myths do among polygamous savages, the circumstance has no more bearing on the marriage institutions of the race than the conception of a male and female principle. The single pair from which mankind are derived in most primitive mythologies is but a reduction of the theory of origins to its simplest expression; and the fact that the human race is traced to one woman proves no more than the fact that it is traced to one man.

[1] Literally 'the owned one,' as a correlative to 'baal,' the owner, or master (*Isaiah*, lxii. 4; *Hosea*, ii. 16).

[2] *Genesis*, xx. 17; xxi. 10; *Exodus*, xxi. 4; *Judges*, ix. 18.

[3] *Exodus*, xxi. 8 sqq. In the same manner among the Arabs at the time of Muhammad, if a free-born slave-woman became pregnant by her master she could no longer be sold in the market, nor could she be ransomed by her people for money (Al-Wakidi, *Kitab al-Maghazi*, transl. by J. Wellhausen, p. 179; W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 73). The same holds good in Turkey at the present day; an odalisk who bears a son to her master becomes a free-woman and cannot be sold; and the same rule is observed in China (see below, p. 328 n[6]), and in Dahomey (A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 205).

[4] *Judges*, v. 30.

[5] *Deuteronomy*, xxi. 10–14. This is a non-Semitic word and identical with the Greek παλλᾰκή and related also to the Latin 'pellex.' The Semitic (Arabic) term for a captured wife is 'sabiya.' The absence of it in Hebrew indicates that marriage by capture did not commonly occur among the Semites before the separation. The term 'âmâ,' on the other

in Africa and elsewhere, allotted to the wife on marriage: [1] these might not be used by the husband without the wife's consent.[2] Throughout the earlier period of their settlement in Canaan, and after the Babylonian captivity, the Jews intermarried very freely with Phoenician, Philistine, Hittite, and all neighbouring peoples; so much so that, as also appears on ethnological grounds, modern Jews would seem to have but a small proportion of pure Semitic blood in their veins.[3] The strong nationalistic sentiment which developed at the time of the Second Temple gave rise at that time to a prohibition against marrying foreign women; [4] and the 'pilegesh,' the supply of whom must have become very small, was thus abolished.

The deliberate object of Jewish marriage, as of all marriage in a settled and civilised order, was to obtain a male heir.[5] Accordingly, as with all people in lower cultures, a barren wife might on that ground be divorced.[6] She might, however, evade that fate by supplying another wife, as, for instance, one of her slave-girls.[7] The heir, of course, was accounted the son of the husband, no matter whose progeny he might actually be. Even if a married woman led the life of a common prostitute, any children which she might have were regarded as the offspring of her husband.[8] In like manner a male child was accounted the son of the chief wife, no matter whether she were the actual mother or no.[9] Poverty in later times restricted considerably, as it does at the present day in all Oriental countries, the polygamy of the Jews; and in direct proportion to that limitation of property the importance of the male heir increased, and consequently that of the chief wife. From a legal point of view the chief wife was the only one that counted, for she alone was the breeder of the legitimate heir, and as such the only legal wife. Respectable families naturally became unwilling to sell their daughters except as 'legal' wives.'

hand, is an ancient Semitic word (B. Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i, p. 380).

[1] *Genesis*, xxiv. 59.

[2] *Genesis*, xvi. 2, 6.

[3] M. Fishberg, *The Jews*, pp. 181 sq.

[4] O. Henne-Am Rhyn, *Kulturgeschichte des Judenthums*, p. 80.

[5] *Talmud*, Ebhenhā'ezer, i. 1; Yebhamôth 63[a], 64[b]; Cf. *Genesis*, ix. 6–7.

[6] *Talmud*, Yebhamôth, 64; Ebhenā'ezer, 154. 10.

[7] *Genesis*, xvi. 2, 3; xxx. 4. 9.

[8] *Talmud*, Sotah. i. 7.

[9] The son of 'âmâ,' or a slave-girl, had, however, to be adopted in order to become an heir. So also in Arabia (F. A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen und Abendland*, vol. i, p. 41),

The Oriental Harem.

That undignified status of secondary wives depends entirely upon the accentuation of the distinction between them and the principal wife, and not on the mere fact of polygyny. In the most highly developed juridical polygamous families, such as those of the Muslim world, where the distinction has no juridic significance, the position of women is very far from being one of oppression or degradation, and stands indeed in marked contrast in this respect with their status in monogamous or quasi-monogamous societies. Current conceptions on the subject are, of course, profoundly distorted, and the popular Western notions concerning the Oriental harem are little more than a tissue of myths.

"I cannot but admire," said Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, "the extreme stupidity of all the writers that have given accounts of them;" [1] and the remark still applies, if not to writers, to the current notions on the subject. There is a unanimous consensus among competent persons acquainted with the facts as to the position of women in Turkey being actually higher, freer, and juridically superior to that of women in Western Europe. "I think I never saw a country," said Lady Craven over a hundred years ago, "where women enjoy so much liberty and are freer from all reproach as in Turkey." [2] "The truth is," says the American Ambassador, Mr. S. S. Cox, "that the Turkish woman is more free than almost any other woman." [3] The Turkish woman is free to go and come as she pleases; she spends most of the day out of doors, usually absents herself for the night when visiting some friend, and is never called to account for the way she spends her time.[4] From a juridic point of view the position of Turkish women is certainly much higher than that of English women before the passing of the Married Women's Property Act, and even at the present day. A Turkish woman has equal rights of inheritance with her brothers. "She has the uncontrolled possession and disposal of both the wealth which she possessed before marriage and of that which may subsequently accrue to her. She can inherit property without the intervention of trustees and disposes of it either during her lifetime or at her death as she pleases. No doctrine of coverture exists for her; she can sue, or be sued, independently of her husband, and also sue, or be sued, by him. A husband is legally bound to

[1] Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters and Works*, vol. i, p. 175.

[2] Lady Elizabeth Craven, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople, in a series of Letters written in the year 1786*, p. 205.

[3] S. S. Cox, *Diversions of a Diplomat in Turkey*, p. 532.

[4] *Loc. cit.* Cf. E. De Amicis, *Constantinople*, p. 212; L. M. J. Garnett, *The Women of Turkey*, vol. ii, p. 440; J. L. Farley, *Modern Turkey*, p. 123; Lady M. Wortley Montagu, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 176 sq.

support his wife and her slaves or servants according to her rank and his means, and to furnish her with a suitable residence." [1] If she considers that she is not properly provided for, she may even pawn or sell any of his property.[2] Although freedom of divorce is ostensibly greater on the part of the husband, yet the wife can obtain it without any difficulty.

The Oriental woman enjoys as a rule more consideration and more deference from her husband than the average European wife; and if her position in the Islamic family be compared with that of the wife in the Chinese or ancient Greek family, the contrast is absolute. The traditional dignified courtesy and fine manners of the Oriental are not laid aside in his family circle, as is so often the case with the European husband. "The husband treats his wife with ceremonious courtesy." [3] It is a rule that the Muslim husband never enters the harem without having himself announced, or announcing his approach by calling out "By your leave." [4] If his presence be not desired, all that is needful is to place a pair of slippers at the entrance of the apartment, and no self-respecting Muslim will ignore the sign. Should he do so, the wife has a right to have him forcibly ejected by the attendants.[5] The slipper plays an important part in Oriental life, and the expression 'slipper-rule' is expressive of the feminine power which it represents.

The great difference lies, of course, in the complete segregation of the sexes and the consequent absence of intersexual social intercourse. That segregation is not an Arab or an Islamic institution. The Arab woman was the reverse of secluded or restricted. The custom of segregation was introduced into Islam from Persia, where it had been customary from remotest antiquity.[6] It did not come into general use in Muslim countries until the time of Kadir b'Illah, "who did more to stop the progress of the Moslem world than any other sovereign." [7] But the Persian harem—the word means 'sanctuary'—derives not from any degraded status of women, but, on the contrary, from the almost superstitious reverence with which they were regarded. All records bear witness to that traditional high position of women in ancient Persia, a position

[1] L. M. J. Garnett, *The Women of Turkey*, vol. ii, p. 441. Cf. S. S. Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 579; J. L. Farley, *Modern Turkey*, p. 116.

[2] J. L. Farley, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[3] E. De Amicis, *Constantinople*, p. 223. Cf. S. S. Cox, *Diversions of a Diplomat in Turkey*, p. 580.

[4] E. Lott, *Harem Life in Egypt and Constantinople*, p. 126.

[5] C. von Vincenti, *Ehe in Islam*, p. 18; S. S. Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 532.

[6] Cf. *Esther*, ix. 12.

[7] Amir Ali, *A Short History of the Saracens*, p. 455.

which amounted to gynaecocratic domination.[1] A man might never even sit down in the presence of his mother without her permission.[2] The original harem was in all probability the matriarchal home of the mother, with whom her children remained, the father being excluded from even seeing them until they were five years old.[3] "The harem," says von Hammer, "is a sanctuary. It is prohibited to strangers not because women are considered unworthy of confidence, but on account of the sacredness with which customs and manners invest them. The degree of reverence which is accorded to women throughout higher Asia and Muslim Europe is a matter of the clearest demonstration."[4]

Much of that predominant position subsists in Persia at the present day. "The influence of woman, indeed," says Mr. Atkinson, "may be said to be universal, and is probably admitted, whether in sadness or good humour, by everyone."[5] A Persian gentleman on a visit to England declared that he was struck with the oppressed status of Englishwomen as compared with the women of Persia, and justified his view by a number of comparisons. One of his points was the greater freedom which Persian women enjoy, and the greater reliance which is placed by their husbands on their virtue, from both law and custom. "It is true," he said, "that Englishwomen go about as they please, but what would an English husband say if his wife, without notice, stayed out all night? In Persia it is customary for a woman when she visits friends to remain all night, and it is etiquette for her husband not to ask any questions or even enquire where she has been." The Persian Mirza referred also to the greater deference paid by Asiatic husbands to the whims and humours of their women, who have a recognised and prescriptive right of teasing their husbands on every pretext. This, he said, "is considered as constituting an essential quality of beauty; for if a wife does not put it in practice,

[1] Cf. Aeschylus, *Persae*, 150, 154–7, 612–21, 636, 834, 902–5; Justin, i. 6; Athenaeus, xiii. 560; Herodotus, i. 131; Plutarch, *Ad principem incruditum*, ii. 6.

[2] Plutarch, *Vita Alexandris*; Justin, xi. 9.

[3] Herodotus, i. 135 sq. We speak of a Turk's harem, but the expression would sound as strange in any language of the Near East as if we were to speak of an Englishman's boudoir. The harem belongs to the woman, not to the man, and if any reference is made to it, it is the lady's harem, not the husband's, which is spoken of. The word 'harem'—in Arabic 'harîm,' in Persian 'haram'—refers to the inmates, not to the apartments, which latter are the 'haremlik,' in opposition to the 'selamlik,' or men's apartments.

[4] Quoted by Amir Ali, *Woman in Islam*, p. 22. Cf. L. M. J. Garnett, *The Women of Turkey*, vol. ii, p. 444.

[5] J. Atkinson, *Customs and Manners of the Women of Persia*, p. xiv.

but is submissive to her husband's will in everything, her charms soon lose their force and brilliancy in his eyes." [1] There is in fact very little real seclusion of women in Persia. Every woman goes, as a matter of religious duty, each day to the 'hamman,' or bath; and this is a sort of club where she meets her friends, and usually spends seven or eight hours of the day.[2] A Persian authoress whom Mr. Atkinson translates, says that there are three kinds of men: a proper man, a half-man, and a 'hupul-hupla.' "A proper man at once supplies whatever necessaries or indulgences his wife requires; he never presumes to go out without his wife's permission, or to do anything contrary to her wish." Your half-man is a wretch who is so poor that his wife sits at home and works, and all she earns is applied to procure food and light. "It is therefore 'wajib' (etiquette) in this industrious woman to reply harshly to whatever he says; and if he beats her, it is 'wajib' for her to bite and scratch him or pull his beard, and to do everything in her power to annoy him. If his severity exceeds all bounds, let her petition the kagi and get a divorce." The fate of the 'hupul-hupla,' or last grade of man, who has no friends, is pitiable. "If the wife of such a man absents herself from his house even for ten days and ten nights he must not, on her return, ask her where she has been; and if he sees a stranger in the house he must not ask who he is, or what he wants. Whenever he comes home and finds the street door shut, he must not knock at the door, but retire, and not presume to enter till he sees it thrown open. Should he act contrary to this, the wife must immediately demand a divorce. If such a husband should afterwards beg to be pardoned and be allowed to resume his former habits, it would be wrong in the wife to remain a single day longer under his roof." [3] Even if these be extreme feministic sentiments, their very existence belies the current conception of the downtrodden Muslim woman. That they are entirely in keeping with the position of women in Persia, the original land of the harem, is indicated by the form of the marriage ceremony in that country; the woman places her right hand over that of her husband "to show that she ought always to have the upper hand of her spouse." [4]

The harem has at times inevitably degenerated into an instrument adapted to the purposes of male domination; and seclusion has undoubtedly narrowed the mental outlook of the Arab woman, who was formerly conspicuous for her talents and achievements. But that mental atrophy has been greatly exaggerated. The idleness, frivolity, and mental undevelopment

[1] J. Atkinson, *Customs and Manners of the Women of Persia*, p. xiii.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 19 sqq.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

of the Oriental woman in the harem are not in general greater than with many women of fashion in Europe.[1] The woman of what may be called the middle class has a busy enough time of it; the aristocratic lady of Islam cultivates all the arts known to her world. Most of the rich embroideries of the East that are sold in our shops are products of the industry of aristocratic women and princesses in the harems of the near East; those ladies thus earn a good deal of their 'pin money,' which is more than is done by most of their European sisters. Egyptian and Turkish ladies of good family are often much better educated than are their husbands.[2] "Many of the Persian middle-class women are highly educated according to Oriental ideas. They read and often write poetry; they sing and play, as a rule well, and are mistresses of all the arts of plain and fancy needlework. Cooking is a second nature to them; pastry-making and confectionery are among their pleasures. The accomplishments of the poorer ones are naturally of a more useful kind. They are good cooks and bread-makers; they make clothes for the entire household; they often are able to add largely to the daily income by their knowledge of some business or trade; none of them is idle." "Taken altogether," concludes Dr. Wills, who knows Persian women well, "they are virtuous, economical, cleanly, and do all they can to make their homes happy. In most cases they are idolised by their husbands and children."[3] The wife among the Arabs and the Persians is not only cherished, but is consulted in all things to a much greater extent than is the case in Europe;[4] and her influence, advice, and help are by no means to be despised. Anyone who has any acquaintance with Oriental diplomacy and politics knows how much the influence of the harem has to be taken into account.[5] The influence of women in the East as elsewhere is the great consolidating, conservative force which maintains traditional customs and ideas. It is the harem which is the great bulwark of the Orient's resistance to the West. As it is at the present day, so it was with but little difference in the ancient East, in Persia, in Babylon, in Assyria.

In the Oriental polygynous family, although there is a 'chief wife,' or 'chatun,' in Turkish 'buyuk hanun,' there is no real social or legal distinction of rank between the several wives. Indeed, it is a current Islamic doctrine that the True Believer

[1] See E. Lott, *Harem Life*, pp. 262 sqq.

[2] E. De Amicis, *Constantinople*, p. 228; Pierre Loti, *Les désenchantées*, passim.

[3] C. J. Wills, *Persia as it is*, p. 67.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[5] S. G. W. Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians*, pp. 225 sqq.; Murad Effendi, *Türkische Skizze*, vol. ii, pp. 24 sq.

who displays any partiality for one wife above the others will incur a special and terrible punishment at the Day of Judgment.[1] The head of the harem where there are many women is commonly the husband's mother.[2] There is no juridic distinction whatever between various wives and their children; every woman who bears a child becomes thereby the legal wife of the father, and is entitled to claim maintenance as such. There are consequently no illegitimate children in Turkey. If the man has already four wives, the woman becomes an odalisque, but her children have the same rank and rights as the children of the 'buyuk hanun.' If the woman is a slave, she becomes by the fact of motherhood a free woman.[3] Throughout Oriental history and romance we constantly come upon princesses and ladies of high degree who marry men that have already several wives, without any reference to the position which they are to occupy, whether as first or tenth wife. There is no economic or legal basis for the distinction.

The evolution from traditional and religiously sanctioned polygamy to monogamy has been completed among the Osmanli Turks in our own day. In former times it was mostly in middle-class households and in the country districts that polygynous families were found. The exacting requirements which were the outcome of the position of women rendered it difficult for most Turks of high rank to have more than one legal wife. Such a wife had to be a Turkish lady of suitable social position. There was no motive for fulfilling those exacting conditions more than once. In some instances, wealthy Turks who had several establishments—country houses in the islands and on the Asiatic shore—had a wife in each. But in general the polygamy of the Turks consisted not so much in their keeping several legal wives as in their freedom to keep as many odalisques as they pleased.[4] The evolution of monogamous institutions amongst them has thus been brought about not by reduction in the number of 'legal' wives, but by the gradual elimination of concubines from the household.

[1] C. von Vincenti, *Die Ehe in Islam*, p. 7.

[2] L. M. Garnett, *Turkish Life in Town and Country*, p 52.

[3] L. M. J. Garnett, *The Women of Turkey*, vol. ii, p. 125. 'Slavery' in the East is but a system of indenture which takes the place of wage-labour for domestic servants. The contract is generally voluntary on the part of the 'slave.' A female 'slave' is entitled to freedom after some years' (usually about seven years') service, and it is the custom to provide her then with a dowry that she may get married. Slaves frequently demand their release and their dowry after a very short period of service, and they are so protected by law that the master or mistress are powerless. The 'servant problem' is thus as acute in the East as in the West.

[4] M. Guer, *Moeurs et usages des Turcs*, vol. i, p. 422.

Marriage and the Position of Women in China.

A similar evolution, but from different causes, and leading to very different results, may be traced in China. In the development of Chinese marriage institutions we come upon an increasing differentiation between the chief wife and other wives, so complete as to give rise, in effect, to a condition of juridic monogamy. In contrast with the position of woman in Islam, the Chinese woman sinks in concomitance with that differentiation, to a status probably the most effaced and depressed to be met with in any cultured society.

The essential identity between the marriage institutions of China and those of the less cultured Mongol and Turki populations of Central Asia is clearly evident. In all the latter the same elaborate ceremonials connected with the functions of the 'go-betweens,' and with the consultation of horoscopes are found, to which such importance is attached in Chinese traditional customs; and the fact that those customs are regarded in the same light as time-honoured immemorial institutions among the most primitive and remote tribes precludes the supposition that they have been adopted by those tribes from the Chinese. Among all Mongols, again, the same terms of distinction obtain between the 'chief' or 'great' wife, or 'tsi,' the 'little wives,' or 'tsie,' and 'concubines.' The distinctions have practically the same significance as in China. The Mongols are frankly polygamous: "plurality of wives is opposed neither to their laws, nor to their religion, nor to the manners of the country."[1] Yet at the same time, such is the emphasis laid upon the distinct position of the 'great wife' that they regard themselves as theoretically and juridically monogamous. The children of the 'little wives' have no legal right to a share in the inheritance,[2] but apparently are given one by being reckoned as children of the 'great wife.'[3] If we pass to the ruder Western Mongols we find the same ceremonials and the same distinctions observed;[4] but, according to an early eighteenth-century account, the significance of the distinction between 'great wife' and 'little wives' and concubines was very much looser. They "take as many lawful wives as they will, to which also they add very often a great number of concubines, which they commonly choose out of their

[1] E. R. Huc, *Travels in Tartary*, vol. i, p. 180.

[2] N. Prejevalsky, *Mongolia, the Tangut Country and the Solitudes of Northern Tibet*, vol. i, p. 69.

[3] E. R. Huc, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 186.

[4] P. S. Pallas, *Travels through Siberia and Tartary*, part iii, p. 13.

slaves." But there is no legal basis for the position of the 'great wife.' "It is a constant rule among the Tartars, who look for nothing but youth in their wives, to give over lying with them when they draw near forty years, reckoning them no more than old housewives, to whom they give their victuals for taking care of the house and tending the young wives who may occupy their place in their master's bed." "The children born of the concubines as well as the wives are equally legitimate and capable of inheriting; but always with the exception that, if the father has been a Khan, or chief, of some tribe, the issue of the lawful wives succeed him before those born of concubines." [1] "They admit no distinction," says another account, "between the children of their legitimate wives and those of concubines; the father may give whatever he likes to either." [2] Here, therefore, the hierarchical distinction which has reached so high a degree of importance in China can scarcely be said to exist; the 'great wife' is merely, as in many African families, the favourite wife for the time being, and does not derive her position from any legal status established at marriage. Among the Kirghis the conditions are much the same. The children of concubines are "almost equal in rights to those of wives." [3] There is no trace of separation of the sexes, and, indeed, very little of sexual morality. "Immorality," says Prejevalsky, "is most common not only among the married women, but also among the girls. Adultery is not even concealed, and is not regarded as a vice." [4] The only punishment admitted in case of adultery is, indeed, that the co-respondent should supply the injured husband with a new wife, or give him the wherewithal to buy one.[5] The legal distinctions among the Mongol Khans up to the twelfth century were, we know, exactly similar to those noted among the Eleuts and the Kirghis. Their feminine households frequently attained enormous dimensions, consisting of as many as 300 and 500 women. These were distinguished, as in modern China, as 'great wife' or 'mother of the children,' 'little wives' and concubines. But no indignity whatever attached to the status of 'little wife.' Powerful Khans gave their daughters in marriage to other Khans quite irrespectively of their entering into the alliance as 'great wives' or as 'little wives.' Jinghis Khan had over 500 wives and concubines, and all his wives

[1] *An Account of the Present State of Northern Asia*, pp. 408, 406.

[2] J. Deguignes, *Histoire générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des autres Tartares occidentaux*, vol. iii, p. 8.

[3] A. de Levchine, *Description des Hordes et des Steppes des Kirghiz-Kazaks*, p. 358.

[4] N. Prejevalsky, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 70.

[5] I. Koslow, "Das Gewohnheitsrecht der Kirghisen," *Russische Revue*, vol. xxi, p. 472.

were daughters of Khans. His first wife, the daughter of Te-im Khan, was termed the 'mother of his sons'; his second wife was the daughter of the Emperor of the Manchus.[1] Neither rank nor order or form of marriage determined the precedence. Oghuz Khan married two of his cousins, but subsequently married the daughter of Kur Khan, who became his favourite and 'great wife.'[2] Even children by concubines were regarded as perfectly legitimate, those of the legitimate wives merely taking precedence over them in the order of succession; but the children from concubines could inherit also, and their names are given together with the others in Mongol genealogies. Those names, such as Ava, 'The Respectable,' Imer, 'The Most Rich,' Ikder, 'The Great,' show clearly that no notion of dishonour attached to the status of their mothers.[3]

The usages of the ancient Chinese chieftains were identical with those of other Tartar Khans. It was in accordance with those customs to marry two sisters or two cousins, as was the common practice among the Mongol chiefs.[4] It cannot, of course, be supposed that a princess who was a 'little wife' was placed in a position of ignominy in regard to her elder sister or cousin. In the Chinese royal family, archaic customs tending to survive longest in such households, the Emperor, in addition to the 'great wife,' or 'Heu,' had three official Queens of the first rank, nine of the second, twenty-seven of the third, and eighty-one of the fourth, besides an unlimited number of concubines.[5] Chinese marriage institutions are polygamous; polygamy is the law of the land, and is limited by poverty only.[6] The wealthy have almost invariably four or five 'little wives.'[7] As in Africa, a number of wives is a sign of wealth and influence, and a man thereby acquires importance and consequence among his neighbours.[8] At the present day it is generally held that "the attempt to support

[1] Abu'l Ghazi Behadur Khan, *Histoire des Mogols et des Tartares*, ed. Des Maisons, vol. ii, p. 100. Cf. p. 42; J. Deguignes, *Histoire générale des Huns*, vol. iii, p. 70.

[2] Abu'l Ghazi, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 sq.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 28; cf. p. 152.

[4] See above, vol. i, p. 619.

[5] *Chou Lî*, transl. by E. Biot, vol. i, pp. 17 sq., 154 sqq.; *Lî Kî*, i. ii. 1 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxvii, p. 101); *Mémoires concernant l'histoire . . . des Chinois*, vol. v, p. 126. Under the Emperor Outy the number of wives and concubines in the royal palace is said to have exceeded 10,000 (*ibid.*).

[6] J. H. Gray, *China*, vol. i, p. 184; E. R. Huc, *The Chinese Empire*, vol. i, p. 251; E. Lörcher, *Die Basler Mission in China*, p. 6; Du Mailla, *Histoire Générale de la Chine*, vol. vi, p. 409.

[7] J. H. Gray, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 185.

[8] W. C. Milne, *Life in China*, p. 187.

a number of wives extravagantly is one of the chief sources of political corruption." [1] But polygamy is by no means confined to the well-to-do; even the most ordinary labourers have from ancient times had two wives or more.[2] Marriages are performed in regard to the 'little wives' with the same pomp and solemnity as with the 'great wife'; and the 'little wives' are officially presented, in the formal visits which follow the marriage, to friends and relatives.[3] The distinction between 'great' and 'little' wives is a juridic one, and has in view the maintenance of the unity of the inheritance. Hence 'little wives' cannot inherit, although their children, who bear their father's name, do so under the legal fiction that they are the children of the 'great wife.' [4] The 'little wives' are enjoined to behave with respect and deference towards the 'great wife'; but the 'great wife' of a younger brother is likewise enjoined to behave in the same manner towards the 'great wife' of an elder brother, the wife of the eldest brother of a family occupying the same position as regards the other brothers' wives as the 'great wife' towards the 'little wives.' [5] The position of 'little wife' is not regarded as other than entirely honourable and respectable. This is plainly seen from the manner in which 'little wives' are referred to in the Confucian classics. In setting forth the stages in the life of a young woman it is laid down in the 'Lî Kî' that, on marriage, "if there have been rites of betrothal she becomes a 'great wife,' if she went without, a 'little wife.'" [6] And again, "If a son have two 'little wives,' one of whom is loved by his parents, while he himself loves the other, yet he should not presume to make the latter equal to the one which the parents love, in regard to dress, food, etc." [7] The

[1] J. and A. C. Dewey, *Letters from China and Japan*, p. 163.

[2] H. S. Plath, "Die hausliche Verhältnisse der alten Chinesen," *Sitzungsberichten der Baierische Akademie*, 1862, Part ii, p. 217.

[3] J. H. Gray, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 214. [4] H. S. Plath, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

[5] *Lî Kî*, x. i. 18 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxvii, pp. 457 sq.).

[6] *Ibid.*, x. ii. 37 (*op. cit.*, vol. xxvii, p. 479). Dr. Legge unfortunately translates everywhere 'ts'ie' by 'concubine,' and the same confusion is prevalent in writings concerning China. The translation, as Dr. Plath points out, is entirely incorrect and unjustifiable, besides being a constant source of confusion. The Chinese, in addition to 'legal' wives, both 'great' and 'little' ('ts'i' and 'ts'ie'), may have as many 'concubines,' that is practically purchased slaves, as they please. These, of course, have no legal nuptial rights, although they acquire certain privileges, as, for instance, that they cannot be re-sold, if they bear children (*Lî Kî*, ii. 11. 34). Owing to such confusion in Dr. Legge's translation it cannot be used with complete confidence, and must be checked by Couvreur's edition of the text, with double translation. The expression 'rites of betrothal' is also doubtful. Couvreur interprets "if she has been formally asked in marriage."

[7] *Ibid.*, x. i. 16 (*op. cit.*, vol. xxvii, p. 457).

children call the co-wives of their mother 'aunts,' and treat them as such.[1] 'Little wives' are invariably married with the assent of the 'great wife,' and frequently at her request.[2] One of the seven legal grounds for divorce during the first three years of marriage is jealousy on the part of the wife;[3] and a 'great wife' who assaults a co-wife is liable by law to severe punishment.[4] Pan-Hoi-Pan lays it down in her treatise on feminine virtue that a woman "should show no partiality towards her own children to the detriment of the other children of the house, and that she should never show any signs of jealousy concerning other wives or other women." "In accordance with the statute consecrated in our ceremonies," she continues, "a man, after the death of his wife has the power to marry again; he has the same power during the lifetime of his wife. But a woman cannot contract second nuptials, either during the lifetime or after the death of her husband, without dishonouring herself." [5]

Marriage is absolutely indissoluble after the first three years.[6] The latter provision is a curious survival of the principle of trial marriage amid the most opposite conditions. The union is contracted not only for this world but for the next; suttee was once the rule in China. Formerly the wives of the emperor were killed at his funeral, as in the barbaric kingdoms of Africa.[7] Until lately a widow was expected to commit suicide at the death of her husband; and if she was so ill-mannered as to hesitate to do so, the husband's relatives used gentle pressure to compel her. It was, and is still, the correct thing for the announcement of the widow's suicide to appear in the papers by the side of the death-notice, and a stone portal is erected in the temple gardens to commemorate the virtuous deed.[8] A widow cannot marry again in any circumstances, nor can she return to her own family, but must remain with the relatives of her deceased husband.[9]

[1] *The China Review*, ii, p. 266.

[2] See above, p. 262 sq. Cf. Tcheng-ki-T'ong, *China und die Chinesen*, p. 77.

[3] *Mémoires concernant l'histoire . . . des Chinois*, vol. xii, pp. 281 sq.; M. von Brandt, *Sittenbilden aus China*, p. 19; H. S. Plath, *op. cit.*, p. 241. The other legal grounds for divorce are disobedience, barrenness, adultery, any loathsome disease, talkativeness, and theft from the husband.

[4] M. von Brandt, *Sittenbilden aus China*, p. 74.

[5] *Mémoires concernant l'histoire . . . des Chinois*, vol. iii, pp. 371, 378.

[6] H. S. Plath, "Die hausliche Verhältnisse der alten Chinesen," *Sitzungsberichten der Baierische Akademie*, 1862, part ii, p. 214.

[7] Se-Ma-Ts'ien, ed. E. Chavannes, vol. ii, pp. 193 sqq.; H. Cordier, *Histoire générale de la Chine*, vol. i, p. 212.

[8] J. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*, p. 766.

[9] *Lî Kî*, ix. iii. 7 (*op. cit.*, vol. xxvii, p. 439). The rule forbidding remarriage of a widow appears not to have been quite so absolute in olden times (see H. S. Plath, *op. cit.*, p. 210).

The position of women in China, was, as we saw, formerly much higher and freer. Among Mongol tribes, both Eastern and Western, it is one of considerable independence and influence. "They are far from being oppressed or kept in servitude," says the Abbé Huc.[1] "In the household," says Prejevalsky, "the rights of the wife are nearly equal to those of the husband," and the latter is sometimes positively henpecked.[2] Women have the right of divorce.[3] Tartar ladies are viragos who may sometimes be seen pursuing a terrified husband with a whip.[4] Throughout Tartar society the mother occupies a position that is hedged about with reverence and awe; she usually administers the estate of a minor son. Almost every page of Mongol annals bears witness to the great power and influence wielded by women, and to the importance of their position. Even the redoubtable Jinghis Khan, the 'scourge of Asia,' 'the conqueror of the Universe,' quailed before the wrath of his mother, and was compelled by her to alter his policy.[5]

In historical and modern China, on the other hand, in spite of the fact that Chinese husbands are credited with being kind and ceremoniously polite, the status of women is abject. "This public and private servitude of women," says the Abbé Huc, "a servitude which opinion, legislation, manners, have sealed with a triple seal, has been in some measure the corner-stone of Chinese society."[6] Man is the representative of Heaven, woman of the Earth; Heaven is lofty and honourable, the Earth is low and base.[7] According to the Confucian dictum, "The woman obeys the man: in her youth she obeys her father and her elder brother; when she marries she obeys her husband; when her husband is dead she obeys her son."[8] The education of a girl, according to the rules of the 'Lî Kî' consists in learning to spin and to be submissive, docile, and obedient; a boy is taught to speak boldly and clearly, a girl submissively and low[9] A woman may legally be divorced because she is too talkative.[10] Women should never speak of anything that goes on outside their apartments.[11] "Ignorance and retirement are proper to a woman."[12]

[1] E. R. Huc, *Travels in Tartary*, vol. i, p. 186.

[2] N. Prejevalsky, *Mongolia*, vol. i, p. 71. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[4] I. Koslow, "Das Gewohnheitsrecht der Kirghisen," *Russische Revue*, xxi, p. 468.

[5] J. Curtin, *The Mongols: a history*, p. 73.

[6] E. R. Huc, *The Chinese Empire*, vol. i, p. 249.

[7] *Mémoires concernant l'histoire . . . des Chinois*, vol. iii, p. 378; *Yi King, The Great Appendix*, i, 1.

[8] *Lî Kî*, ix. iii. 10 (*op. cit.*, vol. xxvii, p. 441).

[9] *Ibid.*, x. ii. 32. 36 (*op. cit.*, vol. xxvii, pp. 477, 479).

[10] See above, p. 329 n[3].

[11] *Lî Kî*, x. i. 12 (*op. cit.*, vol. xxvii, p. 454).

[12] *Yi King*, Commentary, xx. 2 (*op. cit.*, vol. xvi, p. 101).

Most Chinese women are entirely illiterate ; according to a Chinese authority, not one in ten thousand can read.[1] Exceptions were in the olden days more common in mandarin families. The most famous is the Mandarin lady Pan-Hoi-Pan, who wrote a celebrated treatise on the duties of women from which I have already quoted, and which holds the rank of a classic. It is interesting to set the ideal of the Chinese authoress by the side of the Persian lady's, Kulum Naneh, from which I have given some extracts. " We occupy," says Pan-Hoi-Pan, " the last place in the human species, we are the weaker part of humanity ; the basest functions are, and should be, our portion. That is a truth we should ever bear in mind, and which should influence the whole of our conduct ; and it will be the source of our happiness if we act in accordance with it." [2] She proceeds in the same strain through seven learned chapters, citing authorities. " Rightly and justly," she says, " does The Book of the Laws of the Sexes (Niu-hien Chow) make use of these words : ' If a woman has a husband after her own heart, it is for her whole life ; if a woman has a husband against her heart, it is also for life.' [3] A woman," she sums up, " should be in the house as a shadow and as an echo. Let a woman never oppose others, let her patiently suffer others to oppose her." [4] From the age of seven the seclusion of Chinese women is absolute ; they are immured within the walls of the inner apartments which are completely separated from the rest of the house by a door of which the father or husband keeps the key, and within gardens surrounded by high walls. Up to the seventh century women were veiled.[5] Married women only go out in a Sedan-chair with the blinds drawn ; only women of the highest rank, when attended by a numerous train, have the blinds drawn up. At the present day if a woman or a girl should be seen in the open street, she attracts the attention of men, and is subjected to brutal and obscene jests and remarks. In the house a married woman is invisible and even nameless, for it would be regarded as the grossest insult for a visitor to enquire after his host's wife.[6] A woman may not eat with her husband or with her son, and she may not even remove the dishes from which they have eaten, for her touch would defile them.[7] When a man entertains

[1] I. T. Headland, " Chinese Women from a Chinese Standpoint," *The Chinese Recorder*, January 1897, p. 16.

[2] *Mémoires concernant l'histoire . . . des Chinois*, vol. iii, p. 368.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 378. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 381.

[5] *Lî Kî*, x. i. 12 (*op. cit.*, vol. xxvii, p. 455) ; H. S. Plath, " Die hausliche Verhältnisse der alten Chinesen," *Sitzungsberichten der Baierische Akademie*, 1862, Part ii, p. 203.

[6] J. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*, p. 763.

[7] *Lî Kî*, xi. iii 13 (*op. cit.*, vol. xviii, p. 20).

friends in his house and female company is desired, prostitutes or courtesans are called in.[1]

It is not surprising that societies of girls have frequently been formed who are sworn to celibacy, and to kill themselves rather than accept marriage except on purely matrilocal terms.[2] "It is not an uncommon thing," says Mr. Dyer Ball, "to read of girls in various parts of China committing suicide rather than be forced into marriage."[3]

Chinese marriage is a social and juridic institution, and has nothing whatever to do with sentiments, affections, or sexual relations. It is regarded as a necessary duty for the perpetuation of the family and the transmission of property. It is usually entered into as late as possible; early marriage is, indeed, deprecated.[4] The age at which a man should marry, according to the recommendation of the Confucian texts, is when he is at least thirty;[5] women are not usually married until the age of twenty or twenty-five.[6] When missionaries at the present day suggest to better-class Chinese converts that they should spend Sunday in the bosom of their families, the Celestials stare in blank amazement, and reply that they could not think of doing such a thing, and would be bored to death in the company of their wives.[7]

Of the marriage relation in Korea, where the customs are identical with those of China, Mrs. Bishop remarks: "The husband has his life apart; common ties of friendship and external interests are unknown. His pleasure is taken in company with male acquaintances and 'gesang'; and the marriage relationship is briefly summarised in the remark of a Korean gentleman in conversation with me on the subject: 'We marry our wives, but we love our concubines.'"[8] In Siam, wives are likewise classified in a similar manner, as (1) the legal wife married according to legal forms, (2) the wife of affection, (3) the handmaid wife with whom the owner cohabits.[9] In China a current proverb expressed the same distinction: "A wife is taken for her virtue, a concubine for her beauty."[10]

[1] J. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*, p. 654.

[2] Cf. above, vol. i, pp. 365 sq.

[3] J. Dyer Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 429. Cf. M. von Brandt, *Sittenbilden aus China*, pp. 25 sq.

[4] *Mémoires concernant l'histoire . . . des Chinois*, vol. xiii, p. 326.

[5] *Lî Kî*, x. 35 (*op. cit.*, vol. xxvii, p. 479); *Chou Lî*, xiii. 55 (transl. E. Biot, vol. i, p. 307).

[6] *Lî Kî*, x. 37 (*op. cit.*, vol. xxvii, p. 479).

[7] J. and A. C. Dewey, *Letters from China and Japan*, pp. 162 sq.

[8] I. L. Bishop, *Korea and her Neighbours*, vol. ii, pp. 153 sq.

[9] J. Bowring, *The Kingdom and People of Siam*, vol. i, pp. 184 sq.

[10] M. von Brandt, *Sittenbilden aus China*, p. 21.

As an inevitable complement to the perfection of virtuous and segregated wifehood in China, the class of professional courtesans has also attained in that country the highest degree of development. "The Chinese courtesan," says Dr. Schlegel, "differs profoundly from her sisters in Europe. There, it is poverty and seduction which have caused them to adopt their estate, and the consciousness of an evil life, joined to the contempt with which the world looks upon them, envenom their existence and render them as hard and indifferent towards the world as the world has been towards them. In China, as in Japan, courtesans are specially recruited from girls of poor families, obtained in early childhood from their indigent parents. Those girls have therefore no regrets, and feel no shame as regards their condition." [1] There are, of course, in China, widely different classes of 'daughters of flowers' (hoa-niu), as they are called. "One must not confound the accomplished and learned Chinese courtesans," says M. Bazin, "with those who 'publicly display their smiles,' as the Chinese poets have it, and run after pleasure. In order that a young girl may be admitted to the company of courtesans in the 'green and red districts,' where they treat one another as sisters, she must distinguish herself from other women by her beauty, and by the charms and accomplishments of her mind. She must be proficient in vocal music, the flute and the guitar, dancing, history and philosophy. That is not all, she must also be able to write the tao-te-king characters of the book which contains the doctrine of the philosopher Lao-tse. When she has spent some months in the Pavilion of the Hundred Flowers; when she has learned to dance to the sound of the seng-hoang, and to sing in a low voice to the accompaniment of her sandal-wood castagnettes, she then becomes a 'free woman.' She is emancipated from the particular duties of her sex, and may well account herself superior to the young girl who is under the control of her father, to the legal concubine who is under the control of her master, to the legitimate wife who is under the control of her husband, to the widow who is under the control of her son." [2] "The lettered and highly educated Chinese courtesan," says Dr. Schlegel again, "brought up on the writings of the ancient sages, purified by the study of poetry, and by the society of young men of the highest lettered class, is very superior to the virtuous, ignorant and commonplace Chinese lady. Hence so many marriages of Chinamen of the better class with those women who, when

[1] G. Schlegel, *Le Vendeur-d'huile qui seul possède la Reine-de-beauté.* Traduit par G. S., p. x.

[2] A. P. L. Bazin, *Théâtre Chinois, ou choix de pièces de théâtre composées sous les empereurs Mogols,* Introduction, p. xxiv. Cf. G. Schlegel, *La Prostitution en Chine,* p. 13.

married, show treasures of affection for their husbands and boundless devotion for their children. Good wives, good mothers, they are often preferable to the woman of good family who, relegated from the age of seven to the interior apartments, is delivered like merchandise to a husband whom she does not know and who does not know her. If she cannot then learn to love her husband, if she has no charms of mind by which to attract and retain him, there is nothing left to her but duty; and duty without love is a dismal and feeble bond. The Chinese courtesan has always exercised a salutary influence on the mind of the Chinese, for it is in her company only that they have been able to find the pleasant and polished conversation which they would vainly seek elsewhere, since their rules entirely prevent social intercourse between the sexes. Without her the Chinese would be as brutal as were our own noble ancestors. . . . The boudoir of the Chinese courtesan constitutes the transition to a higher social state in which the Chinese will abandon their system of female seclusion and give women a place in society. If ever China takes that momentous step, it will be thanks chiefly to those refined courtesans who, by showing what woman can be when she is free, will have paved the way to reform." [1]

Greek Marriage.

The evolution of marriage institutions and of womanhood in China is of interest, not only on account of the typical example it presents of the development of the legal wife, but because of the striking similarity in its results to the conditions which obtained in the cradle of our own culture, in ancient Greece. The early Greeks were polygynous. In Homer and in the tragic poets the sexual associates of the Trojans are represented as legal wives, whereas those of the Greeks are represented as 'concubines.' [2] Polygamy was the rule in Troy. Priam had many honoured wives, who lived together in the greatest harmony; [3] the numerous progeny of Antenor, wisest of the Trojans, was brought up under the supervision of his chief wife, Theano, with her own children; [4] Andromache was no less affectionate towards the other wives of Hector, and even suckled their children.[5] The households of the Greek chieftains are similarly

[1] G. Schlegel, *Le Vendeur-d'huile qui seul possède la Reine-de-beauté*, pp. xi. sq.

[2] Euripides, *Andromache*, 179.

[3] *Iliad*, xxi. 88; xxiv. 496.

[4] *Ibid.*, v. 70 sqq.

[5] Euripides, *op. cit.*, 222 sqq.

described as abounding in noble and cherished 'concubines.'[1] But when the extent to which the ancient 'chansons de geste' of the race have been transformed and adapted in the Homeric editing is fully realised, no great weight can be attached to the distinction. The Trojans were probably an earlier Asiatic settlement of the same race. The Achaean tribes came down to Greece from Thrace, where they had long sojourned, and there can be little doubt that, like the Thracians, they were at the time frankly polygamous.[2] Although the women of the Greek chiefs are usually referred to as 'concubines,' Thesaeus, who was extremely uxorious, is expressly mentioned as having married his several wives "in legal marriage," ἐν νομίμων γάμων.[3] Even in historical times Dionysios of Syracuse had two legal wives [4] and Philip of Macedon had numerous legal wives, many of whom were princesses.[5]

There was a very good reason why, in archaic Greece, secondary wives should have fallen to a subordinate status, and why one wife only should have come to be regarded as 'legitimate' It was the princess whom a chieftain married who bestowed upon him rights to the throne and to her possessions; even Agamemnon only held his throne through his wife's rights. It would, obviously then, have been impossible to have more than one such wife. The wife proper did not resent the presence of as many concubines as the man chose to keep, provided always that they were not of the same rank as herself. If, however, a chief brought to his home a princess of equal rank by birth as the wife, as did Agamemnon, the wife considered herself justly aggrieved.[6]

There never was in historical Greece any legislation forbidding polygamy, and there is no reference in Greek literature to its being regarded as immoral; polygamy was merely looked upon as a custom "of the barbarians," and unhellenic.[7] A law was indeed passed during the Peloponnesian war, when Athens was depopulated by plague and casualties, enjoining bigamy.[8] But there was, in fact, very little occasion to legislate against polygamy; it was, on

[1] *Iliad*, i. 29, 399; ii. 220; viii. 283, 899; ix. 130 sqq., 660 sqq.; ix. 89 sqq.; *Odyssey*, iv. 11 sq.; xiv. 202 sqq.

[2] Herodotus, v. 5. 18; Euripides, *Andromache*, 215 sqq.

[3] Athenaeus, xiii. 3, citing Istros.

[4] Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, xiii. 10.

[5] Athenaeus, xiii. 5. Cf. E. Hruza, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des griechischen und römischen Familienrechts*, vol. ii, pp. 11 sqq.

[6] Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1430–1439. Athenaeus (xiii. 3) thought that Agamemnon by bringing home Cassandra had "adopted the fashion of barbarian marriages."

[7] Euripides, *Andromache*, 173 sqq.; Athenaeus, *loc. cit.*

[8] Diogenes Laertius, ii. 26; Athenaeus, xiii. 2, citing Hieronymus of Rhodes.

the contrary, found much more necessary to legislate against celibacy. The Greeks were not at all eager to marry.[1] Solon passed a law, which, however, fell into disuse, making marriage compulsory;[2] and at the time of Demosthenes marriage was commonly evaded by the practice of adoption, which was regarded as fulfilling all the purposes of marriage without its drawbacks.[3]

In his poem, "Works and Days," Hesiod offers much Polonius-like advice to his younger brother, Perses, and counsels him to settle down to the quiet rustic life of a small farmer, giving him practical hints as to the best means of setting up in business, of managing his farm so as to get satisfactory returns, of distributing the work, and, a very important item, as to the lucky and the unlucky days for the performance of agricultural operations. In order to start business he should procure a house and allotment, and a ploughing-ox—three acres and a cow, in fact—and also a woman; but, be it noted, not a wife, but "a woman, purchased, not wedded."[4] Above all, he warns him, against the enticements and coaxings of a woman "with waggling rump,"[5] that should "seek after his home." Let him have nothing to do with such wheedlers, "for who trusts a woman, that man trusts a swindler."[6] Marry some day he certainly should, but not until he has reached a mature age, at least the age of thirty.[7] He should have only one son, "for so wealth shall increase in thy house." If he lives to a ripe old age he may have another son, for what reason is not made quite clear, presumably against the chance of the first son not surviving him.[8] It is also advisable that he should marry a

[1] C. Meiners, *Vermischte philosophische Schriften*, vol. i, p. 73: "The Greek looked upon marriage as a necessary evil, or as an unpleasant, but unavoidable, duty." A formidable number of quotations from Greek writers declaring the undesirability of marriage is given by Stobaeus (*Florilegium*, Tit. 68). The rare praises of the married state, such as that of Antipater (Stobaeus, *op. cit.*, 25, 67), Hierokles (*ibid.*, 24) and Timokles (Athenaeus, xiii. 27) are exceptions to the general rule. Greek moralists lay stress on the *duty* of marriage; scarcely ever do they recommend it on the score of happiness.

[2] Plutarch, *de Amore Proli*, 2.

[3] Demosthenes, *Adversus Leocharem de haereditate*, 1801, 1099 *et passim*.

[4] Hesiod, *Erga*, 405, 406.

[5] πυγοσῖόλος. Cf. the Italian proverb, "Donna che dimena l'anca se puttana non è poco ci manca." Apuleius speaks of "lumbis vibrare" (*Metam.*, ii. 7).

[6] *Ibid.*, 373–375.

[7] *Ibid.*, 696. Compare Plato, *Resp.* v. 460; *Legib.*, vi. 772; Aristotle, *Polit.* viii. 36. Aristotle thought that the proper age for a man to marry was about 37.

[8] Hesiod, *Erga*, 376–378.

virgin, "so that you may teach her chaste morals." [1] It is important that he should remember not to wash in the same water, for "to that there are dire penalties attached." [2]

Marriage was in Greece, as in China, a purely juridic procedure having for its object that "the heritage should not be left desolate and the name cut off." [3] In lieu of the right to the chieftainship and lands which heiresses bestowed in archaic times, the Athenians offered a dowry as an inducement for men to marry their daughters, and the whole transaction of Greek marriage centred round that dowry. Medea, in Euripides, complains that "We have to buy ourselves husbands at great cost." [4] Wealthy heiresses were, of course, in demand, and men, if they were already married, put away their wives in order to marry an heiress.[5] But if a girl were left without father, paternal uncle, or grandfather, her nearest male relative was compelled by law to marry her or to find a husband for her.[6]

There appears at first sight to be a radical opposition between the so-called 'purchase' of a wife by a bride-gift and what may equally well be called the 'purchase' of a husband by a dowry. The Greeks and the Romans did not fail to remark upon the contrast between their own practice in the matter, and that of the barbarians and of the primitive Greeks themselves. The two forms of marriage contract, by bride-gift and by dowry, do in fact imply a developmental difference. When a matriarchal order of society passes directly into the patriarchal form through accumulation of property in the hands of the male, he naturally uses that wealth to 'purchase' wives. But if in a matriarchal order property develops and accumulates in the hands of the women, marriage necessarily means that the benefit of that wealth is bestowed by the woman upon the man. The first situation will arise in primitive or archaic societies which, at the time of the transition, were mainly pastoral, the chief form of property, cattle, being men's property. The second situation is

[1] Hesiod, *Erga*, 699.

[2] *Ibid.*, 753–754. The Chinese had the same rule (*Lî Kî*, i. i. 630). A man should also be careful not to use the same towel or the same comb as a woman.

[3] Demosthenes, *Contra Neaera*, 1386. The Greeks were, however, not at all anxious to have many heirs. The limitation of families and the exposure of children, especially female children, were enormously prevalent throughout Greece (see Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, lxxvi.: "On the Disadvantages of having Children," G. Glotz, *Études sociales et juridiques sur l'antiquité grecque*, pp. 18 sqq.).

[4] Euripides, *Medea*, 233. Alexis, quoted by Athenaeus (xiii. 7) also speaks of a husband as having "sold himself to a wife."

[5] Demosthenes, *Contra Eubulidem*, 1311.

[6] Id., *In Stephanum posterior*, 1134.

that which will necessarily develop where the chief form of property, in the transition stage, is arable land, and the society has retained up to that time its matriarchal constitution, property being transmitted in the female line. Accordingly, where early development has been chiefly pastoral, as with the Arabs, the Jews, the Indian Aryans, the Tartars and their cultural descendants, the Chinese, the marriage contract remains essentially 'marriage by purchase.' Where, on the other hand, small landed property, and the tribal rule that generally goes with it, constitute the chief form of propertied privilege, it is the woman who bestows it upon the man, and that essential economic aspect of archaic marriage is perpetuated in the 'dowry' which the wife brings to the husband.

This is precisely what we find in regard to the transmission of archaic princely inheritance in Greece. It was in the right of the women, not of the men, and transmitted in the female line; and the sons of princes went forth from their home to marry princesses in order to obtain princely rights. That inheritance was from the first the chief inducement to 'legal' marriage; and accordingly the 'dowry' remained throughout the social history of Greece the pivot of the institution of legal marriage, and the chief consideration in the juridical elaboration and regulation of that institution. Since it was the dowry, representing the economic perquisite originally bestowed on her husband by the matrilocal wife, which constituted the distinction between the 'legal wife' and a concubine, a girl who married without a dowry was regarded as disreputable and little better than a prostitute. It hence became the custom for the State to supply some pittance to free-born girls in poor circumstances, in order that they should be married with a dowry.

The position of the Greek wife in historical times was identical with that of the Chinese wife. She received no education beyond being taught by her mother to spin, to weave, and to cook. She was "not allowed to see, hear, or ask, anything more than was absolutely necessary." [1] The Greek wife was closely confined to her inner apartments, and was expected to appear as little as possible in public.[2] "The woman who goes out of her home," says Hypereides, "ought to be in that time of life when men ask not, Whose wife is she? but, Whose mother is she?" [3] Theban

[1] Xenophon, *Oeconomic*, vii. 6–14.

[2] *Ibid.*, vii. 30. Although no definite statement is available on the subject, it is practically certain from circumstantial evidence that Athenian women were not allowed to attend theatrical performances. "Silence, modesty, and to stay quietly at home is the most becoming for a wife," says Menander (*Fragm. Hierea*, p. 87, ed. Meinecke).

[3] Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, lxxiv, 33. Cf. Euripides, *Herakles*, 477.

women were expressly forbidden to walk in the street.[1] If a man had a party of guests it was not thought beseeming that the wife should show herself; to do so would have raised the suspicion that she was not the man's legal wife.[2] Perikles himself summed the ideal virtue of a married woman—"not to be talked about either for evil or for good."[3] No woman could ever inherit property; an 'heiress' did not herself inherit property, but had, on the contrary, to be inherited; the property lay fallow so long as the woman had no guardian or owner. When a man died his property might go to the most distant male relative, but never to his wife, who was not even allowed to remain in the home, but had to return to her own people.[4] This followed naturally from the fact that a woman never really became part of her husband's family; Greek marriage remained juridically matrilocal. A woman remained, even after marriage, under the guardianship of her father, and not of her husband, and a father might therefore, whenever he chose, take his daughter away from her husband.[5] On the other hand, a man might transfer his wife to a friend.[6]

Greek marriage had no connection with sexual relations or with love; the sphere of those sentiments was, to the Greeks, entirely separate from that of juridical marriage. Ottfried Müller knew of no instance of the marriage of a free-born Greek woman for love.[7] Not only did it not occur to the Greek to connect marriage with love, but the two were regarded as quite opposed. In a play of Terence, which is a translation from the Greek, the lovers lament that they are going to be married: "Every lover feels it to be a sad grievance that a wife should be assigned to him."[8] Aristotle, endeavouring to put marriage in the most favourable light, speaks of friendship (φιλία) growing up between husband and wife; neither he nor any other author mentions love (ἔρως). The wife in Greece was a housekeeper, and the bearer of lawful heirs; she was not the sexual companion of the man.[9]

The Athenian Greek's sexual life was not associated with the

[1] Plutarch, *de Genio Socratis*, 32.

[2] Isaeus, iii, 14.

[3] Thuc. ii, 45 (Jowett).

[4] Demosthenes, *Adversus Boetum*, 1004. Id. *Contra Spudiam*, 1029; Isaeus, *de Pyrrh. Heredit*, 78.

[5] A woman was always under tutelage, but the guardian was a member of her own family, not her husband; she might, however, be under the guardianship of her son (Demosthenes, *Contra Phaenippum*, 1047).

[6] Demosthenes, *Exceptio pro Phormione*, 946; Isaeus, *de hereditate Meneclis*, 7. 8.

[7] C. O. Müller, *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, vol. ii, p. 292. Becker thinks that he has discovered one instance.

[8] Terence, *Andria*, Act. I. sc. 2.

[9] Aristotle, *De Moribus*, viii. 14.

institution of marriage or with the ' legal ' wife, but with 'hetairai.' The character and status of those women has been the subject of much confusion and of contradictory accounts, some representing them as being all refined and cultured Aspasias, others regarding them as common prostitutes. The truth is that there were all sorts, from the wretched occupants of the sea-port ' porneia,' and the ' colleges of hetairai ' whom one inspected γυμνάς before striking a bargain,[1] to the sexual companions of philosophers, poets, and kings. The same name, hetairai, was, by a euphemistic usage, applied to all. The word means ' companion,' and is the same that was used by any girl or matron in speaking of a female friend. Although it came to be used as a euphemism in speaking of professional prostitutes, πόρναι, it was originally, Athenaeus tells us, employed as a perfectly honourable appellation without the slightest depreciatory connotation.[2] Doubtless its use dated from a time when the two orders of union, the patriarchal and propertied matriarchal ' legal ' marriage, and the free matriarchal union by mutual consent co-existed regularly side by side as the ordinary organisation of the polygamous family. That sexual organisation persisted in point of fact throughout the heyday of Greek civilisation.

The Greek hetairai varied in character and culture as much as women can vary, but the only women who were mentally fitted to be companions to the cultured Greek were hetairai, not the mentally stunted ' legal ' wives in the seclusion of their gynaiconitis. Though it is quite a mistake to represent the hetairai as being all cultured, refined, and learned, some of them undoubtedly were. Leontion, the companion of Epicurus, could more than hold her own against Theophrastos in a written philosophical disputation, and the purity of her Attic style is praised ;[3] Thais, Diotima, Thargelia, were also celebrated as philosophical

[1] Xenarchos, in Athenaeus, xiii. 24. Courtesans (πόρναι) and ' hetairai ' belonged to various very different classes. Some were slave-women, that is, prisoners of war. These might, of course, be bought and sold. A sordid traffic in them was conducted and they furnished the inmates of the common ' porneia.' A handsome slave-girl would generally be bought by a private acquirer and was often emancipated. Many of the ' hetairai ' were adventuresses from Ionia, the islands, or from Corinth, who came to Athens to seek their fortune. On the other hand it not infrequently happened that girls of good family in poor circumstances would elect to be hetairai rather than be married to a poor man. They were, of course, full citizens, and for the most part refrained from common prostitution, but formed free unions with men who were able to maintain them. They were often described as modest and virtuous in manner and conduct (Athenaeus, xiii. 29 ; Lucian, *Ioessa, Pythias et Lysias.*

[2] Athenaeus, xiii. 28.

[3] Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, i. 33.

disputants.[1] The intellectual eminence of Aspasia is familiar. The famous 'funeral oration' of Perikles was said to have been composed by her;[2] she opened a school for young women at which she herself taught.[3] The relations of hetairai to their lovers could be as sincere and detached from mercenary considerations as sexual relations can be: they could be devoted and affectionate friends. The hetairai in the comedies of Plautus, though in Roman guise, are doubtless copied from Greek models; they spurn proffered wealth in their self-respect and fidelity to their lovers. "If I keep my good name," says one, "that is wealth enough for me."[4] "Her manners were pure and full of strictest virtue, she was a true companion," says Antiphanes of another hetaira.[5]

No social stigma attached to the position of a free-born hetaira; they were, on the contrary, publicly honoured much more often than legal wives. It is quite unnecessary to suppose, as did Lord Avebury, that such honour was reminiscent of the position of women in matriarchal society. Certainly it was, as, for that matter, was the abject position of the 'legal' wife, a result of the evolution from the matriarchal order upon which the whole constitution of patriarchal society is founded; but that is not to say that there was any conscious or reminiscent association of the position of the free woman in the latter order with the position of the economically free woman in the former. No stigma attached in Greece to sexual freedom, because the standards of sexual morality had not yet developed, and there existed consequently no ground for any social condemnation or stigma. Matrons themselves had no scruple in recognising hetairai and associating with them.[6] They were honoured, as any other persons might have been, for distinction of talent or of conduct, and also, with the beauty-loving Greeks, of beauty. Statues were erected to them when they were thus distinguished.[7] No obstacle lay in the way of their social advancement. Perikles sent away his 'legal' wife and installed Aspasia in his house.[8]

[1] Alciphron, *Epistola*, i. 34; Lucian, *Eunuchus*, i.

[2] Plutarch, *Perikles*, 24.

[3] Athenaeus, xiii; Plutarch, *loc. cit.*; Xenophon, *Oeconomic*, iii. 14.

[4] Plautus, *Mostellaria*, i. 3, 71; compare, *Cistellaria*, i. 1.

[5] Athenaeus, xiii. 29.

[6] Cicero, *de Inventione*, i. 31; Xenophon, *Oeconomic*, iii. 14.

[7] A statue was erected on the Acropolis to Leaina, the companion of Aristogiton (Pausanias, i. 23. 2; Pliny, xxxiv. 19. 12); Stratonoke had a statue at Eleusis (Athenaeus, xiii. 37); Lais had a statue at Kramnion and several in Thessaly (Pausanias, ii. 2. 4); Kattina, Klion, Glycera, Phryne, Neaira are some of the hetairai who were similarly honoured (Athenaeus, xiii. 37; Tatian, *adv. Greaec.* 55; Polybius, xiv).

[8] Plutarch, *Perikles*. There was no great hardship or offence in sending

Pythinnike and Glykera were honoured like queens at the court of king Harpalos of Tharsos;[1] Myrrhina shared with Demetrios, king of Macedon, all but the crown;[2] Thargelia married Antiochos, king of Thessaly;[3] Pitho married Hieronymos and became queen of Syracuse.[4] Thaïs was the companion of Alexander, and, after his death, married Ptolemy, the first Lagide king of Egypt; her daughter married Eunostos, king of Cyprus.[5]

The two opposite types into which woman, emancipated from economic production, had developed, are thus seen in Greece, sharply and clearly contrasted. Her two economic values, her two functions, as sexual companion and as mother in relation to the transmission of legal rights and property, remained entirely separate. The attributes of each function were differentiated in complete and strident opposition. The sexual woman, the companion, whose beauty was cultivated and adorned with all the arts of elegance and the profusion of luxury, whose mind was tended and attuned to the aesthetic and intellectual interests of her mates, was as a being of a different race from the cloistered housekeeper and breeder of legal heirs, to whom adornment was forbidden by law, whose mind was forcibly and rigorously stunted, and of whom was demanded, as her sole value and virtue, that chastity which was imposed upon her by the requirements of her legal function. Sexual relations and companionship, the satisfaction of sexual instincts and of the more highly developed sentiments arising out of those instincts, belonged to a different sphere from the economic and juridic disposition by which the 'family' was established and maintained as a social unit. Demosthenes summed up the sexual organisation of historic Greece in the same words as the Korean, the Siamese, and the Chinese describe theirs. "We have hetairai for our delight," says the Athenian, "concubines for the daily needs of our bodies, wives in order that we may beget legitimate children and have faithful housekeepers."[6]

a Greek wife back to her father, since she never entered her husband's family, but remained, though married, under her father's tutelage. Perikles adopted his son by Aspasia and left him his fortune. Aristotle left his to the hetaira Herpyllis, with whom he lived till his death. Demosthenes adopted his children by a hetaira and made them his heirs (Athenaeus, xii. 56. 63).

[1] Athenaeus, xiii. 50. [2] *Ibid.*, 64.

[3] Philostratos, *Epistolae*, xiii.

[4] Athenaeus, xiii. 37. [5] *Ibid.*

[6] Demosthenes, *Contra Neaeream*, 1386. Nietzsche, speculating upon the future of marriage, suggests a reversal of the relations to which the institution gave rise in Greece; the breeder of the race should, he considers, be the 'concubine,' while the wife should be the true 'companion,' and not a breeder of heirs. "A good wife," he remarks, "who has to be friend, helper, child-bearer, mother, housekeeper, and maybe has business of her own separate from the husband's to attend to, cannot be at the same time

Roman Marriage.

The institution of marriage in Rome, which is of particular interest to us, since it is to our own institutions and traditional conceptions on the subject that it has directly given rise, differed considerably in its mode of origin and development from Greek marriage. There are no indications in Italic antiquities and records of any phase of patriarchal polygamy, or polygynous concubinage.[1] The Italians were more exclusively agricultural than the archaic Greeks; and primitive Italian marriage relations point to loose matrilocal associations approaching clan promiscuity, in which the husband and father was of little account, such as appear to have survived until a later period among the Etruscans, rather than to a polygynous household. Where important estates or offices in the hand of an heiress were at stake, the right to these was no doubt acquired by the husband through a more stable and formal matrilocal association, in pretty much the same manner as with archaic Greek princes. But, while Greek marriage appears to have developed directly by a gradual economic evolution out of such a matrilocal association, and, indeed, remained to the last juridically matrilocal, the wife never passing from the jurisdiction of her own family to that of her husband, everything points, as we saw, to a somewhat sudden and deliberate revolution in Roman usages. The wife was transferred by a legal enactment from the family and jurisdiction of her father to that of her husband. That violent change was effected in a society which was still essentially matriarchal; matriarchal influence, therefore, instead of gradually disappearing, as in Greece, by a process of natural decay under the pressure of economic causes, was, in Rome, retained to a large extent under opposite legal con-

his concubine; that in general would be too much to ask of her. . . . Marriage regarded in the higher aspect, as the spiritual friendship of two persons of opposite sex, and accordingly such as is hoped for in the future, . . . will, it is to be feared, probably need a natural auxiliary. namely, concubinage. For if the wife is also to serve for the sole satisfaction of the man's sexual needs, the choice of a wife must of necessity be determined from an altogether false and irrelevant point of view, the breeding of posterity will be left to chance and a satisfactory result be highly improbable. . . . In the future the reverse may take place from that which existed in the Athens of Perikles; the men, who regarded their wives merely as casual concubines, turned to the Aspasias when they longed for the charm of true companionship of head and heart, which the spiritual destitution of their wives was unable to afford them" (F. Nietzsche, *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*, vol. i, pp. 315 sq.).

[1] Roman jurists, however, discuss the question whether a charge of adultery can be preferred by a married man against a concubine (*Digesta*, xlviii. 5. 13).

ditions, being preserved by the very process which ostensibly abolished it, in much the same manner as pagan temples have been preserved from destruction by being converted into Christian churches. Thus it is that in the emphatically patriarchal society of Rome, women retained an incomparably higher position than in the far less patriarchal society of Greece; thus it is that in Roman marriage the cleavage between the two contrasted functions of the woman, as wife and as 'hetaira,' never became so complete as in China or in Greece; thus it is that the European conception has arisen which identifies marriage with sexual mating, 'legality' with sentiment, in short, the fully developed monogamic ideal of marriage.

Patriarchal Roman marriage was deliberately instituted by the patricians for their own purposes, much in the same manner as the aristocratic class among the Yurok Indians of California remodelled the marriage institutions of their tribe with a view to protecting their caste interests.[1] The propertied patricians did not recognise the marriage arrangements of the propertyless, and therefore more conservative and matriarchal, plebeians as being a marriage at all. The plebeians "did not know their own fathers," their 'marriages' were little better than the promiscuity of beasts; when there is no 'legal' marriage the sons are deemed to have no father—'nullum pater habere intelligentur.'[2] But not only did the patricians pour scorn on the marriages of the plebeians, they *refused to allow them to adopt patrician marriage*.[3] It was a patrician privilege. And that privilege consisted in having a legal heir which was recognised as capable of inheriting from his father.[4] The patricians did not allow the plebeians to have a 'legal' marriage because they would thereby have become patricians, recognised owners of property with right to transmit it, not to the

[1] Cf. A. Rossbach, *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe*, p. 455.

[2] Justinian, *Institutiones*, iii. 5.

[3] The plebeians only became 'cives' under the Servian constitution (Livy, iv. 2), and no 'justae nuptiae' could take place except between 'cives' (Ulpian, *Fragm.* v. 4. 11; Gaius, i. 56). Nor could there be a legal marriage between patrician and plebeian: "conubium patribus cum plebe non esto" (M. Voigt, *Geschichte und System des Civil-und-criminal Rechtes wie Processes der XII Tafeln.*, vol. i, p. 73). The child of such a union would have no father, but would take his name and condition from his mother, according to plebeian law: "partum sequitur matrem" (Ulpian, v. 8. 9; Gaius, i. 67). "The word matrimonium," remarks Dr. Marindin, "seems to have been used originally to signify a marriage which was not a civil marriage, the child of such marriage following the condition of the mother instead of that of the father, as would have been the case if he had been born from 'justae nuptiae'" (G. E. Marindin, in Smith's *Dictionary of Roman and Greek Antiquities*, vol. ii, p. 138). The memory of primitive Roman matriarchal marriage is thus perpetuated in our word 'matrimony.'

[4] "Iusti liberi" (Livy, xxxiii. 37; Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 3; Gaius, i. 77).

clan, to which it went under the old law, but to their heir, to their 'family,' that is, the very opposite of the clan.[1]

The marriage which was thus reserved as the patrician means of transmitting property and of founding a 'familia,' was an institution consciously and deliberately evolved in view of the purpose which it was intended to serve. Three forms of patriarchal marriage are mentioned as having been current in Rome in earlier historical times. The first was known as 'usus'; this simply meant that, if a man and a woman had lived together connubially for a whole year the marriage was recognised as 'legal,' that is, the children could inherit property.[2] The second was known as 'coemptio,' and it had the advantage that it constituted a 'legal' union from the first. The contract had to be witnessed by five persons who must be full Roman citizens.[3] The third form was in early historical times the specifically patrician marriage; the contract required to be witnessed by ten Roman citizens,[4] and, it was, moreover, still more stringently and solemnly sealed by making a sacrifice of a sheep, and taking Jupiter, the god of good faith in contracts, to witness of its solemnity. It was known as 'farreo,' or 'confarreatio,' because the ceremony included the sharing of a cake of 'far,' or 'farina,' the common Latin flour—our wedding-cake in fact—consecrated by a flamen or 'rex sacrorum.'[5] The flamen did not take any actual part in the ceremony, he did not 'perform' any marriage, or unite the couple, but simply occupied the position of a witness.[6]

It has been suggested—by Fustel de Coulange, for instance, and by Professor Ridgeway—that the essential difference between 'farreo' and other forms of Roman marriage lay in the former being a 'religious marriage.' We shall see later on what a 'religious marriage,' in the proper sense of the expression, a 'hieros gamos,' really means. A 'religious marriage' was once very

[1] Under the law of the Twelve Tables, in the absence of patriarchal heir, property went to the clan: "Si agnatus non escit, gentilis familia nauscitor" (Gaius, iii. 17). The absence of a legal heir reduced even the patrician, under the law, to the condition of tribal communism as regards the transmission of property. Hence the manifest importance of 'legal' marriage. Cf. Livy, iv. 1. 2. 6; Dionysius Halicarn., ii. 9.

[2] Gaius, *Institutiones*, i. 111; Cicero, *pro Flacco*, 34, 84; Servius, *ad Georg.*, i. 31; Aulus Gellius, iii. 2.

[3] Gaius, i. 113; Servius, on *Aeneid*, iv. 103. 214.

[4] Gaius, i. 112; H. A. A. Danz, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des römischen Rechts*, pp. 146 sq.

[5] Ulpian, ix. 1: "Farreo convenit uxor in manu certis verbis et testibus x praesentibus, et solemne sacrificio in quo panis farreo adhibitus." It will be observed that the contract and the ten witnesses are the first and essential conditions, and that the sacrifice is merely thrown in as an additional guarantee of the sealing of the contract.

[6] A. Rossbach, *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe*, p. 128.

common in the lower stages of culture, and survivals of it have persisted in the Christian Church. A religious marriage means the marriage of a woman with a god; and in many stages of culture it was thought incumbent upon every woman to go through a religious marriage, that is, to be married to a god. Our own religious marriage-ceremonies are assimilated to a 'religious marriage,' a 'hieros gamos,' by the theoretical fiction that the bridegroom represents the god; and therefore we speak of that ceremony as a 'religious marriage,' or sacrament. But nothing of the sort entered into the head of the Romans as regards their 'farreo,' any more than it enters the head of a modern bride that she is marrying a god. There was, it is true, celebrated at the same time as the Roman ceremonial, and apart from it for that matter, for it might be done with 'usus' marriage or 'coemptio' just as well as with 'farreo,' an attenuated relic of the once prevalent rite of 'religious marriage.' The bride performed a certain ceremony in connection with the statue of a god which was so embarrassing and indelicate that the Roman women positively refused to go through the ritual in public, and their modesty had to be accommodated by arranging to have it performed privately in a side-room. But that 'religious marriage' had nothing to do with 'farreo' marriage, and was no part of it.[1] The purpose of 'farreo' was solely to make the marriage contract as solemn and binding as possible; it was a legal use of religion identical with the administration of an oath.[2]

What was the contract, the legal undertaking, which it was sought to make so solemnly binding? It had no reference to the sanctification of the union of bride and bridegroom, it was not an oath of fidelity or even of partnership. It was simply this—that the woman passed from the power, guardianship, or 'potestas' of her father to the 'potestas' or guardianship of her husband; that the father, by that contract, solemnly renounced all rights, claims, and powers of interference over his daughter, and that the whole of those rights passed from him to the husband. The legal contract which was enacted by the ceremony was a deed of transfer. That and not any idea of the union between husband and wife was the central conception of Roman marriage. The Roman family rested on the notion of 'patria potestas,' that is, the absolute and unconditional power of the father, the 'pater familias,' over the family. 'Family' comes from the Oscan 'famel,' a servant, slave, a possession,[3] and 'father,'

[1] Cf. below, vol. iii, pp. 246 sq.

[2] Cf. P. E. Huschke, *Der Verfassung des Königs Servius Tullius*, p. 602.

[3] Festus, p. 87. The 'familia' included not only wife and children, but also all servants and slaves ('famuli'), and also the house furniture and property; the vegetable garden, the kitchen pots and the donkey were

'pater' (Sanskrit 'pathra') means owner, possessor, master. The Roman 'pater familias' was thus literally an 'owner of slaves.'[1] He had (theoretically) absolute power over his possessions, his chattels, his children. He could, if he chose, kill them, or take them to the market and sell them. The contract ratified by the ceremony of 'farreo' was the transfer of that power as regards the woman from the father to the husband, and the entire renunciation of the father's 'patria potestas.' That 'potestas' passed to the husband, so that in Roman law the wife occupied the same position as regards her husband as she did formerly as regards her father; she was technically her husband's 'daughter'—"filiae loco est."[2] The contract was, it will be seen, an inevitable consequence of the theory of 'patria potestas' itself; a man could obviously not be a 'pater familias,' an absolute master of all who dwelt in his house, if somebody else retained powers and claims over his wife. In order that he should be 'pater familias' those rights must be absolutely and unconditionally handed over to him. The transference of the woman from one 'familia' to another was called marriage with 'manus,' she was given over into the hands of her husband.

'Coemptio' was a more archaic form of marriage; as the word indicates, it is a derivative of marriage by purchase.[3] It was interpreted by Roman jurists as a 'mutual purchase.' 'Coemptio' was the usual form of plebeian marriage when plebeians first acquired the right to have legal marriages. It thus appears probable that, as in all savage societies, the formation of the patrilocal family, the 'familia,' first took place by offering sufficient inducement to the wife's parents to allow her to leave the home, in other words, by purchasing her. The patriarchal or patrician right was subsequently made more exclusive by the 'farreo,' which was said to have been introduced by Numa, the Sabine

as much part of the 'familia' as the wife. The word 'famel' is allied to the verb 'famar,' to dwell, and refers therefore primarily to the dwelling (T. Mommsen, *Unteritalische Dialekte*, p. 185).

[1] The term 'pater familias' was, it has been observed, of much more recent origin that the term 'mater familias.' In Plautus, for instance, 'mater familias' occurs frequently, while we only find 'pater familias' used once.

[2] Cicero, *Top.* iii. 14; Gaius, ii. 159.

[3] Gaius, i. 113: "per quandam imaginariam venditionem." The same legal process of 'coemptio' was also used for other transactions besides marriage, as, for instance, in affecting a change of tutors (Gaius, i. 115). 'Coemptio' probably represents a transitional form from 'bride-price' to dowry, when, as was also the case in Greece (Pollux, iii. 9), both bride's and bridegroom's family exchanged gifts. The former became merely nominal, being a present offered to the bride on the morning after the marriage—the morning gift. Cf. P. E. Huschke, *loc. cit.*

king.[1] 'Usus' was a still more primitive and unorganised form of marriage, or rather lack of marriage form. It was originally the only form of marriage: "Among the ancients," says Servius, "marriages were contracted by 'usus.'"[2] A man and a woman simply lived together; if they continued for a year, their child was regarded as a legal heir. If the woman wished to leave the man, all she had to do was to absent herself for three consecutive nights; the marriage was then regarded as dissolved.[3] In later Roman legislation all three forms, 'farreo,' 'coemptio,' and 'usus,' implied 'manus,' the transference of the 'patria potestas'; but there can be no doubt that in their original forms neither 'usus' nor 'coemptio' implied that right. It was first attached to 'coemptio,' and when the plebeians were allowed 'coemptio,' it was more especially attached to 'farreo.' When legal distinctions between plebeians and patricians disappeared, all three forms implied 'manus.'

As soon as the legal distinctions between patrician and plebeian rights of property ceased to exist, all those forms of marriage fell into disuse. By the time of Cicero, and even as early as the second Punic war, 'farreo' and 'coemptio' were wholly obsolete;[4] and by the time of Gaius they had only an antiquarian legal interest.[5] 'Farreo' became a mere opportunity for ceremonial display rarely indulged in as an occasion for ostentation. Throughout the historical period of the later Republic and the Empire marriages were contracted, as of old, by 'usus' only, that is, without any form at all, except such old-time usages as the bridal procession and the wedding dinner, that had no legal significance. In Roman law the proof of marriage consisted in the deeds of dotal transfer: there was no ceremony. Those elaborate ratifications of the contract dropped out of use as soon as they had ceased to perform the function for which they were intended.

According to legal theory the woman who passed from the 'patria potestas' of her father into that of her husband was in a position of absolute subjection. The husband having acquired 'potestas' over her had power of life and death, and she had no claims whatever on him. "If," said Cato, "thou findest thy wife

[1] Dion Cassius, ii. 27.

[2] Servius on *Georgic*, i, 31: "Apud veteres nuptiae fiebant usu."

[3] Gaius, i. 111; Aulus Gellius, iii. 2; Macrobius, *Saturn*, i. 3.

[4] Ennius, cited by Herennius, *Rhetoricorum libri iv*, ii. 24; Plautus, *Stichus*, i. 2. 73; Aulus Gellius, xvii. 6.

[5] Gaius, i. 136. By an old law the parents of the 'flamen dialis' had to be married by 'farreo,' that is, the office was an old patrician privilege. In the reign of Augustus so completely had 'farreo' fallen into disuse that nobody could be found whose parents had fulfilled that hieratic requirement, and special inducements had to be offered to provide a 'flamen' born of a marriage with 'farreo' (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 31).

in adultery, thou art free to kill her without trial, and canst not be punished. If, on the other hand, thou committest adultery, she durst not, and she has no right to, so much as lay a finger on thee." [1] In the early days a special law had to be passed making it illegal for a man to sell his wife, which, under 'patria potestas,' he had full liberty of doing.[2] A woman was, in law, a perpetual minor. She could not own or transmit property, or enter into any business transaction;[3] even her children were not legally hers, she had no rights over them.[4]

Such in theory was the famous 'patria potestas' of the father and of the husband of which the Romans were so proud. In point of fact the Roman law's bark was worse than its bite. It made a great show and boast of that patriarchal authority; in truth, it protested too much. The very emphasis laid on that absolute 'patria potestas' was the outcome of its relatively recent and relatively sudden development; it was a deliberately enacted legislation which was anxious to emphasise its claims. And precisely because it was so artificial and deliberate an institution, and constituted so violent a transition from an altogether different state of affairs, its actual force in practice was from the first very different from its uncompromising theory. The matrimonial social constitution of Rome presented, in fact, a striking and extraordinary paradox. According to the proud boast of the jurists it conferred on the Roman man a power over his wife and child without parallel in any other nation. In point of fact, the position of women in Rome was from first to last more independent and dignified than among any other patriarchal people.

Those contradictory effects proceeded from the same cause. The position of women under that superlatively patriarchal legislation was one of exceptional privilege and influence because the established facts and consequences of the matriarchal organisation which it superseded could not be swept away and obliterated by a revolutionary measure. If we knew nothing of Rome but its early legislation, we should conclude that Roman women were the most abject slaves in any civilised country. Compared with the Greek wife, the Roman woman was, in truth, a free-woman and a queen. Unlike the women of cultured and intellectual Greece, Roman girls received the same education as boys, and, indeed, in 'mixed schools.' [5] There was no

[1] Aulus Gellius, x. 6.

[2] Plutarch, *Romulus*, 22.

[3] Livy, xxxiv: "Ne privatam quidem rem agere feminas."

[4] Gaius, i. 104.

[5] Livy, iii. 44; Dionysius Halicarnassensis, xi. i. 5; Martial, *Epigram.*, ix. 69.

Oriental seclusion; the Roman woman was free to come and go as she liked, although it was not thought becoming that she should resort too frequently to public places of amusement.[1] When her husband entertained friends not only was she not excluded, but she was expected to act as hostess.[2] The Romans themselves had not failed to note the contrast. "What Roman," exclaims Cornelius Nepos, "would be ashamed to bring his wife in to dinner, and who amongst us does not regard the mother as occupying the first place in the house and in our regard? They do things very differently in Greece, for a woman is never present at a dinner, unless it be among her own relations, and she never sits down except in the internal apartments, which they call 'gynaiconitis,' which no one but her own nearest relatives may approach." [3]

Like the whole elaborate apparatus of patriarchal marriage, the famous principle of 'manus' itself, by which a woman passed under the 'potestas' of her husband, fell into obsolescence in the later times of the Republic, simply because women would have none of it; and legislation had to give way to their objection much in the same manner as Christian ritual has in our own day to yield before the objection of women to promise obedience to their husbands.

Roman marriage was the last step but one in the evolution which has led to our own institutions and to our traditional conceptions. The next stage was the establishment of Christian marriage. Roman marriage was transformed by Christianity into a religious marriage, a sacrament; from a civil contract it was converted into a religious, a sentimental act, the consecration of the relation between the sexes. That religious and sentimental aspect of marriage was the culmination and application of a development of ideas which we have yet to consider; but it is only in Christian marriage that those ideas became completely identified with the institution. Throughout the evolution of the latter, from lowest savagedom to subtle Roman juridical science, marriage has been regarded as an economic, not as a sexual relation, and the evolution of it has been determined by economic causes and not by sexual instincts or by sentiments, by social, not by biological factors. In Christian marriage the two extraneous aspects of the relation between the sexes have for the first time become combined in one and the same institution. Hence, although Roman monogamic marriage is, from the social and juridic point of view, identical with the institution of marriage as it exists amongst

[1] Valerius Maximus, vi. iii. 10–12.
[2] Livy, i, 57, 58; Dionysius Halicarnassensis, iv. 15, 45.
[3] Cornelius Nepos, *Praefatio*, 6. 7.

us at the present day, and marks the highest point of the social evolution of that institution, yet the sentiments in the light of which it is viewed are the products of a momentous and radical change which was effected solely by the Christian religion. We have hitherto followed in its broad outlines the social evolution of that relation; there remains to view the development of those sentiments that have transformed its significance.

CHAPTER XVII

TABU

Primitive Ethics.

THE most distinctive character of the human mind and of human behaviour lies, as we noted at the outset, in the dualism presented by the transmitted products of social tradition on the one hand, and inherited impulses and instincts on the other, and in the constant control exercised by the former over the latter. Man is a moral animal; he is the only moral animal, for 'morality,' as commonly understood, consists in that regulation and inhibition of natural instincts, and there is nothing equivalent to it in the mental operations and the behaviour of animals. Whatever check may be applied to the operation of a naturally inherited impulse or instinct in animals is either the effect of some more powerful impulse, or of a prohibition imposed by human agency. One instinct may be held in abeyance by another. Thus there is, as we have seen, a fundamental opposition between the sexual instincts of male animals and the mating instinct, and the former may be profoundly modified and checked by the action of the latter, the masculine disposition towards unrestricted polygyny being held in abeyance by parental interest in the offspring. But behaviour is in every instance determined by heredity and the circumstances of the environment. There is no voluntary suppression of an impulsive disposition, and no dissatisfaction or self-reproach in yielding to it. In order that such a conflict of motives should exist, those motives must be consciously perceived. It is only at the level of clear cognition that such a conflict can take place. The natural instinct must be checked by the interdictory force of a conscious veto, acting without calculation of remote consequences. Such prohibitions are the specific feature of human psychology and of social life.

Curiously, as it might at first sight appear, those prohibitions which are so distinctive a character of human social mentality, instead of exhibiting a gradual development corresponding to the evolution of human society, are, on the contrary, found in most

luxuriant abundance in the lowest and most primitive phases of social humanity. The life of primitive man is burdened with prohibitions and regulations which would be accounted intolerable by civilised man. Every act and every course of conduct is, with the savage, strictly regulated by irksome rules and restrictions. But even more remarkable is the fact that very few of the countless prohibitions which operate so powerfully in primitive society appear to have any reference to what we should regard as moral values. The tabus of the savage refer mostly to acts and things which, to us, appear destitute of ethical significance. And, on the other hand, those aspects of conduct which we should regard as most clearly and unmistakably belonging to the domain of moral regulations and obligations are, for the most part, entirely overlooked and neglected in savage codes.

Thus, for example, we should consider that there is no clearer object for moral condemnation and social prohibition than murder, especially the murder of a relative. With most primitive peoples, however, such a crime is viewed with strange indifference. Speaking of savages generally, Steinmetz remarks that "the only reproach which the slayer of a blood-relation incurs is that he has hurt himself by weakening his own family."[1] The injury inflicted by a murderer is held to be fully compensated if the loss which he has caused to a given family is made good by presenting the relatives of the murdered person with a substitute for the victim. Thus among the North American Indians the feelings of a desolate mother whose son had been brutally murdered were assuaged by her adopting the murderer in place of her slain son. Or similarly, a widow whose husband had been murdered might be consoled by marrying the murderer.[2] Again, among the Habe hill-men of the French Sudan a murderer is expected to supply the family of the victim with a woman from his own family; when she bears a son, the boy is given the name of the murdered man, and the two families are once more on the best of terms.[3] The principle that the

[1] S. R. Steinmetz, *Ethnologischen Studien zur ersten Entwickelung der Strafe*, vol. i, p. 164.

[2] *The Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner during Thirty Years among the Indians of North America*, vol. ii, p. 227; J. F. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. i, p. 495. Cf. F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. v, p. 405.

[3] R. Arnaud, "Notes sur les montagnards Habe des cercles de Bandiagoro et de Homlori," *Revue d'Ethnographie et des Traditions populaires*, iii, p. 249. The same form of atonement for homicide obtained among the Ewe of West Africa (J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, pp. 194, 742), and among the Beni-Amer and the Bogos (W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 322; Id., *Die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos*, pp. 84 sq.). The Afghans also tender a woman as compensation for a murder (G. Gerland, "Bannu und die

shedding of blood constitutes a loss which may be compensated is carried to its most logical conclusion by the Goajiros. Among those Indians, if a man hurts himself, as by tripping over a log, or by some other accident, he is required to pay a compensation to his various relatives on the ground that he has shed the blood of the family.[1] Those savages have thus a system of accident insurance which is the reverse of our own, but may in practice work quite as effectively. There is, frequently, little or nothing in the way of penalty attached to murder. Among the Hurons, if a savage killed a man while in a state of intoxication, that was regarded as an accident; the dead man was wept over and mourned, but his relatives took no action against the slayer, for it was held that it was not the man, but the fire-water that had done the act. If a man murdered another in cold blood, no notice, in most instances, was taken, for it was concluded that he would not have done so unless he had a very good reason, and that the dead man therefore must have richly deserved his fate. Should it be quite obvious that there was no justification for the murder, the matter was looked upon as the concern of the murderer's cabin companions. They might kill him if they thought fit, but they very seldom did.[2] Amongst most primitive peoples the murderer of a fellow-clansman is regarded as unclean, and is shunned and avoided, or sometimes expelled from the community. But, as Sir James Frazer has clearly shown, that treatment of the murderer has nothing to do with any moral condemnation with which his act is regarded, but arises from dread of the murdered man's angry ghost, which renders it unsafe to associate too closely with the natural object of the spirit's desire for revenge.[3] In the island of Futuna "in heathen days men-slayers were usually respected as well as feared."[4] Among the Fuegians a parricide is simply sent to Coventry; no one will have anything to do with him.[5] Among the Kosa Kaffirs "if anyone kills a man he is considered as unclean." He must blacken his face with charcoal. After a certain time he may wash himself, rinse his mouth with

Afghanen," *Globus*, xxxi, pp. 332 sq.), and the usage appears to have prevailed amongst the ancient Persians (*Zend-Avesta, Vendidad*, iv. 44 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, iv, pp 45 sq.); cf. W. Geiger, *Civilisation of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times*, vol. ii, p. 34).

[1] F. A. A. Simons, "An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, N.S., vii, p. 256. Cf. W. Sievers, *Reise in der Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta*, p. 256.

[2] J. F. Lafitau, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 487, 489.

[3] J. G. Frazer, *Psyche's Task*, pp. 111 sqq.

[4] W. Gunn, *The Gospel in Futuna*, p. 171.

[5] P. Hyades and J. Deniker, in *Mission scientifique du Cap Horn*, vol. vii, pp. 243, 374.

milk, and dye himself brown. "From this time he is clean."[1] Among the Nandi a man who has murdered a member of the clan is regarded as unclean—until he has murdered two members of another clan, when his moral purity is completely restored.[2] Among the Ossetes a parricide suffers social ostracism; "no one will sit at the same table with him, or drink out of the same jug," but beyond those precautions there is no punishment attached to the deed. A parricide continues to reside in the house with his other relatives without incurring any penalty other than having to wear a necklet of round pebbles.[3] In Ireland—in ancient times, of course—a murderer incurred no other penalty than that of being slighted by members of the family.[4] In regard to the crime of homicide there is no definite penalty in the Jewish code. The homicide may be outlawed, but punishment, or rather vengeance, is entirely the concern of the victim's nearest relative, who may take revenge if he chooses; if he does not it is no one's business.[5] Theft founded a claim for damages.[6] On the other hand, the punishment for Sabbath-breaking was death.[7]

There are two main reasons for that apparently strange neglect of social regulations and principles in regard to what appear to us essentials of moral behaviour. In the first place such regulations and principles are scarcely needed in primitive society. Human society arose as the outcome of the operation of natural instincts, namely, the instincts of solidarity between the members of the same brood. The relations between them differed from those to all other individuals inasmuch as self-protective distrust and fear were relaxed; the loyalty of every member of the brood towards every other was a spontaneous natural sentiment. The individuality of each was merged in the solidary consciousness of the collective group-instinct; the individual did not defend himself as an individual, but the group defended itself as a group. Being natural and spontaneous, the sentiment out of which human society arose and upon which all primitive society rests does not require to be formulated as a law or a principle, and does not need to be regulated by prohibitions. The Golden Rule is superfluous in primitive society; its place is occupied

[1] H. Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa*, vol. i, p. 257.

[2] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 74.

[3] A. von Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, p. 415; M. Kovalewski, *Coutume contemporaine et loi ancienne. Droit coutumier ossétien*, pp. 312, 314 sqq.

[4] M. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Études sur le Droit Celtique*, vol. i, p. 67.

[5] *Genesis*, iv. 14; *Numbers*, xxxv. 20–24; *Deuteronomy*, xix. 11.

[6] *Exodus*, xxii. 1, 5; *Proverbs*, vi. 31.

[7] *Exodus*, xxxi. 14; xxxv. 2; *Numbers*, xv. 32–36.

by the operation of spontaneous instincts which do not require articulate formulation. All primitive societies are, in respect of those social rules which, in our societies, are enforced by moral principles, laws, and the police, in the very highest degree moral compared to ours. Speaking of the islanders of the Marquesas, Mr. Melville writes: "During the time I lived among the Typees no one was ever put upon his trial for any offence against the public. Everything went on in the valley with a harmony and smoothness unparalleled, I will venture to assert, in the most select, refined and pious associations of mortals in Christendom. There was not a padlock in the valley nor anything that answered the purpose of one. This long spear, so elegantly carved and highly polished, belongs to Wormoonoo; it is far handsomer than the one which old Marheyo so greatly prizes; it is the most valuable article belonging to its owner. And yet I have seen it leaning against a coco-nut tree in the grove, and there it was found when sought for. . . . So pure and upright were they in all the relations of life that entering the valley as I did under the most erroneous impressions of their character, I was soon led to exclaim in amazement: 'Are these the ferocious cannibals of whom I have heard such frightful tales? They deal more kindly with each other and are more humane than many who study essays on virtue and benevolence and who repeat every night that beautiful prayer breathed from the lips of the divine and gentle Jesus.' I will frankly declare that after passing a few weeks in this valley of the Marquesas I formed a higher estimate of human nature than I had before entertained."[1] Father Veniaminoff gives a very similar account of his impressions of the social morality of the Aleuts—their sexual morality, like that of the Marquesans, was, of course, scandalous. He fancied himself among a community of primitive Christians. The Russian Government established in the Aleutian Islands courts of law for the trial of offences, but in fifty years those courts could find no employment.[2] In Hawaii, during the time that Lisiansky spent there, only one man was put on his trial and executed; and that was for eating a coco-nut on a tabu day.[3] Campbell had the same experience; the culprit was also a Sabbath-breaker.[4] Of the Kayan Dayaks of Borneo, Drs Hose and McDougall say: "the high standard of the Kanyans in neighbourliness, in mutual help and consideration, in honesty and forbearance

[1] H. Melville, *Typee*, p. 222.

[2] I. Weniaminof, "Charakter-Züge der Aleuten von den Fuchs-Inseln," in F. von Wrangell, *Statistische und ethnographische Nachrichten über die russischen Besitzungen au der Nordwestküste von Amerika*, pp. 184 sq.

[3] U. Lisiansky, *A Voyage round the World*, p. 117.

[4] A. Campbell, *A Voyage round the World*, p. 171.

seems to be maintained without direct support of their religious beliefs"; and "in the Punan community, the conditions of life are so simple, and so nearly in harmony with the impulses of the natural man, that temptations to wrong-doing are few and weak; external sanctions of conduct are therefore but little needed and but little operative."[1] The old Dutch New York colonist, known as Johannes Megapolensis, who gives a shocking account of the sexual morals of the Iroquois,[2] has quite another story to tell as regards their civic morality. "Although they are so cruel," he says, "and have no laws and punishments, yet there are not half so many villainies and murders committed amongst them as among Christians."[3] "Crime and offences," says Dr. Brinton, "were so infrequent under their social system that the Iroquois can scarcely be said to have a penal code."[4] Such testimonies and illustrations might be greatly multiplied; social offences are practically unknown in societies which have retained their primitive character. So are moral laws and principles. Savages are quite unscrupulous murderers and thieves where strangers are concerned, except under the rights of hospitality which, in primitive thought, are equivalent to temporary admission to membership of the group; but civil crime is exceptional among them. Primitive society is maintained by the instincts which gave rise to it, and needs therefore no social laws or moral principles. Only when the primitive constitution of society becomes sapped by the establishment of private property, and the instincts on which it is based are consequently supplanted by individualism, do social laws and the formulation of principles of social morality become necessary.

Another reason why those laws and principles are absent in primitive society is that such offences are regarded as a private, and not as a public concern. If a homicide or a theft is committed, it is for the offended party or his relatives to take revenge. Vámbéry witnessed the tragedy of Hamlet enacted in Central Asia: a Turkoman discovered, eight years after the event, that his stepfather had murdered his father. Unlike the royal Dane, he had no hesitation in forthwith dispatching the culprit. All the people called on him to offer their congratulations on the pious deed.[5] Murder and all personal offences are matters of individual interest, except

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, vol. ii, pp. 204 sq., 187.

[2] See above, p. 78.

[3] J. Megapolensis, "A Short Account of the Maquaas Indians in New Netherland," in E. Hazard, *Historical Collection*, vol. i, p. 526.

[4] D. G. Brinton, *The American Race*, p. 82.

[5] H. Vámbéry, *Reisen in Mittelasien*, p. 93.

for what dangers to the tribe may arise from the presence of an angry ghost; and primitive legislation deals only with group interests. It is in much more advanced stages that the right of personal revenge is delegated to the 'State,' the king or the god, who then says, "Vengance is Mine."

Nature of Tabu and Sacredness.

Obvious ethical principles, that is, the principles of social morality for which a utilitarian reason is clearly perceivable, are, then, enforced in primitive society by an automatic adjustment, and are hence seldom the subject of moral prohibitions or formulated principles at law. The quality of a categorical imperative, of a prohibition having no apparent rational sanction, belongs in primitive psychology not to socially utilitarian moral principles, but to prohibitions in which, for the most part, we are unable to perceive any ethical significance, to tabus apparently whimsical and arbitrary. To these, and not to social ethical principles, an awful, mysterious, categorical imperative attaches. And in fact, the 'moral' character which ethical principles have acquired, that is, the character of 'categorical imperatives' which constitutes them moral principles irrespectively of their utilitarian social function, did not originally belong to them, but has, in the course of social evolution, become extended to them from tabus which have no utilitarian character, but had in the highest degree the super-rational quality of moral principles. That categorical character has been imparted to all moral rules by their assimilation to primitive tabus.

Those tabus of primitive humanity, the originals of categorical imperatives and the prototypes of the distinctively human psychological feature of interdictory principles, appear to us as whimsical rules, and their origin seems most obscure. When a savage is questioned as to the origin and significance of a tabu he will in most instances be at a loss to furnish an explanation, and the very question appears to him irrelevant. He will say that such is the custom; the thing has always been considered tabu, and therefore it is tabu. The tabus which play so important a part in the life and mentality of primitive man are, in fact, identical with what are specifically and very aptly spoken of as 'superstitions,' such as the notions associated with spilling salt, travelling on a Friday, stepping under a ladder, seeing a hunchback, and so forth. Anyone who has yielded to the subtle influence of such a superstition—and how many people have some lingering faith in a 'mascot,' for instance—knows the way in which the authority of a tabu is regarded by primitive man. Those 'superstitions' are in fact survivals of the tabus of

primitive humanity; and they are still found flourishing luxuriantly in all rural, mountain, and fishing populations that are secluded from the influence of civilised thought. The inhabitants of the Highlands of Scotland, of Wales, or the West of Ireland, of Brittany, of the hills of Switzerland, Portugal, the Balkans, are almost as rich in varied superstitions as primitive savage tribes in tabus. Gabriele d'Annunzio has given, in his drama 'La Figlia di Jorio,' a masterly poetic presentment of the mentality of the Italian peasant in the secluded districts of Romagna. Their minds move almost exclusively in a circle of superstitions, and their conduct is determined by mental processes which pass from one superstition to another, those formulas and beliefs taking the place of all other concepts and discursive thoughts.

Although a tabu or superstition partakes of the essential character of a categorical imperative inasmuch as its rationale and origin are unknown or forgotten, it is not observed as a categorical imperative, but from a very different motive, the dread of the consequences of neglecting it. What those consequences may be is as a rule but vaguely imagined; they may be variously conceived and interpreted in different countries or by different individuals; but it is everywhere agreed that they are very dreadful. There is nothing vague, however, about the motive which compels observance of a tabu; it is the dread of those consequences. The notion of tabu has in later, more advanced stages of social development, given rise to two seemingly quite different, and even radically opposite, forms of sentiment. In those later stages a thing may be tabu because it is too holy, too sacred, too 'good' and 'pure' to be touched; because it would be a 'sacrilege' to do so. Or, on the other hand, it may be tabu because it has the exactly opposite character, because it is 'unclean,' 'impure,' and a breach of the tabu attaching to it would pollute, defile the offender and render him also unclean. The tabu on an object or person may thus be an expression of extreme reverence or of extreme horror, of worship and love, or of aversion and disgust; the tabu thing may be supremely good or supremely evil. But it is known to be the peculiar character of primitive tabu, which distinguishes it from those expressions of reverent or abhorrent sentiment, that in its original form it contains nothing of that dual distinction. The tabu thing is not 'holy'; nor is it, in our sense of the word, 'impure.' Our word 'sacred,' the Latin 'sacer,' as also the Greek word '*ἅγιος*,' originally corresponded exactly in meaning to the Polynesian word 'tabu' which we have adopted to denote the ideas of this class which are common to all primitive races. 'Sacer' meant equally 'holy' and 'unclean,' venerable and accursed, unapproachably pure and polluting. Of those

two opposite meanings, the 'bad' meaning, the meaning of polluting, unclean, is by far the more prominent in the early use of the word. With us, as with the Romans of later historical times, there is no ambiguity about the word 'sacred'; its connotation is wholly 'good'; no one would dream, in the ordinary use of the word, of attaching to it an evil meaning. But in all the archaic uses of the word 'sacer,' it is in that evil meaning that it is employed. 'Sacer esto,' let him be 'sacred,' was the formula by which a man was outlawed, placed beyond the pale of human society, excommunicated. A man who was pronounced to be 'sacred' was branded with the most awful curse which it was possible to lay upon him. The formula was the anathema solemnly pronounced on criminals guilty of treason or of homicide.[1] Anyone had a right to slay a 'sacred' man; to hold any intercourse with him, to offer him meat or drink, would have polluted and defiled a person. The punishment bestowed upon a delinquent in some primitive societies is very similar to that which the early Romans inflicted on him by making him 'sacred.' Thus among the Carrier Déné, "an Indian who has killed another or been guilty of some other bad action finds the home or tent of the chief a safe retreat, so long as he is allowed to remain there. But as soon as he leaves it, the chief can afford the criminal no more protection than any other person in the village, unless he lets him have one of his garments. This garment of the chief will protect a malefactor from harm if he wears it, for no person will attack him while covered with this safeguard."[2] The function of the chief was, in fact, among those Indians, to defeat the ends of justice by rendering a malefactor 'sacred.' Similarly in the state of Trangganore or Trengganu, in the Malay Peninsula, a murderer could claim the right of asylum from the king. He then became a 'royal slave,' and tabu, and his person was inviolable. If anyone were to kill him, ten men would have to suffer death to redeem the offence of having slain a 'sacred' person.[3] Although we are told that among the early Romans anyone might kill a 'sacred' man, it is, I suspect, highly

[1] Festus, *De verborum significatione*, 434: "Homo sacer is est quem populus judicavit ob maleficium." Cf. Liv. iii. 5, 7; Macrobius, *Sat.* iii. 7, 51. See also Festus s.v. 'Terminus': "qui terminum, exarasset et ipsum et boves sacros esse." 'Publicatio,' a form of confiscation, was a degenerate form of 'consecratio'; fines derived from violation of a 'lex sacrata' could in later times only be applied to the building of a temple or the service of the gods. Cf. Liv. x. 23, 33, 47; Pliny, *Nat hist.*, 33. 4; A. Du Boys, *Histoire du droit criminel des peuples anciens*, p. 252. The primitive use of the word 'sacer' is discussed by W. Ward Fowler, *Roman Essays and Interpretations*, p. 15.

[2] J. Morse, *A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs*, Appendix, p. 344.

[3] 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Kadir, *Voyage de Singapore à Kalatan*, pp. 26 sq.

probable that this was not the most primitive form of the rule, and that originally, as among the Carriers and at Trangganore, no one would have dared to kill him. Yahweh, it will be remembered, dealt with the first murderer, Cain, in exactly the same manner as was the custom with the chiefs of the Carrier Indians and with the Rajahs of Trangganore; he set a mark upon him, saying: "Whomsoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold." [1]

Although our views as to the character of a murderer have completely changed, many of his primitive attributes persist in the confused traditional heredity of popular sentiment. In countless popular beliefs a lock of hair, a bone or any part of the person of a condemned or executed criminal is an invaluable talisman and possesses miraculous virtues.[2] In Cornwall it was believed quite lately that a criminal who was going to be hanged could cure diseases by merely touching people.[3] In Franconia a salve prepared from the fat of an executed criminal was believed to possess such invaluable healing properties that chemists had to put up a preparation in order to meet the demand. At public executions it was difficult to restrain the eagerness of the spectators to dip their handkerchiefs in the blood of the victim; and late in the last century, in Berlin, men drank the blood of an executed malefactor in the belief that it was a remedy for all ills.[4] The reason undoubtedly is that a condemned criminal is a 'sacred' person.[5] The execution of a criminal was in ancient times a solemn sacrifice offered to the gods.[6] The Celts habitually sacrificed criminals; "and if a man was cannibal enough to eat a bit of the victim's flesh, he by that act rose in the good will of heaven. He was supposed to have absorbed into his system so much of the substance of what was consecrated to God." [7]

The Romans were puzzled by the hieratic use of the word

[1] *Genesis*, iv. 15.

[2] A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, pp. 136 sq.

[3] G. Henderson, *Survivals in Belief among the Celts*, p. 305.

[4] A. Wuttke, *op. cit.*, pp. 137 sq.

[5] A confluent notion which is clearly traceable in those beliefs is that a malefactor who pays the last penalty for his crimes thereby plays the part of a scapegoat, and atones for the sins of the people; every executed criminal is thus looked upon as a redeemer. See H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. i, p. 175; vol. ii, pp. 468, 476, 685.

[6] Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii. 54. Sir James Frazer, in representing the substitution of a malefactor in human sacrifices as a late subterfuge "resorted to for the sake of preserving the old ritual in a form which will not offend the new morality," appears to forget that a malefactor has always been a personage quite as 'sacred' as a king, or any other victim (J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, vol. viii, pp. 396 sq.; cf. pp. 354, 408).

[7] K. Macdonald, *Social and Religious Life in the Highlands*, p. 30.

'sacer,' so completely did the good meaning, the meaning of 'something pertaining to the gods,' divine, displace the primitive connotation. But primitive gods are not 'good,' and are not worshipped in reverence; they are dreadful and dreaded beings, and the 'worship' of them consists chiefly in placating them. They are 'sacred' in the same sense as all tabu beings and things are primitively sacred, that is, the less one has to do with them the better. When the early Protestant missionaries in America tried to explain to the Dakotan Indians that the Bible, the Church, were holy, and that the missionaries themselves were holy men, they were compelled to use the Dakotan word for tabu, 'wakan.' The Dakotas' natural reply was that, if those things were 'wakan,' they would rather have nothing to do with them, for they must be things to be above all shunned and avoided; and the sooner the 'wakan' missionaries and their 'wakan' book removed to the greatest possible distance, the better.[1] The ancient Jews themselves took very much the same view of their Holy Books; they 'defiled the hands,' and a man had to purify himself and wash his hands after handling the Bible.[2]

It is usually explained that the notion of tabu is originally undifferentiated, that it contains *both* the idea of sacredness and of impurity, of a venerable and of a polluting quality, that the two opposite values, good and evil, are, as it were, latent in the primitive conception, and that they have later grown out of it by a sort of dichotomy. That account of the matter, though it may be to a certain extent correct, is apt to be misleading. The notion of tabu in its primitive form is not complex and vague, but simple and quite definite; the infringement of a tabu, the touching of a tabu thing or person, will lead to dire consequences, and is, therefore, to be dreaded. There is nothing subtle or abstract about the notion; it is perfectly straightforward and practical. Primitive man dreads to have anything to do with what is tabu much as a person is unwilling to handle a loaded infernal machine. The deterrent motive is dread of the consequences. The only vague thing about the sentiment with which the tabu is regarded by primitive man, is his ignorance of the exact causes of the peril and of the exact form which the dreaded consequences may take; and that very ignorance is a powerful factor in increasing the magnitude of his dread. In other words, no ethical value, as 'good' or 'bad,' originally attaches to what is tabu. The differentiation which has later taken place between things holy and things

[1] S. R. Riggs, *Dakota-English Dictionary* (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. vii), p. 507.

[2] *Yadaim*, iii. 4, 5; iv. 6 (*Eighteen Treatises from the Mishna*, trans. by D. A. De Sola and M. J. Raphall, pp. 362, 366); W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Ancient Arabia*, p. 309.

impure is not so much an evolution—in the literal meaning of the word—an unfolding of 'latent' ideas primitively contained in the notion of tabu, as an addition to that notion of ideas which were not originally present in its meaning. That is true especially of the 'good' meaning of tabu, or 'sacred,' of the notion that a thing is tabu by virtue of its holiness. This, as is clear enough in the transformation of meaning of the word 'sacer,' is a superadded, and comparatively late superadded idea. Originally what was tabu was regarded with feelings of simple dread, and, being a thing to be avoided, came naturally under the class of evil things, rather than of 'good,' so far as the distinction is present in the primitive mind. The notion of 'impurity,' a subtler form of the conception, did not become clearly differentiated until it could be opposed to the conception of holiness; but the tabu thing was at first 'impure' only in the sense that its qualities were to be dreaded and that contact with it would lead to dire and disastrous effects, without reference to any explanatory theory as to whether the thing was 'sacred' or 'impure,' as to whether the infringement of the tabu would constitute a pollution of the object or of the transgressor.

It follows that the notion of tabu, or 'sacredness,' although it has come to be connected in a special way with gods, is not necessarily dependent upon the conception of gods. A tabu being simply dreaded and avoided by reason of dire consequences attaching to any commerce with it, it does not inevitably postulate a divine origin. Primitive gods are tabu and render tabu anything pertaining to them, because they are very dreadful beings; but a thing may be dangerous and dreadful without being divine. The notion that a thing is tabu because it is the property of a god, or of the ghost of a deceased person, and that such infringement of the rights of the god or ghost will be resented by him, implies a clear idea of personal property. It is, therefore, to say the least, highly improbable that such a proprietary notion was the origin of tabu prohibitions in communistic primitive society. Many other common tabus are also clearly not primitive, and could not have arisen in a rudimentary phase of society. Such is the large class of elaborate tabus attaching to rulers, priests, kings, chiefs, and all that relates to them. These cannot be regarded in that form as primitive tabus, for the social order in which the power and authority of rulers, kings, priests, has developed is not a primitive one; and instead of that sanctity and mystery which hedges kings and rulers being derived from their power, we may suspect that it is, on the contrary, by the transference to them of that sanctity and mystery that their power itself was originally developed. Tabus cannot have been originally imposed by the authority of rulers or of gods, for

they are much older than those conceptions. In no really primitive society is there a ruler invested with any degree of power; and in many primitive societies the authority of gods is hazy and feeble. Tabu prohibitions are, on the contrary, in full force in the most primitive and rudimentary societies.

Various tabus have, of course, had various origins. But what chiefly calls for explanation is not so much the origin of any particular prohibition or tabu, as the origin of the notion of a prohibition, of a veto laid upon the natural inherited instincts of man. If we bear in mind the wholly new departure from animal psychology which such a notion presents, it will be clear that such prohibitions must needs have been imposed in the first instance in a very direct and categoric form; they must have been forced on primitive man as an ineluctable necessity. On the other hand, the hypothesis that tabus have been *imposed*, in the first instance, imposed by the arbitrary authority of chiefs or other rulers, an assumption which is not infrequently made to explain their origin, is untenable; for there is nothing more foreign to the character of primitive man than respect for arbitrary authority, and truly primitive societies are nothing if not equalitarian and democratic. The origin of imposed prohibitions, or tabus, is, therefore, to be sought in conditions far more simple than any in which the law can be laid down by despotic rulers, or medicine-men, and the natural impulses of humanity be restrained by their command; in situations arising directly out of more fundamental natural conditions.

Although nothing exists in animal psychology exactly corresponding to a tabu or formulated prohibition, there is one relation, and one only, in which an interdict is normally imposed from without upon the most potent animal impulses. The type of feminine behaviour commonly included under the term 'coyness,' is no less characteristic of the animal than of the human female. It is usual to remark that the impulses of the male are thereby stimulated, and that the function in respect of which the feminine attitude and tactics have probably developed is the exercise of that enhanced attraction. That the behaviour of the animal female may to some extent produce such an effect is possible, though uncertain; why it should is not obvious. To explain the effect on the general principle that what is difficult of attainment is more highly prized, is to apply to the animal mind a point of view which belongs to a highly developed human psychology. It is more than questionable whether for a bird or a fish or even for a primitive mammal the attractive value of anything is enhanced by the difficulties in the way of obtaining it. The natural trend of unsophisticated psychic action is all the other way; difficulties are deterrents, not stimuli.

The attribution of profound feminine diplomacy to lower animals is, properly considered, little short of absurd. The coyness of the female towards the courting male is, in fact, an effect not of subtle diplomacy, but of physiological conditions. There are common circumstances in which for the female to repel the advances of the male is not a matter of policy, but of functional necessity. The female is not prepared for impregnation except at stated periods of ovulation and rut. At such times only is the sexual impulse operative in the animal female ; at other times the advances of the male are not desired, but are on the contrary undesirable and consequently resisted and repelled. It is in relation to the function of the female that the correlation between that period and the season most favourable for rearing offspring is developed, and the male has had to accommodate himself to the reproductive adaptations of the female. In the mammalian female, moreover, sexual congress is not functional or desirable during pregnancy and lactation, and the male is at such times invariably repelled. In the human female, though the period of sexual activity is more continuous than in many animals, a further interruption appears in the form of definite menstruation.

The repulsing of the male by the female is, then, not primarily a matter of policy, but the necessary outcome of biological facts. Coyness, in its more extended manifestations, does not so much give rise to enhanced attraction because of a higher value set upon a difficult prize, as because, like all characters exercising sexual attraction, it emphasises sex.

The repulse of the male by the female presents the analogue, and the only one, of a ' prohibition ' among animals. It can only be enforced among animals by the actual resistance or escape of the female, by her rejection of the advances of the male ; it cannot, therefore, in animal psychology exactly correspond to a formulated conceptual prohibition. Only traditional heredity can do this. It is at the human level only, through the medium of language, that a prohibition can acquire the status of a recognised principle. And if I am right in considering that in the earliest human groups the influence and authority of the female were paramount, that order of prohibitions must inevitably have been one of the first, or rather the very first to come into operation.

The Tabu on Menstrual and Puerperal Women.

Throughout the diversity of primitive tabus there is, in fact, one class which is invariably present, however much other tabus may vary, and which occupies an even more fundamental

place in uncultured communities than any other, for indeed their whole organisation is founded upon them. Those are the tabus referring to women and to sexual intercourse. The tabus on certain women, on women in certain situations, namely, during and after parturition, and during menstruation, are the most invariable and the most strictly observed of all the tabus of primitive humanity. All the world over, not only among savages, but also among peoples on a far higher cultural plane, the forms of tabu attaching to menstrual women are similar; and those which refer to women in childbed are practically identical with those which apply to menstruation. The latter have little or no reference to the child, which does not appear to be the cause of the tabu, but to the lochial discharge. Premature births and all issues of blood are treated as regards tabu in the same manner as full-time births, and the reference to the cause of the tabu is always to the lochia and not to the child.

Among the Eskimo, women are regarded as dangerously contagious during menstruation and in the puerperal state. Special huts are erected for their use when they are menstruating; "the woman must live secluded for so many days, and it would be a great offence for her to enter any other hut during the time." They are subject to special dietary regulations, and when the few kinds of foods of which they are permitted to partake are unobtainable, they may have to go a week without eating, although the family may be living in the midst of abundance.[1] They have their own cups and dishes, which men must be careful not to use or touch.[2] Four weeks before her confinement a woman retires to a separate hut which no man is allowed to approach; she remains there for a month after she has been delivered, and the father is then allowed to see his child for the first time. Should a woman be unexpectedly seized with labour pains, all the men leave off whatever work they are engaged in, and lend a hand to build a snow-hut as expeditiously as possible, for on no account may a woman be confined in an ordinary living hut.[3] Nor can she, during her period of seclusion, eat or drink in the open air, and even the remains of her meals must be disposed of inside the hut where she is secluded.[4] On the island of Kadiak, off the coast of

[1] F. C. Hall, *Arctic Researches*, pp. 569 sq.

[2] *Captain Jacobsen's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas*, ed. by A. Woldt, p. 245.

[3] H. W. Klutschak, *Als Eskimo unter den Eskimo*, pp. 233, 199.

[4] H. J. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, p. 54; D. Cranz, *The History of Greenland*, vol. i, p. 215. Cf. H. Egede, *A Description of Greenland*, p. 192; J. Murdoch, "Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition," *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 414; F. Boas,

Alaska, Lisiansky noted that women, during their menstrual period, had to retire to little huts, or hovels, built of reeds and grass, which were about 4 feet long, 2½ feet wide, and less than 3 feet high. There they remained during the whole of the period, and their food was reached out to them at the end of a stick. They were delivered in those same hovels, whatever the season of the year, and had to remain there for twenty days after the birth of the child.[1] Among the Tlinkit when a girl first menstruated she was immediately shut up in an isolated hut which no one dare approach, and she had to conform scrupulously to the most exacting observances. She was not permitted to lie down during the whole period of her seclusion, but had to sleep propped up with logs. Her face was smeared with charcoal, her head wrapped in a mat, and she had to be careful not to expose herself to the rays of the sun. She was not even permitted to chew her own food; this was masticated for her by her relatives, and the bolus supplied to her with every precaution constituted her only nourishment.[2] Holmberg was horrified at the manner in which Tlinkit women were treated when they became mothers. "At the time of child-birth, when women more than at any other time are in need of assistance," he says, "the Tlinkit females are driven out of the house and left to their fate, shunned by everybody as unclean. The child is born in the open air, no matter what the season, and only some time after birth is the mother allowed to enter a rude shelter erected for the purpose, where she is confined for ten days."[3] Among the Déné, "hardly any other being was the object of so much dread as a menstruating woman."[4] "In the eyes of our Indians," says Father Morice, "a woman affected thereby is the very incarnation of evil, a plague to be avoided at all costs,

"The Central Eskimo," *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 610; *id.*, "The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, xv, pt. i, pp. 125 sq.; P. H. Ray, *Report on an International Expedition to Point Barrow, Alaska*, p. 46; C. F. Hall, *Arctic Researches*, p. 568.

[1] U. Lisiansky, *A Voyage round the World*, pp. 200 sq.

[2] J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 428; F. Boas, "First General Report on the Indians of British Columbia," *Report of the Fifty-ninth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, pp. 830 sq.; G. A. Erman, "Ethnographische Wahrnehmungen und Erfahrungen an den Küsten des Berings-Meere," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, iii, pp. 318 sq.; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit Indianer*, p. 217; G. H. von Langsdorf, *Voyages and Travels in various parts of the World*, vol. ii, p. 133.

[3] H. J. Holmberg, "Ueber die Völker der russsiche Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv, pp. 316 sqq.

[4] A. G. Morice, "The Canadian Déné," *Annual Archaeological Report, Toronto*, 1905, p. 218.

a being with whom all contact, however innocent, and indirect, entails exceedingly dreadful consequences." [1] There is in every community a special hut to which all women must resort for isolation during their menstrual period. "This is a rigidly observed law with both single and married women." At the time of the first menstruation a girl remains isolated for two lunar months; she must not touch even her own food with her hands, and is provided with skewers for the purpose, and also with a small stick to scratch her head, for it would be dangerous for her to touch it. A special hut has also to be built for a woman during her confinement. If a woman is taken ill before a hut has been prepared for her, "she must bring forth in the snow, perhaps in the darkness of the night, and remain there until some humane person raises a shelter for mother and child." [2] Among the Pima Indians, menstruating women retire for several days among the bushes, where they build themselves a rough shelter.[3] Similar precautions are observed among the Indians of British Columbia.[4]

The seclusion of women in a special hut or shelter during the period of their menstruation was practised by all North American tribes. Harmon found it among all the tribes with which he was acquainted.[5] Of the Canadian tribes, Sir Alexander Mackenzie says: "They have a custom respecting the periodical state of a woman which is rigorously observed; at that time she must seclude herself from society. They are not even allowed in that situation to keep the same path as the men when travelling, and it is considered a great breach of decency for a woman so circumstanced to touch any utensils of manly occupation. Such a contact is supposed to defile them, so that their subsequent use would be followed by certain mischief and misfortune." [6] Among the Beaver Indians, "a woman in her menses lodges alone, and never stirs from her lodge. When decamping she must walk behind, and drop now and then branches of trees on the road to give notice to anyone who might happen to fall upon the same road, in order

[1] A. G. Morice, "The Great Déné Race," *Anthropos*, v, p. 971.

[2] Gavin Hamilton, "Customs of New Caledonian Women," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vii, pp. 206 sq. Cf. E. Petitot, *Autour du Grand Lac des Esclaves*, p. 42.

[3] F. Russell, "The Pima Indians," *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 183; cf. p. 185.

[4] F. Boas, "Third Report on the Indians of British Columbia," *Report of the Sixty-first Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, p. 405.

[5] D. W. Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America*, pp. 342 sq.

[6] A. Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Laurence through the Continent of North America*, p. cxxiii.

to prevent strangers from having sore legs and make them avoid this route." [1] Again, among the Mohawk Indians, "when a young woman finds herself come to a state of maturity, she retires to conceal herself with as much care as a criminal would take to keep out of the reach of justice, and when her mother or any other female relative perceives her absence, she will inform her female neighbours, and all will begin to search for the missing one. They are sometimes three or four days without finding her, all of which she passes in abstinence, and I really believe she would rather die than show herself before being found out." When found, she is given some provisions and a kettle in which to cook them; she must cook for herself, and not presume to return to the camp for fifteen or twenty days. The utensils used by her are kept for subsequent occasions, the same procedure being observed at every return of the menses. "The married women who come to a certain age have a little more indulgence when in this situation; they may sleep in the wigwam and may pass the whole day in it, but they must go and cook outside, and must not dare to touch the victuals of their husbands nor eat or drink out of the same vessel." [2] Speaking more particularly of the Naudowessies, Captain Carver says: "The Indian women are remarkably decent during their menstrual illness. In every camp or town there is an apartment appropriated for their retirement at those times, to which both single and married retreat and seclude themselves with the utmost strictness during the periods from all society. The men, on those occasions, most carefully avoid holding any commerce with them, and the Naudowessies are so rigid in that observance that they will not suffer any belonging to them to fetch such things as are necessary, even fire, from these female lunar retreats, though the want is attended with the greatest inconvenience." [3] "When a woman," says La Potherie, "is stricken with the malady common to her sex, all the fires in the hut are extinguished, the hearth is cleaned, and all the ashes are thrown outside, and a new fire is lit with a flint. She is obliged to dwell in a separate cabin and does not return home until after eight days. The first time that incommodity occurs a girl remains thirty days without seeing anyone except the women who look after her." [4] "When a Delaware girl is out of order for the first time," says Loskiel, "she must withdraw into a hut at some distance from the village. Her head is wrapped up for twelve days so that she

[1] G. Keith, "Letter to Roderick MacKenzie, Esq.," in L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, vol. ii, p. 91.

[2] D. Cameron, "The Nipigon Country, 1804," in L. R. Masson, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 250 sq.

[3] J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, pp. 224 sq.

[4] C. C. de Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Histoire de l'Amérique septentrionale*, vol. ii, p. 32.

can see nobody, and she must submit to purges, vomits and fastings, and abstain from all labour." [1] Speaking of the more southerly plains tribes, Major Marston says: "The women of these nations are very particular to remove from their lodge to one erected for the particular purpose when their menstrual time approaches; no article of furniture which is used in the hut is ever used in any other, not even the steel and flint with which to strike fire. No Indian ever approaches the lodge when a woman occupies it." [2] "None of the subsisting Indian customs," says Schoolcraft, "are more significant than those connected with the menstrual lodge. None exercises a more important influence on the circle of the wigwam." [3] The women, says Father Lafitau, "are treated as lepers." [4]

The same usages and ideas prevail amongst the natives of Central and South America. Among the Bribri Indians of Costa Rica a menstruating woman must not use any household utensil, but must make shift with banana leaves, which are afterwards carefully buried, for it is believed that if any cow should happen to eat such a leaf, it would inevitably die. A woman is confined in a lonely hut where she is segregated from all communication except with her mother or some other female attendant.[5] In the Windward Islands Nuñez observed that "when women have their natural purgations, they provide food for themselves only, for no other person would eat of what they have touched." [6] Among the Caribbean tribes, a woman was confined in a hut in the forest, and isolated from a week to two months; she might not handle her own food.[7] The Mosquito Indian woman must quit the village for a week, and live in an isolated hut in the forest, and her food is brought to her because it would be dangerous for her to cook

[1] G. H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America*, p. 56.

[2] "Letter of Major Marston to Rev. Dr. Morse," in E. H. Blair, *The Indian Tribes of the Mississippi Valley and the Region of the Great Lakes*, vol. ii, pp. 170 sq.

[3] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. v, p. 70.

[4] J. F. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. i, p. 262. For other references to the customs, see J. O. Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 267; *Relations des Jésuites*, 1616, p. 14; R. Hearne, *Journey from the Prince of Wales's Fort to the Northern Ocean*, pp. 313 sq.; N. Denys, *Description géographique et historique des costes de l'Amérique septentrionale*, vol. ii, p. 379; G. Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians*, vol. ii, p. 233.

[5] H. Pittier de Fabrega, "Die Sprache der Bribri-Indianer in Costa Rica," *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie, Wien*, cxxxviii, pp. 20 sq.

[6] Alvaro Nuñez, "Relation," in G. B. Ramusio, *Navigationi et Viaggi*, vol. iii, fols. 323 sq.

[7] H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. i, pp. 733 sq.

for herself.[1] Among the Macusi of Guiana, girls and women are, during menstruation, regarded as impure. They must do no work, nor must they go in the forest, for they would be sure to be attacked by snakes. A girl at her first menstruation must remain all day in her hammock, which is placed near the smoke vent so as to be thoroughly fumigated; at night she may rise and cook a little food for herself. The vessels which she has used are broken directly after, and the sherds carefully buried. At childbirth a woman removes to a hut prepared for her. She is regarded as highly impure and must not put her hand to any work, nor must she scratch her head except with a stick provided for the purpose.[2] Among the Guayquiry of the Orinoco, menstruous women were secluded, and a girl before marriage had to fast for forty days. In explaining the practice to Father Gumilla, a Guayquiry chief said: "Our fathers observed that everything on which they happen to step when they are in the state of menstruation withers and dries up; and if any man trod where they have set their foot his legs began to swell. And having sought and devised a remedy, they appointed that, in order that women's bodies should not contain this poison, we should make them fast, as you have seen, for forty days. For thus they are thoroughly dried up, and are no longer dangerous, or at least not so much as they formerly were."[3] Among many Brazilian tribes a girl at her first menstruation is suspended in a hammock under the roof of the hut, and subjected to the most severe fumigation as well as being starved. Thus among the Guaranis the girls were sewn up in their hammock in the same manner as those tribes sew up corpses, only the smallest opening being left to allow them to breathe; they were suspended over the fire in that condition for several days.[4] The same method was employed by the Mundrucus and other tribes of the Amazon.[5] "The Tucúnas," says Bates, "have the singular custom, in common with the Collinos and the Manhes, of treating the young girls on their showing the first signs of womanhood as if they had committed some crime." It not infrequently happens that the unfortunate girls die under the severity of the process of disinfection to which they are subjected.[6] Those observances are, among the tribes of South America, as among many other peoples, carried out most

[1] C. N. Bell, "The Mosquito Territory," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxxii, p. 254.

[2] R. Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, vol. ii, pp. 315 sq., 313 sq.

[3] J. Gumilla, *El Orinoco ilustrado*, vol. i, p. 181.

[4] A. Ruiz de Montoya, *Conquista espiritual hecha por los religiosos de la Compañia de Jesús en las provincias del Paraguay, Parana, Uruguay, y Tape*, p. 14.

[5] C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, vol. i, p. 402.

[6] H. W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons*, vol. ii, pp. 405 sq.

elaborately on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation; the thorough and radical process of disinfection which she undergoes at that time being thought to minimise in some measure her harmful influence during subsequent recurrences of the condition. The Arawaks explain that if proper measures are taken on the occasion of the first menstruation, subsequent periods will only last a couple of days, whereas if any carelessness has been shown on the first occasion the menstrual period will last a week.[1] The tribes of the Uaupe river have special isolation huts for the use of menstruating women, and confinements likewise take place with due regard to complete isolation.[2] Among the Guaranos menstruating women are similarly secluded in special huts, and their food is brought and deposited near.[3] Among the Ticunas the girls are shut up, when they menstruate, in a dark hut, all their hair is plucked out, and they are subjected by the women to a severe flagellation.[4] Among the Araucanians of Chili, a menstruous woman was tabu; she was debarred from attending places of public amusement, and was not on any account to visit a sick person, lest her presence might give the 'coup de grace' to the invalid.[5] In the province of Canelos, in Ecuador, "as soon as a woman feels the first pains of childbirth she retires into the forest, three or four leagues away from her home, where a hut of leaves has been prepared for her. This exile is the effect of the Indians' superstition, for they are persuaded that an evil spirit would fasten on their houses if their women went through their confinement within the house."[6] Among the Coroados, childbirth must likewise take place in a carefully secluded spot in the depth of the forest, and special care must be taken to protect it from the light of the moon.[7] Among the Fuegians women must fast and keep apart during menstruation. On no account can they be confined within the huts, but must go out, whatever the weather, to be delivered in the woods. For twenty days afterwards their husbands are forbidden to speak a word to them, unless

[1] C. van Coll, "Matrimonia indigenarum Surinamensium," *Anthropos*, ii, p. 41.

[2] H. A. Coudreau, *La France équinoxiale*, vol. ii, p. 171. Cf. A. R. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, p. 345.

[3] L. Plassard, "Les Guaranos et le delta de l'Orinoque," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 5e Série, xv, p. 584.

[4] P. Marcoy, *Voyages à travers l'Amérique du Sud de l'Océan Pacifique à l'Océan Atlantique*, vol. ii, p. 318.

[5] T. Guevara, "Folklore Araucano," *Annales de la Universidad de Chile*, cxxvii, pp. 20 sq.

[6] Levrault, "Rapport sur les provinces de Canélos et du Napo," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 2e Série, xi, p. 74.

[7] J. B. von Spix and C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Reise in Brasilien*, vol. i, p. 381.

they are first spoken to by the woman.[1] MM. Hyades and Deniker favour us with the explanation that those observances are owing to " un sentiment instinctif de pudeur, poussant les femmes à subir les souffrances du froid plutôt que de supporter la présence des hommes et la promiscuité des huttes au moment où elles accouchent." [2]

The unconscious humour of this last interpretation may perhaps be appreciated by comparing the practice of the Fuegian women with that observed in Kamchatka. Like the former, and most other primitive females, the women of Kamchatka also are under the obligation of leaving their commodious huts on the occasion of their confinement; but the place which they choose for their delivery is no other than the public street of the village. " The women are delivered upon their knees, in presence of as many people as are in the village, without distinction of age or sex." [3] They are accounted impure and are segregated from their husbands during menstruation.[4] Among the Chukchi a woman is rigorously secluded during childbirth, and no one must on any account render her any assistance except in cases of the utmost necessity, when an old woman is permitted to attend. The tabu is not removed until the mother has offered a sacrifice and purified herself with the blood of a reindeer.[5] Among the Yukaghir a woman is tabu during menstruation and after childbirth, and must be careful not to touch any hunting or fishing implements.[6] A Koryak woman is unclean during menstruation and her touch would deprive a shaman's drum of its virtue.[7] For ten days, or according to another report for a month after being confined, she must on no account be seen by anyone, and if the clan is obliged to move, she is carried in a covered sledge.[8] Among the Gilyak a woman " never dares to give birth to a child at home; she must, in spite of the severity of season or stormy weather, go out of the hut for the purpose." [9]

[1] A. Cojazzi, *Los Indios del Archipielago Fueguino*, p. 55; D. Lovisato, " Appunti etnografici . . . sulla Terra del Fuoco," *Cosmos di Guido Cora*, viii, p. 150; Ph. Hahn, " La mère et l'enfant chez les Fuégiens du Sud (Yaghan)," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, 3e Série, vi, p. 150; T. von Bischoff, " Bermerkungen über die Geschlechtsverhältnisse der Feuerlander," *Sitzungsberichte der Kön. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Mathematisch-physikalische Classe*, 1882, p. 245.

[2] P. Hyades and J. Deniker, in *Mission scientifique du Cap Horn*, vol. vii, p. 377.

[3] S. P. Krasheninnikoff, *The History of Kamtschatka*, p. 216.

[4] G. W. Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka*, pp. 347 sq.

[5] W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, pp. 509, 106.

[6] W. Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirised Tungus*, p. 101.

[7] Id., *The Koryak*, p. 54.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 101; S. P. Krasheninnikoff, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

[9] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 137, after L. Von Schrenck. Cf. B. Pilsudski, " Schwangerschaft, Entbindung und Fehlgeburt bei den

Among the Samoyeds and the Ostyak, women, who at ordinary times do the whole of the work, must not, at their menstrual periods, touch anything which is for the use of the men. They are segregated in an inner chamber of the 'yurta,' and must be purified by fumigation with burnt reindeer hair before resuming their duties. At childbirth they may not eat any fresh meat, for the animals would thereby be affected, but must content themselves with salted provisions. In order to insure against all possible risks they must not, even at ordinary times, stand over the reindeer whilst unloading a sledge, but must undo the straps from below. After they have erected a 'yurta,' it must be fumigated before the men can enter it.[1] Similar restrictions are observed among the Kirghis.[2] In Bokhara the women are reputed impure for forty days after their delivery; "they would not even dare to pray to God while that supposed impurity lasts."[3] In the Caucasus, among the Chevsurs, there is at some distance from every village a rough stone hut thatched with straw; thither every Chevsur girl or woman betakes herself for two days when she is menstruating. She wears her oldest clothes; and her provisions are brought to her and put down at some distance from the hut. For her confinement a special shelter is built for her by other women, at a distance of two or three 'versts' from the village; she is delivered there on straw entirely unattended; women bring food, which is left in front of the hut, for on no account must they hold any communication with her. The hut and its contents are afterwards burnt.[4] Those customs are general throughout the Caucasus; Circassian women are also invariably delivered on a bed of straw.[5] In Russia a woman, after delivery, is regarded as being in a state of impurity and may not hold any communication with others until she has been purified by a priest;[6] in the province of Smolensk she is confined in a barn or in a hut at some distance from the house.[7] In Serbia likewise, birth takes place invariably out of doors, no matter what the weather or the severity of the season. When she feels the first indications of labour, a

Bewohnern der Insel Sachalin (Giljaken und Ainu)," *Anthropos*, v, pp. 756 sqq.; J. G. Georgi, *Description de toutes les nations de l'Empire de Russie*, vol. iii, p. 15.

[1] P. S. Pallas, *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs*, vol. iii, p. 77.

[2] Ploss-Bartels, *Das Weib*, vol. ii, p. 353.

[3] *L'État présent de la Boucharie*, p. 22.

[4] G. Radde, *Die Chewsuren und ihr Land*, pp. 79 sqq., 240.

[5] Giorgio Interiano, "Della vita de Zychi, Chiamati i Circassi," in G. B. Ramusio, *Secondo Volume delle Navigationi et Viaggi*, fol. 141.

[6] N. de Gerbtzoff, *Essai sur l'Histoire de la Civilisation en Russie*, vol. i, p. 399.

[7] O. Bartels, 'Aus dem Leben der weissrussischen Landbevölkerung im Gouvernement Smolensk," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxv, p. 650.

woman " quietly and silently departs in order not to pollute the house. She returns, after the separation of the afterbirth, with the baby in her apron." [1] Among the Tibetan tribes of Lob Nor the same customs obtain. " When a child is to be born, the mother is driven from the village in which she lives and is compelled to take up her abode in some roadside hut or cave in the open country; a scanty supply of food, furnished by her husbands, being brought to her by the other women of the tribe." [2]

The Hebrews attached the greatest importance to the primitive tabu. " If a woman have an issue, and her issue in her flesh be blood, she shall be put apart seven days; and whosoever toucheth her shall be unclean until even. And everything that she lieth upon in her separation shall be unclean; everything also that she sitteth upon shall be unclean. And whosoever toucheth her bed shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. And whosoever toucheth anything that she sat upon shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. . . . And on the eighth day she shall take unto her two turtles, or two young pigeons, and bring them unto the priest, to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation. And the priest shall offer the one for a sin offering and the other for a burnt offering; and the priest shall make an atonement for her before the Lord for the issue of her uncleanness." [3] In ancient Arabia similar precautions were observed, and the menstruous woman was isolated in a special hut.[4]

In ancient Persia the tabus on menstrual and puerperal women were extremely strict, and the Zoroastrian sacred books enter into minute details concerning them. The very glance from the eye of a menstruous woman was regarded as polluting whatever thing it fell on, " for a fiend so violent is that fiend of menstruation that, where another fiend does not smite anything with a look, it smites with a look." [5] Hence a menstruating woman must not look upon a fire, or upon water, or converse with any man. Women in ancient Persia were confined to an isolated portion of the house, known as ' dashtanistan,' during menstruation, and had to remain there until twenty-four hours after the cessation of the menses. No fire was to be kindled in the house during that period, and they were to remain at least fifteen paces away from any fire

[1] J. Valenta, " Volkskrankheiten und ärztliche Zustande in Serbien," *Mittheilungen der kais. und königl. geographische Gesellschaft in Wien*, xv, p. 166.

[2] W. J. Reid, " Among the Farthest People," *The Cosmopolitan*, xxviii, p. 450.

[3] *Leviticus*, xv. 19–22, 29, 30.

[4] J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, pp. 170 sq.

[5] *Shâyast Lâ-Shâyast*, iii. 27 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. v, p. 27).

or any water; all wood was to be removed from the place, and the floors strewn with dust. Her food had to be cooked separately; when it was handed to her, the attendant might not approach her nearer than three paces, and before receiving it she was to wrap her hand in a cloth. After the period was over all the clothes which she had been wearing must be destroyed, and she must be purified by being washed with bull's urine. Any attempt on the part of a man to break through those tabus is compared in the Zend-Avesta to the most unimaginable crimes, such as burning the corpse of one's own son, and any man guilty of such infamy was publicly flogged.[1] The tabus attaching to childbirth were exactly similar; a woman was regarded as tabu for forty days after delivery.[2] It may be suspected that in pre-Zoroastrian times the exclusion of the male was even more rigorous and that it extended, as with many savage tribes, throughout the whole period of lactation. The rule mentioned by Herodotus that a man might not see his own child until he was five years old, probably refers to such a lengthy exclusion of the man from the house of his wife.[3] The modern Parsis still observe most of the rules of their ancestors. A woman is strictly confined during her menstrual period to a special darkened apartment, and no fire and no living creature must be in her neighbourhood. Not long since there were in Parsi communities public menstrual houses where women resorted at their periods. The women had to remain entirely silent, and their food was handed to them with every precaution from a distance.[4]

The Hindus take as serious a view of the impurity of a menstrual woman as did the Persians. According to the 'Laws of Manu,' a man becomes impure by touching "a menstruating woman, an outcast, a woman in childbed, or a corpse."[5] It is laid down in the 'Institutes of Vishnu' that if a woman in her courses should touch an Aryan, she shall be lashed with a whip.[6] A menstruating woman is impure for three days and nights. "She shall not apply collyrium to her eyes, nor anoint her body, nor bathe in water; she shall sleep on the ground; she shall not sleep in the daytime, nor touch the fire, nor make a rope, nor clean her teeth, nor eat

[1] *Zend-Avesta, Vendidad*, Fargad, xvi. i. 1 sqq., iii. 17 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. iv, pp. 185 sqq., 188 sq.); *Shâyast Lâ-Shâyast*, ii. 96, iii. 1, 24 sqq., 30, 35 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. v, pp. 270); *Sad Dar*, xli. 2–3 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxiv, pp. 302 sq.).

[2] *Shâyast Lâ-Shâyast*, iii. 20–25 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. v, pp. 280 sq.).

[3] Herodotus, i. 136.

[4] R. Schmidt, *Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien*, p. 216.

[5] *The Laws of Manu*, v. 85 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxv, p. 183).

[6] *The Institutes of Vishnu*, v. 105 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. vii, p. 34).

meat, nor look at the planets, nor smile, nor busy herself with household affairs, nor run; she shall drink out of a large vessel, or out of her joined hands, or out of a copper vessel." [1] On the first day of her course she is as impure as a pariah; on the second day she must regard herself as impure as one who should have murdered a Brahman.[2] "The wisdom, the energy, the strength, the sight, and the vitality of a man who approaches a woman covered with menstrual excretions utterly perish." [3] Among the Hindus of the Panjab a girl at her first menstruation, which normally takes place after her marriage, is locked up in a dark room, and on no account must she touch anyone, or use milk, oil or meat, until she has been purified by elaborate rites.[4]

The segregation of menstruating women is observed even more rigorously by the aboriginal races of India than by the Arya Hindus. Thus among the Gonds there is, or was until lately, a building out of sight of the village to which women in this condition retired. Their relatives brought them food and deposited it outside the hut, and not until they had gone away did a woman dare to come out and take it. It was believed that the greatest evils would befall anyone who looked upon a woman during her state of impurity.[5] Similar precautions are observed by the Santals and the Mundas.[6] Among the Gari, a low caste of Bengal, "every girl and woman, as soon as she notices that her period has appeared, slinks away from her home and betakes herself to a small hut built of reeds in a secluded spot in the fields, before which a cloth hangs as a curtain. As long as her menstruation lasts she is fed by another person." [7] Among the Kamar, when a woman is menstruating, no man belonging to the same household can enter a temple or perform any act of worship without having previously had a bath.[8] Barbosa describes the elaborate ritual which was observed by Nayar women at their mentrual period. They remained segregated in a special apartment, they had their own cups and plates kept for their use at the time, and had to be fed by another woman. When the quarantine was over they washed in warm water and changed their clothing; they

[1] *Vasishta*, v. 5–6 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. vii, p. 32).

[2] J. A. Dubois, *Moeurs, Institutions et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde*, vol. ii, p. 533.

[3] *The Laws of Manu*, iv. 41 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. v, p. 135).

[4] H. A. Rose, "Hindu Pregnancy Observances in the Punjab," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv, p. 271.

[5] R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, vol. iii, p. 83. Cf. vol. iv, p. 67.

[6] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 191, 279, 214.

[7] J. B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, vol. iii, p. 180.

[8] R. V. Russell, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 326 sq.

then proceeded to a pool outside the house and washed once more, and once again they changed all their clothing. Not until after those repeated purifications could they rejoin the company of their mothers and sisters. The apartment in which they had remained was disinfected with cow-dung before it was regarded as safe for anyone to enter it. Similar precautions were taken at childbirth.[1] Relics of these observances survive at the present day, and a woman cannot enter a sacred place for forty days after her confinement.[2] Among the Adivi, the most elaborate precautions are taken to isolate a woman for ninety days after childbirth. A hut is built for her in a lonely spot and no one may attend on her; her food is deposited near.[3] Among the Pulay caste, a menstruating woman is segregated for seven days in an isolated hut which even her mother dare not enter.[4]

The wild races of the Malay Peninsula have the same notions of the dangers attaching to the condition of women during menstruation and childbirth. Among the Orang Belenda and the Orang Laut a separate hut is built for a woman's confinement, in which she remains strictly secluded for a fortnight. When moving camp the duty of carrying lighted sticks to kindle a new fire is entrusted in those nomadic tribes to the young girls, but those vestals are disqualified from that important function when menstruating. Women during their period are confined to a hut, no man would dare to come near, nor must they cook for a man or touch anything belonging to him, and the vessels which they use must be carefully kept separate.[5]

Among the Bushmen a menstruating woman is an object of terror, and the community is protected by her complete segregation.[6] Hottentot women also retire during menstruation to a rough shelter and hold no communication with anyone.[7] Among the Kaffirs of South Africa women are entirely secluded for six days at their periods and, by a curious regulation, have to

[1] Duarte Barbosa, "Navigationi," in G. B. Ramusio, *Navigationi et Viaggi*, vol. i, fol. 341 sq.

[2] K. M. Panikkar, "Some Aspects of Nayar Life," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlviii, p. 273.

[3] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. ii, pp. 287 sq.

[4] F. Jagor, "Einige Sklaven-Kaste in Malabar," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x, p. 237.

[5] H. Vaughan Stevens, "Mittheilungen aus dem Frauenleben der Orang Belenda, der Orang Djakun und der Orang Laut, bearbeited von M. Bartels," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxviii, pp. 165, 168, 170 sq.

[6] W. H. I. Bleek, *A Brief Account of Bushman Folk-lore and other Texts*, p. 14.

[7] F. Le Vaillant, *Voyages dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique*, vol. ii, pp. 56 sq.; E. Müller, *Reise der Novara, Anthropologie*, vol. iii, p. 118.

be particularly careful at that time not to touch or even see cow-dung. They are not permitted to speak above a whisper.[1] Among the Ovaherero, as soon as a woman is delivered she is transferred to a specially built hut, and no man is permitted to come near.[2] Among the Baila of Rhodesia a menstruating woman must not sit down in other people's company; on no account may she touch her husband's bed, but must sleep on the floor; nor can she cook any food for him.[3] Among the Yao of British Central Africa, "when the time of a child's birth draws near, the mother does not stay in her house or even in the village. Accompanied by one or two female friends, she goes forth to seek retirement in the great forest."[4] Among the Wakonde a mother was segregated and regarded as impure for a month.[5] Among the Akikuyu if a woman menstruates in a hut, even if it has just been built, it is at once pulled down and destroyed as unfit for human habitation.[6] Among the Bakongo "it was the custom for women and girls to live apart periodically in a special house, so as to isolate them from all contact and converse with men."[7] Among the Warega women may not give birth except in a special hut built for the purpose in the forest.[8] In Loango there is a hut in the middle of the village for the seclusion of women during menstruation. A woman might be confined in her own hut, but not only are the men strictly forbidden to approach it at such a time, but all the neighbouring huts are deserted by their inhabitants on such occasions.[9] In Angola a woman during menstruation "is regarded as impure and remains concealed from all eyes. She must be shut up during six days without being seen by anyone. If by inadvertence or otherwise she allowed herself to be seen, she would have to begin the six days all over again"[10] In Ashanti "during the menses the women of the capital retire to the plantations or crooms in the bush. The women of Ahanta, on the same occasion, are prohibited from entering any inhabited place, and if they attempt to go into a house are heavily fined

[1] J. Macdonald, "Manners and Customs of South African Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx, pp. 116, 118.

[2] E. Dannert, "Customs of the Ovaherero at the Birth of a Child," *Folklore Journal* (South Africa), ii, p. 63.

[3] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, pp. 26 sq.

[4] D. Macdonald, *Africana*, vol. i, p. 113.

[5] H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 417.

[6] C. W. Hobley, "Further Researches into Kikuyu and Karba Religious Beliefs," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xli, p. 409.

[7] J. H. Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, p. 108.

[8] C. Delhaise, *Les Warega*, p. 149.

[9] E. Pechuël-Loesche, "Indiscretes aus Loango," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x, pp. 23, 29.

[10] L. Degrandpré, *Voyage à la côte occidentale d'Afrique*, p. 102.

or punished. If the family is respectable they generally erect a temporary shed to shelter her. The poorer class are forced to endure the inclemencies of the weather without retreat." [1] On the Gold Coast " they have a custom worthy of remark, established from time immemorial among the negroes of this coast ; it is that every village has a hut at a distance of about a hundred yards which is called the ' burnamon,' into which all the girls and women without exception are obliged to retire, secluded from communication with anyone, until their purgations have entirely ceased ; after which they are free to return to their homes. The necessaries of life are brought to them, as if they were stricken with the plague. And they would not on any account keep this infirmity hidden when it comes, for it would be as much as their life is worth if it were discovered that they had prepared food for their husbands during that time." [2] Even queens reigning in their own right and royal princesses leave their residences at their menstrual period, and, clad in miserable rags, betake themselves to an isolated hut in some lonely spot.[3] Among the Latuka any blood that had fallen on the ground during childbirth had to be picked up with a shovel and buried as deep as possible.[4]

Among the Menangkabau of Sumatra if a woman were to go near a rice-field while she is menstruating the crop would fail.[5] In Ceram a special hut is built by the side of the river, where all women and girls must remain secluded for seven days during their menstrual period ; [6] but on no account are they to eat any fish from the river. Not many years ago a young woman was solemnly tried on the charge of having eaten a fish while she was unclean ; she was condemned and executed in the presence of the people, by being thrown from a rock into the river.[7] In the island of Wetar

[1] T. E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*, p. 252.

[2] G. Loyer, *Relation du voyage du royaume d'Issyny, Côte d'Or, Païs de Guinée*, etc., p. 168. Cf. B. Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa*, vol. ii, pp. 212 sq. ; A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-Speaking People*, p. 206 ; W. Bosman, " A new and accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea," in Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, vol. xvi, p. 423 ; J. F. Landolphe, *Mémoires du Capitaine Landolphe contenant l'histoire de ses voyages*, vol. ii, p. 51 (Benin).

[3] P. Pogge, *Im Reiche des Muata Jambo*, p. 243 ; R. M. Connolly, " Social Life in Fanti-Land," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi, p. 146.

[4] F. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pasha ins Herz von Afrikas*, p. 795.

[5] J. L. Van der Toorn, " Het animisme bij dem Minangkabauer der Padangsche Bovenlanden," *Bijdragen tot de taal- land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxix, p. 66.

[6] A. van Ekris, " Iets over Ceram en de Alfoeren," *Bijdragen tot de taal-land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, N.S., i, p. 80 ; W. G. Boot, " Korte schets der Nord-Kust van Ceram," *Tijdschrift van het Kon. Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 2e Ser., x, p. 814.

[7] F. J. P. Sachse, *Het eiland Seran en zijne bewoners*, p. 70. Cf. p. 110.

menstruous women were secluded in special huts:[1] in Watubela they were confined to a shelter built behind the house ; they were regarded with the utmost dread, and had strictly to abstain from going into the padi fields. They were precluded from taking part in the family worship.[2] They are similarly regarded as impure at Luang-Sermata ;[3] and in Aru they must on no account plant seeds, or cook food, nor are they even allowed to wash. Complete seclusion is observed at childbirth.[4] In the island of Nias a woman is strictly tabu and must not engage in any work during the whole duration of her pregnancy and for eight months thereafter.[5]

Among the Visayans of the Philippine Islands, when a woman is overtaken by the pains of childbirth, everything is removed from the house in the same way as is done by the natives when someone is dying ; for unless this were done the weapons would no longer be efficient, the fishing-nets would catch no more fish, and, last but not least, the fighting-cocks, which are the most valued possession of those people, would no longer be able to fight.[6] In the Caroline Islands women remain secluded and wrapped up in mats from head to foot during the whole duration of their pregnancy. The seclusion continues for at least five or six months after delivery, during which time no man dares to come near them. They may not paint their faces nor anoint their hair, and during the whole period they are regarded as unfit to undertake any cooking. All women and girls must perform periodical ablutions in fresh-water pools specially reserved for that purpose. Were a man to touch so much as a drop of water from those pools it would be quite impossible for him ever to catch any fish.[7] In the island of Yap a special hut is reserved in every village for the use of women during their periods.[8] In Nauru, one of the Gilbert Islands, not only is the common rule observed that on no account may food be eaten that has been touched by a tabu woman, but it is considered that the nuts on any of the trees growing within a radius of a hundred feet from a place where such a woman is dwelling are utterly unfit for human consumption.[9] Segregation of women in special huts

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 450.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 208.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 313.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 249, 263.

[5] A. Maas, "Ta-kä-käi-käi Tabu," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxvii, pp. 155 sq.

[6] W. H. Millington and B. L. Maxfield, "Philippine Superstition," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xix, p. 209.

[7] G. L. D. de Rienzi, *Océanie*, vol. ii, pp. 178 sq.

[8] A. Senfft, "Die Rechtsitte der Jap Eingeborenen," *Globus*, xci, pp. 142 sq.

[9] A. Brandeis, "Ethnographische Beobachtungen über die Nauru-Insularen," *Globus*, xci, p. 77.

at the time of their courses is rigidly enforced in the Marshall Islands.[1]

In the northern part of New Guinea, which formerly belonged to Germany, women and girls are regarded as unclean during menstruation; they sit apart and may not cook for anyone until they have undergone purification. In the Kai tribe they live by themselves in little huts in the forest, and must not approach a cultivated field. The same tabus apply to women at childbirth.[2] Among some of the tribes on the western coast of Dutch New Guinea a menstruating woman is not allowed to use the staircase or ladder which leads to the platform on which the native houses are built; she is obliged to reach it by climbing up one of the poles.[3] Special isolation huts are provided for the delivery of women in childbirth, and they are kept strictly isolated in them for ten to twenty days.[4] Among the inland tribes of the Rigo district childbirth takes place in the bush; the woman returns to her home after a few days, but the husband is not allowed to enter it for a month. She may not prepare food for herself, and must not touch it when it is served to her, but is provided with sticks to be used as forks.[5] The same rules are observed in the Roro and Mekeo districts. A woman who is menstruating must wrap her hands in a cloth when handling gourds; and in order to pass anything to her it is placed at the end of a stick.[6]

In New Caledonia "a woman is isolated from the world during her catamenia and during her confinement. She is then tabu and regarded as impure. Everything she touches is defiled and will not cease to be so until ablutions made according to a certain formula and with the use of certain herbs have purified her. In the neighbourhood of every village there is a hut specially reserved for women who suffer from their monthly illness. Another hut equally isolated

[1] A. Erdland, "Die Stellung der Frauen in den Hauptlingsfamilien der Marshallinseln (Südsee)," *Anthropos*, iv, pp. 110 sq.

[2] F. Vormann, "Zur Psychologie, Religion, Sociologie und Geschichte der Momembo-Papua," *Anthropos*, v, p. 410. Cf. R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, vol. iii, p. 91.

[3] C. Meyners d'Estrey, "Moeurs et coutumes des Arfda," *Annales de l'Extrême Orient*, i, p. 18.

[4] Id., *La Papouaisie, ou Nouvelle-Guinée occidentale*, p. 74.

[5] C. G. Seligman, "The Medicine, Surgery, and Midwifery of the Sinaugolo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii, pp. 301 sq. Uncivilised peoples think that Europeans are tabu, or that their fingers secrete poison, for they cannot account in any other way for the Europeans' objection to eating with their fingers and for their practice of using forks (W. Crooke, *Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, vol. ii, p. 9).

[6] Père Guis, "Les Canaques, ce qu'ils font, ce qu'ils disent," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xxx, p. 119.

is used for them in childbirth." [1] In New Georgia, " when a native woman expects a little one, the women of her village build her a small leaf-house away in the bush, no man being allowed to touch it, and there in the dirt and damp, with the rain often pouring through the roof, her child is brought into the world. No man is allowed near the place, and the father does not see his child for at least fifteen days. The women perform some sort of religious ceremony with sprinkling of blood, etc., but the meaning of this does not appear very clear to them." [2] In the Solomon Islands, in the Bougainville Group, a woman is completely secluded for two years after having given birth to a child and must not even be seen by anyone during that time.[3] In New Britain, when a birth has taken place in the village, all the men must undergo thorough disinfection; they assemble at the club-house, where they subject themselves to an elaborate fumigation and rinse out their mouths with ginger. They hope in this way to minimise the effects of the infection to which the village has been exposed.[4] In Fiji everything which a pregnant woman touches becomes tabu; she is excluded from the company of men, even her husband, until her child has been weaned.[5] The same precautions are observed in the islands of the Loyalty Group.[6]

Throughout Polynesia menstruous women were tabu and separated from men.[7] In Hawaii every woman retires into the bush for three days at her periods; even queens are not exempted, and they must also withdraw to the woods directly after delivery and remain there for ten days, during which they must on no account be seen by a man.[8] In Tonga " females after childbirth and during other periods of infirmity were enjoined strict separation, and were subjected to ceremonial purification." [9] In Tahiti a menstruating woman is tabu and, although she does not leave the hut, she remains entirely separated from her husband. Childbirth takes place in a special

[1] V. de Rochas, *La Nouvelle Calédonie et ses habitants*, p. 283. Cf. Lambert, *Moeurs et superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens*, p. 100.

[2] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, pp. 34 sq.

[3] R. Parkinson, *Zur Ethnographie der nordwestlichen Salomo Inseln (Abhandlungen und Berichte des Königl. zoologischen und anthropologisch-ethnographischen Museums zu Dresden*, vol. vii, No. 6), p. 8; Id., *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, p. 482.

[4] P. Rascher, " Die Sulka," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, xxix, p. 212; R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, p. 180.

[5] E. Rougier, " Maladies et médecine à Fiji, autrefois et aujourd'hui," *Anthropos*, ii, pp. 996 sq.

[6] W. W. Gill, " Childbirth Customs of the Loyalty Islands," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix, p. 503.

[7] G. Waitz and G. Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, vol. vi, p. 131.

[8] A. Campbell, *A Voyage round the World*, p. 190.

[9] T. West, *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, p. 254.

hut erected within the house and elaborately fumigated. Mother and child are removed directly after to a hut erected on tabu ground, and remain there until the navel-string drops off. During that time the mother touches no provisions, but must be fed by another woman. Should any person touch her or the child they must undergo purification.[1] If a near female relative calls on the mother at that time, she must take off all her clothes before entering the hut, from fear of carrying infection.[2] In the Samoa group a puerperal woman has likewise to be isolated and fed by another person.[3] In New Zealand menstruating women were isolated for some time. The sleeping places of women were regarded as unclean. "Son!" said an old Maori, "never recline on the resting-place of a woman; such places are unclean. The blood of woman is there. They are the undoing of men. But should you happen to do so, then be sure that you conciliate your ancestors, that they may restore your sight and continue to guard and preserve you from evil." A menstruating woman could not take part in the cultivation of the 'hue' plant, for if she went among them, those plants would certainly die; and if she went on the beach, shell-fish would at once desert it and migrate to another part.[4] On no account might a woman be delivered in the house; she would have a special hut constructed, or retire to the tabu hut in the middle of the 'pah'; in most cases she was delivered in the open air.[5] She was strictly tabu for a month, and had to be fed by another woman No visitor was allowed to approach her, and even the child could not be touched by another woman. "As for the father, he was treated as the veriest stranger." When the child was 'baptised' by the 'tohunga' the mother had, during the ceremony, to turn her back.[6]

In Australia, among the Pennefather, Margaret Bay, and Prosperpine River tribes, a menstruating girl is buried up to her waist in a pit in the sand; a fence of brushwood is built round her, and no one would think of coming near. She is fed by her mother, and is provided with a stick or a shell to scratch herself, as she must on

[1] J. Wilson, *Missionary Voyages to the Southern Pacific Ocean*, pp. 353 sq., 361.

[2] J. A. Moerenhout, *Voyages auxîles du Grand Océan*, vol. i, p. 535.

[3] G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 276.

[4] E. Best, "The Lore of the Whare-Kohanga," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, xiv, pp. 212 sq., 215.

[5] E. Tregear, "The Maoris of New Zealand," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix, p. 98; J. Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, vol. i, pp. 272 sq.; E. Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, p. 122; F. Müller, *Reise der Osterreichischen Fregatte Novara, Anthropologie*, vol. iii, p. 55; M. J. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyages de la corvette l'Astrolabe*, vol. ii, p. 441; S. Marsden, in *The Missionary Register*, 1816, p. 500.

[6] C. O. B. Davis, *Maori Mementoes*, p. 195 n.

no account touch her own body with her hands.[1] In the Boulia district women during menstruation sleep out of the camp by themselves. Their condition is known as 'kim-ba ma-ro,' that is, the 'blood-possessor.' "The Milakoodi women at the time keep strictly to themselves out of the camp and will not even walk along the same track as the men."[2] Among the tribes of New South Wales the menstruous woman "segregates herself for a time; she must not cook any food for others, for everything she touches is unclean. She lies on the opposite side of the fire to her husband; and a blackfellow moving in the bush will go a long distance round about to avoid her tracks in such a case; if she sees him drawing near her in ignorance, she must call out to warn him, lest contact even of the faintest kind should make his hair turn permanently grey or bring other evils."[3] Among the tribes of Victoria a menstruating woman withdraws from the camp to a special hut. She must not walk where men are likely to pass, she must not touch any water or timber, nor any object that may be used by men. Before returning she must have a bath.[4] During her confinement not only does her husband go and live elsewhere, but all the neighbouring huts are deserted.[5] In the Wakelbura tribe of south-eastern Australia women are not permitted to approach the camp by the same path as the men. "The reason for this is the dread with which they regard the menstrual period of women. During such time a woman is kept entirely away from the camp, half a mile at least. A woman in such condition has boughs of some tree of her totem tied round her loins, and is constantly watched and guarded, for it is thought that, should any male be so unfortunate as to see a woman in such condition, he would die."[6] Among the tribes of north-western Australia "during the period of menstruation the females isolate themselves for a week, and for that time carefully avoid the most casual meeting with men."[7] The more southerly tribes of Western Australia "also conform," says Sir George Grey, "to the injunctions in Leviticus, ch. xv., ver. 19."[8]

[1] W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 5*, pp. 24 sq.

[2] Id., *Ethnological Studies among North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, p. 184.

[3] J. Fraser, *The Aborigines of New South Wales*, p. 3. Cf. R. H. Mathews, "Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales and Victoria," *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxxviii, p. 15.

[4] H. E. A. Meyer, in J. D. Woods, *The Native Tribes of Australia*, pp. 185 sq. R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i, p. 65.

[5] J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 38.

[6] A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 776 sq.

[7] E. T. Hardman, "Notes on some Habits and Customs of the Natives of the Kimberley District, Western Australia," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Third Series, vol. i, p. 73.

[8] G. Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia*, vol. ii, p. 344.

The enumeration, however fragmentary, of the customs and notions attaching in every part of the world and among the most varied races to women in the menstrual and puerperal state has probably wearied the reader; but it is only by inflicting upon him the monotonous repetition of those accounts that the uniform character of primitive thought and practice in this respect can be adequately shown. No other usages are so constant; it may be said that no people in the lower levels of culture is known which does not hold substantially the same view of the character of menstruating and puerperal women. Those tabus, it is evident from the instances we have already noted, are not observed from any abstract and categorical principle, but from dread of the dire effects which contact with women in these conditions would produce. An Eskimo who was suffering from an ulcer on his face explained, when questioned concerning it, that it was due to his having inadvertently drunk out of a cup which had been used by a woman who had recently had a miscarriage.[1] The Déné believe that contact with menstrual blood will turn a man into a woman.[2] The Tlinkit are persuaded that a single look from a menstruating woman would completely destroy the luck of a hunter, a fisherman, or a gambler, and that it might even, like the Medusa's head, turn objects into stone.[3] The Indians of northern California believe that if a woman at her period should approach the medicine about to be administered to an invalid, the latter would inevitably die on partaking of it.[4] A sick Wyandot Indian said to a missionary who was offering him medical advice: "I was beginning to get better, but I went out of my cabin, and a girl in her courses looked at me, and my disease attacked me as severely as ever."[5] The Omahas believe that if anyone were to eat in the company of a menstruating woman he would become sick in the chest and very lean, that his lips would become ulcerated, and the ulceration spread all round his mouth; his blood would become black. Children are, in like circumstances, seized with violent vomiting.[6] Among the Bacas and other South African tribes, "should a man touch a woman during

[1] J. Murdoch, "Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition," *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 414.

[2] J. Jetté, "On the Superstitions of the Ten'a Indians," *Anthropos*, vi, p. 699.

[3] J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 428.

[4] S. Powers, "The Northern Californian Indians," *The Overland Monthly*, viii, p. 429.

[5] *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. ix, p. 123.

[6] J. O. Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 267.

the period, his bones become soft, and in future he cannot take part in warfare or any other manly exercise." [1] Among the tribes between Lake Tanganyika and the Zambesi it is thought that if a menstruating woman were to kindle a fire in a house all the inmates would die of consumption.[2] The Bushmen believe that a glance from a menstruating woman could cause men to become fixed in whatever position they happened to be, and to turn into trees.[3] In New Guinea, if a lochial woman were so much as seen by a man, his body would swell up and he would surely die ; [4] and the natives of Mowat and Daudai are convinced that slow death would follow any relations with a menstruous woman.[5] The islanders of Wetar, in the Malay Archipelago, believe that if a man were to tread on a drop of menstrual blood terrible misfortunes would befall him in war or any other enterprise, and that no precautions could avail to save him from his fate.[6] The Orang Belenda believe that contact with a menstruous woman will deprive a man of his manhood.[7] In Australia the natives of Queensland believe that if they were to approach the place where a woman stayed during her period of segregation they would surely die ; such places are accordingly permanently marked with stakes to which bundles of dry grass are attached.[8] It can, therefore, cause little surprise that an Australian native of the neighbourhood of Townsville killed his wife when he discovered that she had been using his blanket while menstruating ; and his worst fears were justified, for he succumbed shortly after to the mental anxiety caused by the knowledge of the danger in which he stood.[9]

Not only men, but their weapons, implements, nets, etc., lose their virtues and are rendered quite useless by the presence of a menstruating or a puerperal woman. An American Indian

[1] J. Macdonald, "Manners, Customs, Superstitutions, and Religions of South African Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx, p. 119.

[2] C. Gouldsbury and H. Shean, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 97.

[3] W. H. I. Bleek, *A Brief Account of Bushman Folk-lore and other Texts*, p. 14.

[4] M. J. Erdweg, "Die Bewohner der Insel Tumleo, Berlinhafen, Deutsch Neu-Guinea," *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, Wien, xxxii, p. 280.

[5] E. Beardmore, "The Natives of Mowat and Daudai," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix, p. 460.

[6] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, pp. 450 sq.

[7] H. V. Stevens, "Mittheilungen aus dem Frauenleben der Orang Belendas, etc.," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxviii, p. 170.

[8] W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 5*, p. 25.

[9] W. E. Armit, "Customs of the Australian Aborigines," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ix, p. 459.

woman who had inadvertently stepped over a man's gun while she was menstruating, had to flee the camp for her life, and she was readmitted only when it was discovered, to the astonishment of the Indians, that the gun would still shoot game.[1] In Uganda if a man's weapons were to be touched by a menstruating woman there is no doubt that the next time he had occasion to use them the man would be killed.[2]

Similar estimates of the malign influence of menstruating women obtained in primitive Greece;[3] and sceptical as were the Greeks of a later age, they still regarded, as did the Hindus, the impurity of a lochial woman as equal to that of a corpse.[4] Of the ideas of the Romans concerning the evil effects arising from the condition of menstruating women, Pliny has given us a very full account. "Hardly can there be found," he says, according to Philemon Holland's rendering, "a thing more monstrous[5] than is that fluxe and course of theirs. For if during the time of their sicnesse, they happen to approach or goe over a vessell of wine, bee it never so new, it will presently soure; if they touch any standing corn in the field, it will wither and come to no good. Also, let them in this estate handle any grasses, they will die upon it: the hearbes and young buds in a garden, if they doe but passe by, will catch a blast, and burne away to nothing. Sit they upon or under trees whiles they are in this case, the fruit which hangeth upon them will fall. Doe they but see themselves in a looking glasse, the cleare brightnesse thereof turneth into dimnesse, upon their very sight. Look they upon a sword, knife, or any edged toole, be it never so bright, it waxeth duskish, so doth also the lively hue of yvorie. The very bees in the hive die. Yron and steele presently take rust, yea, and brasse likewise, with a filthie, strong, and poysoned stynke, if they lay but hand thereupon. If dogs chance to tast womens fleures, they runne mad therewith: and if they bite anything afterwards, they leave behind them such a venome, that the wounds are incurable: nay the very clammie slime Bitumen, which at certain times of the yeere floteth and swimmeth upon the lake of Sodome, called Asphaltes in Jurie, which otherwise of the owne nature is pliable enough, soft and gentle, and ready to follow what a man would have it, cannot be parted and divided asunder, but onely by a thred that is stained with this venemous bloud."[6]

[1] G. Back, *Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition to the Mouth of the Great Fish River*, pp. 213 sq.

[2] J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi, p. 120.

[3] Demokritos, cited by Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 3.

[4] Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 380 sq.

[5] 'Monstrificum' is not adequately translated by 'monstrous.'

[6] Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, vii. 13; Philemon Holland's translation, 1635.

Pliny's account of the effects produced by a menstruating woman expresses substantially the beliefs which are still current on that subject among most of the rural populations of Europe. The peasants in Italy,[1] in Spain,[2] in Germany,[3] in Holland,[4] know as well as do the Orinoco Indians that flowers and fruit-trees are withered by contact with a menstruating woman. In the wine districts of Bordeaux and of the Rhine, women, when menstruating, are strictly forbidden to approach the vats and cellars, lest the wine should turn to vinegar;[5] and I have seen the same rule observed in the Chianti district. In northern France they are excluded from sugar refineries when sugar is boiling or cooking, for the presence of a menstruating woman would turn it black.[6] In Holstein no menstruating woman attempts to make butter.[7] The disabilities of women in a menstrual state as regards culinary operations are a matter of common knowledge in every country of Europe, not only among the peasants, but also in the higher classes. No French woman would attempt to make a mayonnaise sauce while in that state. In England it is well known that bacon cannot be cured by a menstruating woman. "It is a very prevalent belief amongst females, both rich and poor," writes a medical man, "that in curing hams women should not rub the legs of pork with the brine-pickle at the time they are menstruating."[8] The statement is taken from a correspondence which appeared in the 'British Medical Journal' on the subject, in the course of which a cloud of medical witnesses testified to the accuracy of the belief. A Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians asserted that there could be no doubt as to the facts.[9] Another doctor was surprised that anyone could doubt them; the belief was held, another remarked, by all civilised people, and only ignorant savages could doubt its truth; "none but an Australian black would deny it."[10] A medical education is by no means a safeguard against superstition.

That mirrors and all bright objects are rendered dim by the

[1] A. Karusio, "Pregiudizzi popolari putignanesi (Bari.)," *Archivio per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, xvii, p. 330; G. Pitré, *Medicina popolare siciliana*, p. 130; R. Castelli, *Credenze ed usi siciliani*, p. 63.

[2] A. Guichot y Sierra, "Supersticiones populares andaluzas," *Biblioteca de las tradiciones populares españolas*, vol. i, p. 228.

[3] G. Lammert, *Volksmedizin und medizinischer Aberglaube*, p. 147.

[4] H. H. Ellis, *Man and Woman*, p. 359.

[5] G. Lammert, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

[6] H. H. Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. i, p. 213, after L. Laurent, "De quelques phénomènes mécaniques produits au moment de la menstruation," *Annales des Sciences Psychiques*, 1897.

[7] G. Lammert, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

[8] *The British Medical Journal*, 1878, vol. i, p. 324.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 353.

[10] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 654.

reflection of a menstruating woman was a current belief throughout Europe.[1] In southern Italy it is believed that, if a menstruating woman got into a carriage, the horses, however much they might strain, would be unable to make it move an inch, and that they would die in the effort; unless, indeed, the woman had taken the precaution to put three pebbles in her pocket.[2] If in Sicily a woman in that state were to ride a horse or a donkey, the back of the animal would certainly break, unless some salt had been sprinkled over it;[3] and in the Lebanon nothing would induce a man to lend or hire out a horse to a woman who might be in that condition.[4] In Bavaria, if a woman were to draw water within six weeks of being confined, the well would become full of worms.[5] The importance of a woman being properly 'churched' after her confinement is therefore manifest. In Scotland, wrote Mr. Pennant, "the mother never sets about any work till she has been 'kirked.' In the Church of Scotland there is no ceremony on the occasion; but the woman, attended by some neighbours, goes into the church, sometimes in service time, but oftener when it is empty; goes out again, surrounds it, refreshes herself at some public-house; and then returns home. Before this ceremony she is looked on as unclean, never permitted to eat with the family; nor will anyone eat of the victuals she has dressed."[6] One would scarcely expect to find in Europe the rule so common among savage peoples that a puerperal woman must not touch her own head; yet there are unmistakable traces of the belief. In Bavaria, for instance, it is thought that if a woman in childbed were to comb her own hair it would certainly turn grey.[7]

Sexual Separation during Pregnancy and Suckling.

The tabus on menstruating and puerperal women do not by any means constitute the only restrictions imposed upon sexual relations, even between husband and wife, in primitive societies.

[1] Gaspar Schott, *Magia universalis naturae et artis*, p. 85; G. di Gregorio e Russo, *Dissertazioni critico-fisiche delle varie osservazioni della luna*, p. 205; G. B. Dalla Porta, *Natural Magick*, p. 280.

[2] A. Karusio, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

[3] R. Castelli, *Credenze ed usi siciliani*, p. 63.

[4] Bèchara Chémali, "Naissance et premier âge au Liban," *Anthropos*, iv, p. 741.

[5] G. Lammert, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

[6] T. Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland*, p. 226.

[7] G. Lammert, *op. cit.*, p. 173. The belief, although I have nowhere seen it expressly mentioned, certainly exists in England. English midwives of the Sarah Gamp type regard it as one of their most important duties to comb the patient's hair for her, which they do with all the solemnity of a ritual.

It is a very general rule that all cohabitation must cease when a woman becomes pregnant, or at any rate during the later months of pregnancy, and the separation between her and her husband is commonly observed during the whole time that she is nursing the child. The latter period is very much longer among uncultured peoples than with European women. Children practically wean themselves. It is no uncommon thing for a youngster who is running about and taking part in the games of other children and even in the occupations of the men to be still unweaned.[1] To suckle her children for over four years, and even five, six, or seven years is quite usual for a primitive woman.[2] From two to three years is

[1] E. Bessells, "Einige Worte über die Inuit (Eskimo) des Smith-Sundes," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, viii, p. 113; C. C. Jones, *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, p. 70; E. Nordenskiold, *Indianerleben*, p. 63; T. Koch-Grünberg, *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern*, vol. i, pp. 236 sq.; T. W. Atkinson, *Recollections of Tartar Steppes and their Inhabitants*, p. 178; D. Kidd, *Savage Childhood*, p. 89; R. Monteiro, *Delagoa Bay*, p. 82. Mrs. Atkinson saw Kirghis children of ten and eleven still being suckled by their mothers; and Dr. Koch-Grünberg saw on the Rio Tikie an overgrown nursling who interrupted his potations from the maternal breast to smoke a cigarette. In Madagascar a young mother of about thirteen who was nursing a baby of her own was still in the habit of being suckled by her mother (A. and G. Grandidier, *Histoire physique, naturelle et politique de Madagascar*, vol. iv, Part ii, p. 11).

[2] C. F. Hall, *Arctic Researches*, p. 568; H. Abbes, "Die deutsche Nordpolar Expedition nach Cumberland-Sound," *Globus*, xlvi, p. 216; F. Russell, "The Pima Indians," *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 186; J. F. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages américquains*, vol. i, p. 593; M. A. Owen, *Folk-lore of the Musquakie Indians of North America*, p. 65; J. de Torquemada, *Veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia Indiana*, vol. ii, pp. 640 sq.; M. Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones*, vol. iii, p. 44; W. B. Grubb, *Among the Indians of the Parguayan Chaco*, p. 63; G. A. Colini, in G. Boggiani, *I Caduvei*, p. 323; J. B. Spix and C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Reise nach Brasilien*, vol. i, p. 381; A. G. Schrenk, *Reise nach dem Nordoste der europäischen Russland durch die Tundren der Samoyeden*, vol. ii, pp. 640 sq.; G. W. Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka*, pp. 349 sq.; J. G. Georgi, *Description de toutes les nations de l'Empire de Russie*, vol. iii, p. 64 (Tungus); M. Cartwright, "Folklore of the Basutos," *Folk-lore*, xv, p. 251; A. Kropf, *Das Volk der Xosa-Kaffern*, p. 153; J. H. Weeks, *The Bakongo*, p. 148; H. Martrou, "Les 'Eki' des Fang," *Anthropos*, i, p. 755; H. Schwanhäuser, *Das Seelenleben den Dschagga-Neger*, p. 21; H. Klose, *Togo unter deutscher Flagge*, pp. 254, 508; A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 206; Id., *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 185; J. Matthews, *A Voyage to the River Sierra Leone*, p. 98; W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, vol. i, p. 219; W. Volz, "Beiträge zur Anthropologie und Ethnographie von Indonesien," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, xxxii, p. 104; A. Brandeis, "Ethnographische Beobachtungen über die Nauru-Insularen," *Globus*, xci, p. 77; R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, p. 73; M. Krieger, *Neu-Guinea*, p. 294; J. Batty Tuke, "Medical Notes on New Zealand," *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, ix, p. 725; R. Salvado, *Mémoires historiques sur*

the most general duration of nursing.[1] Throughout the greater part of that time marital relations among many uncultured peoples, cease entirely. Thus, for example, among the Mohawk of New Netherlands, "as long as they were pregnant, the women refused all sexual intercourse."[2] The usage was general among the tribes of North America, and the restriction extended from the first recognition of pregnancy to the end of the period of suckling.[3] Among the tribes of Florida all sexual intercourse ceased as soon as a woman knew herself to be pregnant, and was not resumed until two years after the birth of the child.[4] The same abstinence was observed by the Aztecs,[5] and among the Peruvians.[6] The Caribs likewise separated

l'Australie, p. 311; W. E. Roth, "North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 10," *Records of the Australian Museum*, vii, p. 17.

[1] F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. v, p. 426; Le Jeune, in *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. viii, p. 127; J. Heckewelder, *An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, pp. 221 sq.; E. James, *An Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, vol. i, p. 220; H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. ii, p. 281; J. de Torquemada, *Veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia Indiana*, vol. ii, p. 459; O. Gallardo, *Los Onas*, p. 232; P. Hyades and J. Deniker, in *Mission scientifique du Cap Horn*, vol. vii, p. 195; Lambert, *Moeurs et superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens*, p. 100; R. Thurnwald, "Im Bismarkarchipel und auf den Salomoinseln," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xlii, p. 123; B. H. Thomson, *The Fijians*, pp. 175 sq.; J. von Brenner, *Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras*, p. 247; F. Bonney, "On some Customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling, New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, p. 126; A. Kropf, *Das Volk der Xosa-Kaffern*, p. 153; H. Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa*, vol. i, p. 260; C. Gouldsbury and H. Shean, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 179; W. Junker, *Reisen in Afrika*, vol. ii, p. 311; C. Delhaise, *Les Warega*, p. 155; C. van Overbergh, *Les Mayombe*, p. 217; R. P. Colle, *Les Baluba*, vol. i, p. 251; E. Pechuel-Loesche, "Indiscretes aus Loango," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x, p. 31; A. Hewan, "On some Customs of the People of Old Calabar relative to Pregnancy and Parturition," *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, x, p. 224; H. Vortisch, "Die Neger der Goldkuste," *Globus*, lxxxix, p. 280; A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 206; Id., *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 185; T. Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans of the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone*, vol. ii, p. 218; O. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes . . . of Northern Nigeria*, p. 191; F. Fülleborn, *Das deutsche Njassa- und Ruwuna-Gebiet*, p. 61; J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara or Banyoro*, p. 246; Id., *The Bagesu and other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate*, p. 142; P. Camboué, "Les dix premiers ans de l'enfance chez les Malgaches," *Anthropos*, iv, p. 384.

[2] O. Dapper, *Die unbekante Neue Welt, oder Beschreibung des Weltteils Amerika*, p. 150.

[3] F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. v, p. 426; C. G. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 161.

[4] J. de Torquemada, *Veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia indiana*, vol. ii, p. 460.

[5] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. ii, p. 282.

[6] F. Sundstral, *Aus dem Reiche der Inkas*, p. 26.

completely from their wives as soon as the latter were pregnant, and marital relations were not resumed until some considerable time after the birth of the child.[1] Among the Timbris, Tocantins, and other tribes of northern Brazil no intercourse took place until the child had been weaned.[2] Among the Coroados, as soon as a woman is pregnant, and until some time after childbirth, "she repels her husband."[3] So also among the Tapuya tribes all intercourse between husband and wife ceased as soon as the latter was pregnant.[4] Among the Guaycuru likewise no marital relations took place throughout the whole duration of pregnancy and lactation.[5] The Huitoto tribes of the upper Amazon are said to observe strict abstinence during the whole of that period.[6] Among the Patagonians separation takes place between husband and wife, who live entirely apart, until the child has been weaned.[7] The Fuegians, as soon as pregnancy is known to have taken place, "divorce their wives until after their confinement."[8]

The observance of those restrictions appears to have been general among the populations of Oceania. In Fiji it is quite out of the question for a man to have relations with his wife at any time while she is pregnant or is suckling a child, that is, for about four years.[9] In New Caledonia abstention from marital relations is also observed during the whole duration of both pregnancy and nursing, that is, for four or five years.[10] In the Solomon Islands "after the birth of a child, the husband was not supposed to cohabit with his wife until the child could walk."[11] So again in the Loyalty Islands a man may not even see his wife until the child is able to crawl.[12] In New Britain abstention from marital relations was observed throughout pregnancy and for several months

[1] J. B. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Antilles*, vol. ii, p. 874; N. Cabeza de Vaca, *Commentarios*, p. 536; F. L. de Gomara, *Historia general de las Indias*, p. 173.

[2] F. P. Ribeiro, "Memoria sobre os nações gentias que presentemente habitam o continente do Maranhão," *Revista Trimensal de Historia e Geographia*, iii, p. 191.

[3] J. B. von Spix and C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Reise in Brasilien*, vol. i, p. 381.

[4] O. Dapper, *Die unbekante Neue Welt*, p. 566.

[5] G. A. Colini, in G. Boggiani, *I Caduvei*, p. 323.

[6] T. Whiffen, *The North-West Amazons*, p. 146.

[7] F. P. Moreno, *Viaje á la Patagonia austral*, p. 447.

[8] C. Spegazzini, "Costumbres de los habitantes de la Tierra de Fuego," *Anales de la Sociedad cientifica Argentina*, xiv, p. 536.

[9] E. Rougier, "Maladies et médecine à Fiji," *Anthropos*, ii, pp. 996 sq. Cf. H. B. Thomson, *The Fijians*, p. 177.

[10] V. Rochas, *La Nouvelle Calédonie et ses habitants*, p. 284.

[11] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 37.

[12] W. W. Gill, "Childbirth Customs in the Loyalty Islands," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix, p. 503.

afterwards.[1] In New Guinea, among the Monumbo, all relations between husband and wife cease from the moment that pregnancy is recognised until the child is weaned.[2] The Sinaugolo of the Rigo district recognise the obligation to abstain from intercourse during pregnancy, although they have grown lax in its observance.[3] A similar abstention is observed by the natives of the western islands of Torres Straits.[4] The same rules are in force in the Gilbert Islands,[5] the Carolines [6] and in Aru, in the Moluccas.[7]

The observance of these restrictions has been reported from every part of Africa. Among the Auin Bushmen marital relations are not resumed until the child has been weaned.[8] Abstention during pregnancy and lactation appears to have been the general rule among the Kaffir tribes of South Africa.[9] In Northern Rhodesia among the Baila, complete abstention is observed until the child is weaned.[10] Among all the tribes from Lake Tanganyika to the Zambesi intercourse between husband and wife is not supposed to be resumed until about three years after the birth of the child.[11] In the Congo, among the Kuku, as soon as pregnancy is noticed all relations cease, and are not resumed until the child " is smiling and looks well " ; [12] and among the Mandja cohabitation is not resumed until the child can walk.[13] Among the Warega a wife will not allow her husband to approach her until the child can walk ; the man is permitted to visit her, but when doing so must sit quietly at the

[1] F. Sorge, " Nissan-Inseln im Bismarck-Archipel," in S. R. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien*, p. 410.

[2] F. Vormann, " Zur Psychologie, Religion, Soziologie und Geschichte der Monumbo-Papua," *Anthropos*, v, p. 411.

[3] C. G. Seligman, " The Medicine, Surgery, and Midwifery of the Sinaugolo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii, p. 301.

[4] A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 229.

[5] A. Grimble, " From Birth to Death in the Gilbert Islands," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, li, pp. 34, 36.

[6] O. von Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Bering's Straits*, vol. iii, p. 210.

[7] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 263.

[8] H. Kaufmann, " Die Auin. Ein Beitrag zur Buschmann Forschung," *Mittheilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten*, xxiii, p. 136.

[9] L. Alberti, *De Kaffers aan de Zuidkust van Afrika*, p. 137 ; R. Monteiro, *Delagoa Bay*, pp. 88 sq. ; M. Rautanen, " Die Ondonga," in S. R. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien*, p. 334.

[10] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, p. 12.

[11] C. Gouldsbury and H. Shean, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 179.

[12] J. Vanden Plas, *Les Kuku*, pp. 199, 203.

[13] F. Gaud and C. van Overbergh, *Les Mandja*, p. 251.

opposite side of the hut.[1] Those restrictions are general among the Congo tribes.[2] Similar rules are observed among the tribes of British Central Africa.[3] Among the Wapogoro abstinence from sexual relations is observed throughout pregnancy and till the weaning of the child.[4] The like observances are enforced among the Basabei,[5] and the Banyoro,[6] the Makua,[7] of East Africa. The rule is general and strictly observed in West Africa. In Loango marital relations cease on the appearance of pregnancy and are not resumed until the child is weaned ;[8] and the same abstention is observed in Ashanti,[9] in Old Calabar,[10] in Benin,[11] in the Cameroons,[12] and in Sierra Leone.[13] In Nigeria, among the Filane, a woman retires to her mother's house for her confinement and sometimes does not rejoin her husband for two or three years.[14] Among the Koro, Nge, and Yergum cohabitation between husband and wife does not take place for three years after the birth of a child,[15] and among the Vere and the Bolewa for about two years.[16] Among the Mumboke and the Idoma, the mother has no relations with her husband for a year after the birth of the child, or until it can walk, nor is it considered safe for her to cook any food for the man.[17] In the French Sudan separation takes place in the later months of pregnancy and cohabitation is not resumed for several months after childbirth or

[1] C. Delhaise, *Les Warega*, pp. 154 sq.

[2] J. H. Weeks, *Among Congo Cannibals*, p. 137 (Boloki) ; H. H. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, vol. ii, p. 672 ; C. van Overbergh, *Les Mayombe*, p. 219 ; C. van Overbergh and E. De Jonghe, *Les Bangala*, p. 199 ; E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, " Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Huana," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi, p. 292 ; Id., " Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Yaka," *ibid.*, xxxvi, p. 51 (during pregnancy only).

[3] H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 411.

[4] H. Fabry, " Aus dem Leben der Wapogoro," *Globus*, xci, p. 223.

[5] J. Roscoe, *The Bagesu and other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate*, p. 72 ; cf. p. 142.

[6] *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 84.

[7] H. F. von Behr, " Die Völker zwischen Rufiyi und Roruma," *Mittheilungen aus den Deutschen schutzgebieten*, vi, p. 83.

[8] E. Pechuel-Loesche, " Indiscretes aus Loango," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x, p. 31.

[9] W. W. Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 45.

[10] A. Hewan, " On some Customs of the People of Old Calabar relative to Pregnancy and Parturition," *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, x, p. 224.

[11] J. F. Landolphe, *Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 51.

[12] Oertzen " Die Banaka und Bapuku," in S. R. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien*, p. 39.

[13] J. Matthews, *A Voyage to the River Sierra Leone*, p. 98.

[14] O. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, p. 402.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 241, 308, 373.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 359, 66.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 285, 146.

until the child is weaned.[1] Among the Suk of Kena Colony no marital relations take place until the child has cut two teeth.[2] Among the Shilluk and Nuer of the Upper Nile cohabitation between husband and wife is supposed to cease after the sixth month of pregnancy and not to be resumed until two years after the child is born.[3] The negresses among the African slave-population of the West Indies would not permit their husbands to approach them during the whole time that they were nursing, a period which commonly lasted two years.[4]

The foregoing are a few examples—for I have not attempted an exhaustive survey—of the practices which are commonly observed by uncultured peoples in every quarter of the world, and which, it is reasonable to believe, were at one time far more general in primitive societies than they are at the present day or than our available information can show. The restrictions imposed on sexual relations and on the instincts of the male in the more primitive societies are, then, very much more extensive than any which are observed by civilised Europeans. Even the tabus upon menstruating and puerperal women are not regarded by European peoples with anything like the awful dread which attaches to them throughout uncultured societies. Although the Synod of Wurzburg reiterated in the year 1298 the primitive prohibition, decreeing that "no one shall approach a woman who is near her confinement or in her menstrual fluxes," [5] even theological opinion views, in general, such an act as but a venial sin. The ecclesiastical exhortations on the subject, during the Middle Ages, show that they were not superfluous; and, according to medical experience, it would appear that abstinence at such times is by no means scrupulously or generally observed in European countries at the present day.[6] The strict observance of the segregation of women during menstruation is tending among most uncultured peoples themselves to become relaxed.[7] It is now often considered sufficient that a

[1] G. Tellier, "Kreis Kita, Französischer Sudan," in S. R. Steinmetz, *op. cit.*, p. 160; Nicole, "Diakote-Sarakolesen im Kreise Kita, westlicher Sudan," *ibid.*, p. 112.

[2] J. Barton, "Notes on the Suk Tribe of Kena Colony," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, li, p. 97.

[3] H. C. Jackson, "The Nuer of the Upper Nile Province," *Sudan Notes and Records*, vi, pp. 145, 153.

[4] J. B. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Antilles*, vol. ii, pp. 506 sq.

[5] G. Lammert, *Volksmedizin und medizinischer Aberglaube in Bayern*, p. 146.

[6] R. Kossmann, "Menstruation, Schwangerschaft, Wochenbett, Lactation und ihre Beziehungen zur Ehe," in *Krankheiten und Ehe* (München, 1904), pp. 170 sqq.; S. Icard, *La femme pendant la période menstruelle*, pp. 121, 263; H. H. Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. i, pp. 60 sq.

[7] Cf. G. Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs and Condition of*

menstruating woman should give proper warning of her condition, so that dangerous contact may be avoided. Thus, among the Bakongo, who formerly practised strict seclusion in a special hut, a woman now advises men of her condition by putting her pipe in her mouth and grasping it firmly with her teeth; the men then know that she is unclean and do not speak to her.[1] Among the Azimba a special apron is worn;[2] and in Senegambia, among the Wolof, a woman discards all ornaments and ties a brightly coloured scarf over her breast.[3] Mandingo women paint their faces yellow, and those of Al-Mina paint their faces white.[4] In Peking a special ring is worn.[5]

Origin of Periodical Sexual Prohibitions.

The fact that the observance of those tabus has everywhere a tendency to fall into disuse with the advance of culture, and that the horror and dread with which primitive man regards a menstruating or puerperal woman is not felt in the same degree by Europeans, appears to be opposed to the supposition that those restrictions arose in the first instance as a spontaneous inhibition of the masculine sexual instincts caused by feelings of repulsion, for that view postulates a greater degree of squeamishness in savage than in civilised man. In seeking to account for those universal tabus and prohibitions it has commonly been assumed that they originated in some sentiment or notion of the men, such as feelings of disgust, or a superstitious dread of blood, or of some evil spirit thought to possess women at such times. As regards feelings of disgust, it is certainly difficult to attribute them to primitive men. They appear to be insusceptible to such feelings with reference to all that would be regarded by Europeans as unutterably repulsive. When a savage manifests disgust, it is almost invariably the suggestion of the breach of some tabu, such as

the North American Indians, vol. ii, p. 283; J. O. Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 267; H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 417; J. H. Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, p. 108; E. Best, "The Lore of the Whare-Kohanga," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, xiv, p. 212.

[1] J. H. Weeks, *loc. cit.*

[2] H. Crawfurd Angus, "'Chensamwali' or Initiation Ceremony of Girls as performed in Azimba Land, Central Africa," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 1898, p. 840.

[3] A. T. de Rochebrune, "Étude morphologique . . . sur la femme et l'enfant dans la race Ouolove," *Revue d'Anthropologie*, iv, p. 281 n.

[4] T. Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone*, vol. ii, p. 207.

[5] H. Ploss, *Das Weib*, vol. i, p. 468.

eating some food, maybe quite appetising, that is prohibited by his customs, which calls forth those manifestations; the tabu is the cause, not the effect of, his disgust. In the matter of food there is nothing too disgusting for savages to eat; some use their cesspools as reserve stores.[1] The aborigines of South Australia drink urine and eat excrements at their initiation ceremonies.[2] Primitive men exhibit no greater delicacy in regard to the satisfaction of their sexual instincts than in their diet. The objects which gratify the former are often as disgusting to us as those which satisfy their appetite. Those savages who are most scrupulous in observing the menstrual tabus, and are most terrified by the appalling dangers supposed to be connected with the breach of those tabus, will also perform acts and rites the very recital of which is to us nauseating. The behaviour of Akikuyu boys after circumcision is too horrible for our feelings.[3] Those same Australian aborigines who will die of fright because a menstruating woman has come in contact with their blanket, habitually perform homosexual atrocities unknown to European vice, Nasamonian rites, the disgusting character of which passes all conception, and they prize tonic draughts of blood, semen, and discharges not unconnected with those rites, the details of which scarcely bear transcription.[4]

The awful character ascribed to a menstruating or lochial woman has been set down to a supposed primitive 'horror of blood.' M. Durkheim has elaborated a far-reaching theory, which has met with wide acceptance, in which the tabus on menstruation are regarded as a special case of a general primitive "horror of blood."[5] But there is no evidence of any such horror among primitive peoples. On the contrary; far from his manifesting a horror of blood, the savage appears to have a passionate predilection for it. Blood is everywhere regarded as a delicacy. Even peoples whose habitual diet is entirely vegetarian will miss no opportunity of indulging in a draught of warm blood. The Masai have a special method of shooting a blocked arrow into the jugular vein of an ox, so that they may drink of the warm blood before they slaughter the animal.[6] Sir Harry Johnston mentions that, in the Kilimanjaro

[1] W. J. McGee, "The Seri Indians," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i, p. 209 sqq.

[2] R. H. Mathews, "The Būnăn Ceremony of New South Wales," *The American Anthropologist*, ix, p. 339.

[3] R. P. Cayzac, "La religion des Kikuyu," *Anthropos*, p. 317.

[4] W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North Central Queensland Aborigines*, p. 174; W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 251, 463; Id., *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 352, 355. Cf. below, vol. iii, pp. 224, 320, 325 sq.

[5] E. Durkheim, "La prohibition de l'inceste et ses origines," *L'Année sociologique*, i, pp. 44 sqq.

[6] R. J. Stordy, in *The Veterinarian*, 1900, p. 525.

district, whenever an ox was slaughtered in his camp, the natives would come from far and near with their wooden bowls to collect the blood from the animal. " They filled one after the other the wooden vessels, and then stepped apart from the crowd to drink the coagulating gore with utter satisfaction and a gourmet's joy." [1] Human blood is constantly drunk by savages in their rites and blood covenants, and partaken of as a tonic medicine.[2] The Australian natives, besides drinking one another's blood on every occasion, use it to bedaub themselves and to attach feathers and other ornaments to their bodies. There is no instance known of blood, in general, being regarded with horror by any uncultured people.[3] There are special circumstances in which the blood of a particular person may, like any other substance, be the object of a tabu, and be regarded with awe ; but that is a very different thing from a ' horror of blood.' It is not blood in general which is fraught with dread to the savage, but the blood of women. " Blood from a woman," says Miss Kingsley, " is held in high horror." She was told by Dr. Nassau of a man who, from some cause or other, was so weak that he could hardly crawl ; he ascribed his condition to his having seen the blood of a woman who was killed by a falling tree.[4]

Numerous superstitions are naturally attached to the tabu on menstruating women. It is frequently supposed that at such a time a woman is possessed by some dangerous or maleficent spirit,

[1] H. H. Johnston, " The People of Eastern Equatorial Africa," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xv, p. 13. It is true that a number of peoples are careful to drain the blood from the carcass of a slain animal before partaking of it (see J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, vol. iii, pp. 240 sq.). But that abstinence is known to be due to the desire not to offend the ghost of the game animal by destroying its soul, in exactly the same manner as the head or other parts of the animal are sometimes scrupulously preserved and honoured for the same reason, and not to any horror of blood.

[2] It may be noted that the blood which is partaken of by the Australian aborigines as a medicine is, by preference, that of a kinswoman, that is, of a woman with whom it would be illicit to have sexual relations (W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 464 ; Id., *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 599 sqq.).

[3] Sir James Frazer has in his usual thorough manner summarised and illustrated the various tabus and superstitions of which blood is the object (J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, vol. iii, pp. 239 sqq.), and we may be pretty sure that he has not overlooked any important class of cases. But there is not, among the varied instances he mentions, a single example which even suggests a ' horror of blood ' ' per se.'

[4] M. Kingsley, *West African Travels*, p. 447. By a process of analogy which is constantly observed, ideas and observances attaching to one sex being transferred to the other, the Australian aborigines believe that women should not see men's blood (W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 463).

and rites such as the fumigations and flagellations which we have noted, performed at the appearance of menstruation, are intended to expel the dreaded spirit which is understood to have entered the woman. We shall, I think, gain some further insight into the reasons of those beliefs and into the nature of the possessing spirit which is supposed to haunt a menstruating woman. But it is sufficiently obvious that the dread attaching to that possessing spirit is the result and not the cause of the sentiments with which the woman is regarded at such times. Unless that belief is traced to its cause, it can afford no explanation of the origin of those sentiments; and any interpretation of it must obviously take us back to the sentiments inspired by the phenomenon of menstruation itself.

That so many speculations should have been put forward to account for the prohibitions which primitively affect menstruating, pregnant, puerperal, and suckling women is surprising; for those tabus are the only prohibitions which are not peculiar to mankind, but are common to all animals. The behaviour of primitive women in this respect does not differ from that of any other mammalian females. Among all animals the female admits the male at such times only as she is prepared for the exercise of his function. At other times she repels him, and her attitude towards him is generally one of positive hostility. The description given by Pallas of the manner in which the female camel rounds on the bull the moment she is impregnated, driving him away with much snarling and display of teeth,[1] is representative of the behaviour which is usual with mammalian females. "Except at the moment when she herself is in a state of rut," observes Dr. Tillier, "the female absolutely refuses any sexual intercourse."[2] There is among animals no question of the use of force on the part of the male; the conjunction of the sexes is dependent upon the willingness of the female, and even requires her active cooperation.[3] And the female sexual instincts are subject to frequent and pro-

[1] P. S. Pallas, *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reichs*, vol. iii, p. 339. Cf. above, vol. i, p. 119.

[2] L. Tillier, *L'instinct sexuel chez l'homme et chez les animaux*, p. 90. Cf. R. Müller, *Sexualbiologie*, p. 43.

[3] R. Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 sqq.; L. Tillier, *op. cit.*, p. 142. It is reported by an observer with excellent opportunities that with elephants a depression in the soil in which the female can lie at a lower level than the male is almost necessary for their conjunction; and the females accordingly search for such a suitable place, which is not always easy to find. That anxiety of the female in search of the required conditions for copulation has sometimes been interpreted as 'natural modesty' (L. Tillier, *op. cit.*, p. 142).

longed natural suspensions which do not always correspond with the operation of those instincts in the male. Among all herbivores the females, as soon as they are pregnant, retire from the company of the males to seek either complete seclusion and solitude, or to collect in herds from which the males are excluded. Female elephants drive away all males from the herds of cows and calves not only during the long pregnancy of nearly two years, but throughout the period of lactation.[1] The behaviour is typical of animal females. Had the primitive human female admitted the male during menstruation, pregnancy, and lactation she would have departed from all biological precedents ; her behaviour would have constituted an abnormality.

As in all physiological functions, there is an adjustment between the inherited disposition of the male and that of the female. Among herbivorous animals, whose food-supply varies enormously according to the season, the successful rearing of offspring is generally possible at a given season of the year only. The instincts of the female are timed accordingly, and there is a yearly reproductive season. The instincts of the male are adjusted to that yearly periodicity, and he has a rutting season slightly in advance of the female rut,[2] but roughly corresponding with it. At other times the male is completely indifferent to female company ; his sexual instincts are for the time abolished. With carnivorous animals the conditions are different. The supply of animal food does not vary with the season to the same extent and with the same regularity as that of vegetable food. Accordingly with land carnivora, the breeding season is much less sharply defined than among herbivores. It has often, perhaps, been too readily assumed by naturalists, influenced by popular notions derived mainly from domesticated herbivores, that all animals must needs have a special breeding season. But, fragmentary as is our information on the subject, it would appear to show that among most, if not all, carnivorous animals the time of the year at which the young are born varies, in the same species, within wide limits. In lions, for instance, "from April to July" ; that there is no clearly defined cubbing season is illustrated by the fact that native hunters, who are keenly observant in such matters, do not know when to expect a lioness to be with cubs, and that fatal mistakes arise in consequence. In the dog tribe a periodical breeding season appears to be even less defined. Although births may be, among all species, particularly numerous at one time of the year, young may be born at almost any time. In contrast to what obtains

[1] See above, vol. i, p. 123.

[2] C. Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, vol. i, pp. 327, 329 ; L. Tillier, *L'instinct sexuel chez l'homme et chez les animaux*, p. 95.

among herbivores, there is no indication that at any time the sexual instincts of the male are completely quiescent. Where there is no definite yearly periodicity in the female there can be no exact adjustment of the male instincts to that function. "Among numerous higher species," says Dr. Tillier, "the males appear to be at all times disposed for sexual union, even though the females are not in rut." [1] In the primates the mutually adjusted periodicity of sexual instincts in the male and female has entirely disappeared; there is no regular breeding season. "In their reproductive activities," write Drs. Hitzheimer and Heck, "monkeys and men differ from other wild animals in that those activities are not confined to any definite season. In every troop of monkeys young ones of every age are found at all seasons." [2]

[1] L. Tillier, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[2] Brehm-Strassen *Tierleben*, vol. xiii, p. 436. Of a pair of orang-utans, in the Berlin Zoological Gardens, it is reported that sexual intercourse was "usually exercised at regular intervals, at least every two or three days." It was only interrupted by menstruation (H. H. Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. i, p. 94, after Moll). In view of those facts little importance can be attached to Dr. Westermarck's hypothesis of a 'primitive pairing season' in man. The majority of the citations concerning 'months of marriages,' and so forth, which he has collected in support of that hypothesis refer to agricultural peoples, who naturally feel the economic effect of a vegetable food-supply. But agricultural peoples are a very long way from primitive humanity. In the same manner among many agricultural and industrial populations of Europe a large proportion of marriages took place during the Christmas season, that being almost the only time when they enjoyed an opportunity of leisure. Nobody has ever doubted that there are among all peoples, savage or civilised, seasonal variations in reproductive activities. The fact is as much a commonplace in statistics as is the effect of spring on the Tennysonian 'young man's fancy' in popular platitudes. Primitive races show such seasonal intensifications like the most civilised. I may mention one reference to such periodical intensification among the Australians which has escaped Dr. Westermarck's attention: "Merkwürdig und an den thierischen Zustand der Australiers erinnernd ist die Thatsache dass die Verheiratung und Begattung meistens wahrend der warmen Jahrzeit, wo die von der Natur dargebotene Nahrung in reicher Fülle vorhanden und der Körper zu wollustigen Regungen disposirt ist, zu geschehen pflegt, und letztere sich in vielen Fällen darauf beschränkt" (F. Müller, *Reise der Novara, Anthropologie*, vol. iii, p. 6). But the abundant experience of other observers does not warrant so strong a statement; and in no primitive race is anything approaching to a yearly periodicity of reproductive functions observable. Dr. Westermarck introduces his hypothesis by citing the dictum of Beaumarchais that man is distinguished from the beasts "by drinking without being thirsty and making love at all seasons," and proceeds to dispute that the latter statement holds good of primitive humanity. But the Ainu, one among the most primitive of surviving human races, have precisely the same saying as Beaumarchais (B. H. Chamberlain, *Aino Folk-Tales*, pp. 9 sq.). There is all the difference between a seasonal accentuation and an exclusive reproductive season. The former is of little consequence. The

The reproductive activities of the female are nevertheless necessarily intermittent; there can therefore be no exact correspondence of the male's functions with those activities. Brehm noted that the male baboon is always in rut, whereas with the females the rut takes place only every thirty or thirty-five days;[1] and the same has been noted of several other species.[2] It follows that the male sexual instincts must of necessity be subject to the veto or prohibition imposed upon them by the female whenever she is not in the condition in which her own sexual functions are active.

So inevitable in the nature of the facts is that situation that in regarding it as having of necessity imposed restrictions on sexual intercourse in primitive humanity during certain periodical conditions of the female, we are outside the realm of hypothesis. Those restrictions are imposed by biological necessities; they are in every respect the same as those which obtain among all animals, and the forms which they assume in uncultured human societies are identical with those which characterise the behaviour of every mammalian female. As among all mammals, the restrictions on sexual intercourse operate not only at the menstrual period, but also while the females are pregnant and while they are suckling. The sole difference between the biological and the human restrictions is that the latter have become formulated as established prohibitions and tabus and form part of the traditional social heredity of human societies. As with every such traditional prescription, all manner of superstitious interpretations, aetiological myths, 'vague horrors,' have become attached to the categorical prohibition. These are manifestly accretions on the veto originally laid by women on the exercise of the sexual instincts of the male. For the formulated prohibition, like the biological restriction, must needs have been imposed by the women upon the men, not by the men upon the women. No one would, I suppose, suggest that the segregation of animal females during non-sexual seasons, during pregnancy, during lactation, has been imposed upon them by the males; when primitive woman behaves in exactly the same manner, it is certainly

fact which, on the contrary, is fraught with very considerable consequences, is that there is not, and has probably never been, any season of complete sexual quiescence in the human male.

[1] A. E. Brehm, *Thierleben*, vol. i, p. 147.

[2] L. Tillier, *op. cit.*, p. 90. The continuity of the activity of the male sexual instincts in monkeys is also manifested by the extent of sexual perversion among animals in captivity (L. Tillier, *op. cit.*, p. 270; C. Féré, "Les perversions sexuelles chez les animaux," *Revue Philosophique*, xxii, pp. 497 sq.; A. Moll, *Libido sexualis*, vol. i, p. 76; R. Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 sq.) Affen gehen zugrunde infolge massloser Ausübung der Onanie.

a misdirected expenditure of ingenuity to seek the explanation in alleged mystical conceptions of 'vague horrors' on the part of the men. Those prohibitions represent the repulse of the men by the women, not a self-imposed restriction on the part of the men.

The terms in which many of our accounts are couched are calculated to suggest that those observances are imposed upon the women by the brutal tyranny and ignorant superstition of the men; the women are "compelled," they are "driven out." But there is little indication that any compulsion is needed to force the women to segregate themselves at such times, and to induce them to conform with those usages, unless, of course, when some thoughtless woman is guilty of carelessness. It appears probable that the wording of those accounts merely expresses the assumption of the reporters that any ethical regulations must have been imposed by the men, unless those observances are set down to feelings of "natural modesty" on the part of the women. Compulsion of any kind, as we have had occasion to note, is foreign to the character of primitive societies; the women, in carrying out their arduous duties, never do so under compulsion, even where the men are most tyrannical. Menstrual and puerperal tabus are observed in their most rigorous forms in societies, such as those of Micronesia and of North America, in which, far from being tyrannised, the women exercise an almost despotic power over the men.

The women, it appears from most accounts, segregate themselves of their own accord; they isolate themselves without consulting the men; they warn the latter not to approach them. A Fuegian husband is not even permitted to speak to his wife after her confinement unless she gives him leave to do so.[1] Indeed, it has sometimes been remarked that those customs are abused by the women and employed as a convenient pretext to exclude their husbands from their company. Speaking of the Beaver Indians, Mr. Keith tells us that a woman "pretends to be ten days in this state and suffers not her husband except upon particularly good terms. Her paramours, however, are permitted to approach her sooner."[2] Similarly, Hearne remarks that "as this is an universal custom with all tribes, it is also a piece of policy with the women, upon any difference with the husbands, to make an excuse for temporary separation when, without ceremony, they creep out (as is the custom on these occasions) under the eaves of that side of the tent at which they happen to be sitting; for at that time they are not permitted to go in and

[1] See above, p. 372 sq.

[2] G. Keith, in L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, vol. ii, p. 91.

out through the door. This custom is so generally prevalent among the women that I have frequently known some of the sulky dames leave their husband and tent four or five days at a time and repeat the farce twice or thrice a month, while the poor men have never suspected, or, if they have, delicacy on their part has not permitted them to enquire into the matter. I have known Matmabbie's handsome wife, who eloped from him in May 1778, have 'thun-nardy,' as they call it (that is, 'living alone'), for several weeks together under that pretence." [1] The natives of Loango say that the irksome restrictions connected with the observance of tabus on pregnant and suckling women were invented by the women for their own purposes.[2]

The restrictions upon sexual intercourse during pregnancy and lactation are often said to be dictated by concern for the welfare of the child, which would perish if such abstinence were not observed.[3] On the other hand, a pregnant woman is also regarded as emitting influences quite as dangerous as a menstruating woman.[4]

[1] R. Hearne, *Journey from the Prince of Wales's Fort to the Northern Ocean*, pp. 313 sq.

[2] E. Pechuël-Loesche, "Indiscretes aus Loango," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x, p. 31.

[3] O. Dapper, *Die unbekante Neue Welt, oder Beschreibung des Welteils Amerika*, p. 150; H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. ii, p. 282; F. Sunstral, *Aus dem Reiche der Inkas*, p. 26; J. de Torquemada, *Veinte i un libros rituales i Monarchia Indiana*, vol. ii, p. 460; J. B. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Antilles*, vol. ii, p. 506 sq.; E. Rougier, "Maladies et médecine à Fiji," *Anthropos*, ii, pp. 996 sq.; F. Vormann, "Zur Psychologie, Religion, Soziologie und Geschichte der Monumbo-Papua," *ibid.*, v, p. 411; C. G. Seligman, "The Medicine, Surgery, and Midwifery of the Sinaugolo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii, p. 301; A. Kropf, *Das Volk der Xosa-Kaffern*, p. 153; E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, pp. 11 sq.; C. Gouldsbury and H. Shean, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 179; J. H. Weeks, *Among Congo Cannibals*, p. 137; Id., *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, p. 148; E. Pechuël-Loesche, "Indiscretes aus Loango," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x, p. 31; A. Hewan, "On some Customs of the Peoples of Old Calabar relative to Pregnancy and Parturition," *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, x, p. 224; J. Matthews, *A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone*, p. 98; O. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes . . . of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, p. 146; E. Mangin, "Les Mossi: Essai sur les us et coutumes du peuple Mossi au Soudan Occidental," *Anthropos*, ix, p. 488; F. Fülleborn, *Das deutsche Nyassa- und Ruwuna-Gebiet*, p. 61; H. C. Jackson, "The Nuer of the Upper Nile Province," *Sudan Notes and Records*, vi, p. 153; B. Pilsudski, "Schwangeschaft, Entbindung und Fehlgeburt bei dem Bewohnern der Insel Sachalin," *Anthropos*, v, p. 769.

[4] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, p. 10; F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. v, p. 426; A. Brandeis, "Ethnographische Beobachtungen über die Narau-Insularen," *Globus*, xci, p. 77.

The seclusion and the tabus to which a puerperal woman is subject are likewise sometimes regarded as being demanded by the interests of the woman and the child.[1] And even the tabus on menstruating girls and women are by no means invariably set down solely to the dangers which others may incur from the condition of the women, but are regarded as beneficial to the women themselves and as being necessary for the proper carrying out of their sexual functions.[2] The notions that the tabus are necessary to safeguard the men, or in other instances the women or their children, are manifestly but aetiological explanations to account for their being observed, and are of little importance as indications of the sentiments which originally led to their being imposed.

Papuan tradition represents the men as enraged owing to their being repulsed by their menstruating wives.[3] The women of the Tully River district in Queensland, says Dr. Roth, assert that they are anxious to menstruate regularly, for if they did not "the men would be enabled to continually pay them sexual attentions, a course to which the women assured me they objected."[4] The natives of the Mara tribe of Central Australia give the following account of the origin of the tabu on menstruation. In the mythical Alcheringa days, when the tribesmen were celebrating the ceremonies of the totem, the bandicoot, a woman, through excessive repetition of the rites of fertility, began to bleed profusely. She said: "I will no longer be a woman but a bandicoot; and you cannot touch me." And she stuck grass all over herself, and went away and hid herself in a hole, so that the men could not find her. And ever since then the women have had monthly periods, during which they are tabu.[5]

The awful, yet vague and undefined, dangers with which the breach of a tabu is fraught are identical with the unknown danger that results from a curse. Nothing, to primitive man, is more dreadful than a curse; and no curse is more dreaded than

[1] J. B. von Spix and C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Reise in Brasilien*, vol. i, p. 381; A. Hewan, "On some Customs of the People of Old Calabar relative to Pregnancy and Parturition," *The Edinburgh Medical Journal*, x, p. 223; E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, p. 10; Lambert, *Moeurs et superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens*, p. 100; D. Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 201.

[2] W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 492; J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 428.

[3] G. Landtman, "The Folk-tales of the Kiwai Papuans," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, xlvii, p. 289.

[4] W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 5*, p. 24.

[5] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 602.

a woman's. In the relations between husband and wife no graver situation could arise than that she should curse him.[1] Among the Damaras, if a woman curses her husband, he cannot, whatever may happen, cohabit with her again.[2] The Australian myth concerning the origin of the menstrual tabu is doubtless substantially correct; the primitive sexual tabu was imposed by a woman's curse.

That curse has recoiled upon woman herself. The notion of her 'impurity,' which pervades the ideas not only of the savage, but also of the peoples who regard themselves as most remote from him in culture, have their root in the primitive tabu attaching to the menstrual function. Woman is "templum edificatum super cloacam," she is "the cause of all evil." Yet it was woman herself who, in the first instance, laid the foundation of those sentiments. All tabus and prohibitions fraught with vague dangers tend, in order to ensure greater safety, to become extended in their application beyond their original scope. Thus the prohibited degrees of marriage have sometimes come to include the very persons who were originally prescribed as the natural and most suitable sexual mates, such as cousins and wife's sisters. The tabu of modesty, which originally applied to the sexual organs only, has often come to include the whole body, the face, the feet. In the same manner the precautions taken in regard to the contagious menstrual or parturient woman have frequently become extended to women at all times, so as to be on the safe side as regards those dangers.

In China the same care is used at any time in handing anything to a woman as in Alaska or New Guinea in passing provisions to her when she is in quarantine. "If a man has occasion to hand anything to a woman she must receive it in a basket. If she has no basket, they must both sit down, and the object must be placed on the floor, and she may then pick it up."[3] In Tahiti women were excluded from religious festivals, neither could they at any time eat in the company of a man, or even sleep in the same house.[4] "The institutes of Olo and Tane," says the Rev. W. Ellis, "inexorably required not only that the wife should not eat the kind of food of which the husband partook, but that she should not eat in the same place, or prepare her food at the same fire.

[1] J. Roscoe, "The Bahima," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii, p. 106.

[2] J. E. Alexander, *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, vol. ii, p. 138.

[3] *Lî Kî*, x. 1. 12 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxvii, pp. 454 sq.).

[4] J. A. Moerenhout, *Voyages aux îles du Grand Océan*, vol. ii, p. 70.

The restriction applied not only to the wife with regard to her husband, but to all individuals of the female sex from their birth to their death. In sickness or pain, or whatever other circumstances, the mother, the wife, the sister, or the daughter might be brought into, it was not relaxed. . . . The fires at which the men's food was cooked were also sacred, and were forbidden to be used by females. The baskets in which the provisions were kept, and the house in which the men are, were also sacred and prohibited to the females under the most cruel penalty. Even the inferior food left for wives, daughters, etc., was cooked at separate fires, deposited in distinct baskets, and eaten in lonely solitude by the females in little huts erected for the purpose." [1] But it does not follow that because women were hedged about with those vexatious tabus their position was one of degradation; as a matter of fact, throughout Polynesia the position of women was the reverse of degraded. Hawaii, the centre of dispersion of the Polynesian race, is also the country where the observance of tabus reached its most extravagant development. The tabus observed in Tahiti as regards women were even more stringently enforced in Hawaii; but it can scarcely be said that their observance resulted in women being oppressed and despised. A woman could not eat in the company of her husband, nor could she have the same cooking fire or oven. He could not even run the risk of eating anything which had been cooked by a woman. Consequently there was no alternative for him but to do his own cooking; and, so as to avoid any possible mischance that might arise from mistaking one another's food, he cooked for her as well. The extreme sexual tabu as observed in Hawaii thus resulted in the women being waited on by the men. Moreover, since it would have been dangerous for women to handle the fruits and vegetables intended for food, the men felt themselves compelled to take over the agricultural work. Contrary to the general rule of primitive societies, the men in Hawaii thus did the whole of the work, while the women had nothing to do but to amuse themselves making gorgeous dress materials and feather-work.[2] When, therefore, Mr. Ellis and other travellers deduce the shamefully degraded position of women from the fact that they may not eat with the men and are affected by other tabus, they mistake the nature of tabu prohibitions. These applied to kings and gods, as well as to women, and might thus serve as a basis for the inference that kings and gods were oppressed and despised. An instance

[1] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, vol. i, p. 129.
[2] A. Bastian, *Inselgruppen in Oceanien*, p. 248.

of the misapprehension to which observers who do not clearly understand the nature of tabu conceptions are liable, is afforded by a recent traveller in North Africa who has made up his mind that women among the polygamous Arabs must be shockingly degraded. Of this, he says, no other proof is needed than the fact that the Arabs place women and pigs in the same class. Both women and pigs are, of course, tabu, which in primitive conceptions may mean either 'sacred' or 'impure.' The ancient Jews placed both pigs and Yahweh 'in the same class,' that is, they were both tabu; both pork and the Holy Scriptures 'defiled the hands.'

The tabus attaching to women are not primitively identical with those which we denote by the words 'impurity' and 'uncleanness.' They have commonly become associated with ideas of uncleanness and of sin; yet sometimes the original tabu has taken the opposite meaning. In many primitive rites the sexual act is a solemn, sanctifying, and purifying ritual, and the holy hierodule is a sacred personage akin to the saint and the ascetic. Even the terror attaching to the primitive tabu on the menstruating and puerperal woman is not, in the primitive and original form of the conception, equivalent to regarding her as 'impure' or 'unholy.' 'Tabu' means primarily, in this as in all other instances, 'dangerous,' and includes both the subsequent derivative notions of 'impurity' and of 'holiness,' or 'sacredness.' According to Vedic conceptions "the blood of the woman is a form of Agni and therefore no one should despise it,"[1] and the 'Institutes of Vishnu' lay down that the crime of killing a menstruating woman is as great as the murder of a Brahman.[2] In some instances menstrual and lochial blood has, in direct contrast to its all but universal significance, developed a sanctifying and purifying influence, thus showing how much more primitive the undifferentiated notion of sacredness is than the two opposite conceptions to which it has given rise. Among the Ainu menstrual blood is chiefly regarded as a talisman. When a man sees some on the floor of a hut he wipes it up with a piece of paper and rubs it over his breast. He believes that he will thereby secure success in all his enterprises. Ainu men, in their eagerness to possess themselves of so valuable an amulet, are in the habit of requesting women to be so good as to favour them with a small piece of their diapers.[3]

[1] *Aita reya-âranyaka*, ii. 37. 3 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. i, p. 232).

[2] *The Institutes of Vishnu*, xxxvi. 1 (*ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 134).

[3] B. Pilsudski, "Schwangerschaft, Entbindung und Fehlgeburt bei den Bewohner der Insel Sachalin," *Anthropos*, v, p. 774.

Among the Australian aborigines themselves, whose 'horror' of a woman's blood is so pronounced, if a man is seriously ill, he is sometimes treated with blood from a woman's vulva; her labia minora are scarified so as to make them bleed, and she rubs the blood all over his body, after which a coating of grease is applied.[1] Again, among the Warundi of East Africa, the menstruating girl, who is almost everywhere segregated as if she were a leper, "is led all over the house, and obliged to touch everything, as if her touch imparted a benediction instead of a curse."[2] Similarly, among some Herero tribes the herdsmen bring every morning the milk of their cows to the 'sacred' hut where women at childbirth are segregated, in order that a puerperal woman may consecrate the milk by touching it with her lips.[3] Among the Déné, who, it will be remembered, regard menstruating women with extravagant dread, if a child is not thriving, or several of his brothers and sisters have died, his mother will fasten round his neck a small piece of cloth soiled with menstrual blood.[4]

In those instances the menstrual or lochial blood is, in all probability, regarded as scaring away evil spirits and influences, rather than as communicating a positive blessing, and thus, like all powerful poisons, acts as a disinfectant. The dreaded properties of the blood are often, on a similar principle, turned to account for a useful purpose. Among the North American Indians when the corn began to ripen, a woman would leave her isolation hut in the middle of the night and walk naked through the fields. By this means injurious insects and caterpillars were surely destroyed.[5] The ancient Greeks had hit upon exactly the same ingenious procedure as the American Indians. Demokritos stated that all insects and worms are destroyed in a field if a menstruating woman walks three times round it with flowing hair and bare feet.[6] Columella recommends the same method, which was evidently usual in Italy.[7] Indeed, it is practised by Italian peasants at the present day; in the district of Belluno in the early morning a young girl runs naked round the field, and caterpillars are thus destroyed. It is usual for a priest to assist in

[1] E. C. Stirling, in *Report on the Work of the Horn Scientific Expedition to Central Australia*, Part iv, p. 182.

[2] O. Baumann, *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle*, p. 221, as cited by Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, vol. iii, p. 225.

[3] H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Süd-West-Afrika*, p. 167.

[4] J. Jetté, "On the Superstitions of the Ten'a Indians (Middle Part of the Yukon Valley, Alaska)," *Anthropos*, vi, p. 257.

[5] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. v, p. 70.

[6] Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 13. 64.

[7] *Ibid.*, x. 357 sqq. Cf. Palladius, *De re rustica*, i. 35.

exorcising them, but this is doubtless not essential.[1] The same method was employed in the neighbourhood of Nuremberg in the sixteenth century to get rid of garden pests ;[2] and in Holland at the present day it is usual for a girl at her menstrual period to go round the cabbage patch in order that caterpillars may thus be got rid of.[3] The natives of northern Rhodesia similarly believe that the presence of a menstruating woman will drive away or destroy the dreaded tsetse fly. They affirm that whole districts have been freed from the baneful insect owing to the number of women who are in the habit of passing through the country.[4] On the coast of Guinea it was the custom, when a negress of noble birth was approaching the time of her confinement, for the woman to be stripped naked, even her ornaments and amulets being removed ; she was then led through the streets of the village. All evil spirits were thus, of course, driven away, and the village underwent thorough disinfection.[5]

It will be seen from the foregoing instances how easily the dangerous, dreaded, and maleficent character of a 'sacred,' or 'tabu,' person or thing may pass by a quite logical transition into the seemingly opposite notion of a 'holy,' beneficent influence, which bestows benefits and blessings instead of perils and curses. Whether the tabu person, object, or act ultimately assumes the one character or the other will depend upon the balance of the ideas that may gather about it in the course of subsequent traditional evolution ; in the earlier stages of such a development the character of those things and persons trembles, as it were, in the scales. In primitive conceptions those things which have come to be generally regarded as 'sacred' and holy, in the best acceptation of those terms, are as often as not looked upon with horror and repulsion ; and those, on the other hand, which have come to be conceived as utterly evil and 'impure' are as commonly regarded as partaking of a 'sacred' or divine character and as proper objects for veneration. Women and all that has reference to sexual relations have generally assumed the evil meaning of the concept of tabu ; but in primitive ideas, such as those which play so important a part in the earlier forms of religious conceptions

[1] G. Bastanzi, "Superstizioni religiose nelle provincie di Treviso e di Belluno," *Archivio per l'Anthropologia e la Etnologia*, xvii, p. 274.

[2] G. Lammert, *Volksmedizin und medizinische Aberglaube in Bayern*, p. 147.

[3] H. H. Ellis, *Man and Woman*, p. 360.

[4] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, p. 27.

[5] F. Römer, *Nachrichten von der Küste Guinea*, p. 72.

and practices, the same things have quite commonly the holiest and most sacramental character of things 'sacred.'

The Menstrual Tabu apparently regarded as the Type of Tabu Prohibitions.

Not only is the menstrual and puerperal tabu by far the most generally and uniformally observed by primitive races, but it appears to be regarded by some as the very type of tabu, of things, in the primitive sense of the word, 'sacred.' The Polynesian word 'tabu,' or 'tapu,' appears to be closely allied to the word 'tupua,' which in Polynesian languages signifies 'menstruation.'[1] Again, the word 'atua,' which has been adopted to translate 'God,' and which is applied to all spirits, or dreaded and supernatural phenomena, has reference to menstruation in particular.[2] The Dakotan word corresponding to the term 'tabu' is 'wakan.' In Riggs's 'Dakota-English Dictionary' 'wakan' is defined thus: "spiritual, consecrated; wonderful, incomprehensible; said also of women at the menstrual period." Another writer in the same work gives the alternative explanation: "Mysterious; incomprehensible, in a peculiar state which, from not being understood, it is dangerous to meddle with; hence the application of this word to women at the menstrual period."[3] The word 'tabu' or 'sacred,' is thus, in Polynesian and in Siouan languages, the same as that for 'menstruating,' and the assumption that the former meaning is derived from the latter is quite as probable as the reverse. Among the Arabs the expressions 'pure' and 'impure' had reference to the condition of menstruating women, and had originally no other meaning.[4] Among the Jews the medium of purification was known as "the water of separation," the latter term being that used in reference to the menstrual seclusion of women.[5]

Blood is not only the object of various tabus, and the means of conveying a tabu from one person to another, but the 'sign of blood' is the most general symbol and mark of a tabu. The tabu

[1] E. Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, p. 557. According to Mr. Shortland 'tapu' is derived from 'ta,' to mark, and 'pu, an adverb of intensity (E. Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, p. 101). But the etymology appears forced.

[2] Elsdon Best, "The Lore of the Whare-Kohanga," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, xiv, p. 210.

[3] S. R. Riggs, *Dakota-English Dictionary* (*Contributions to North-American Ethnology*, vol. vii), pp. 507 sq.

[4] J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 170. The popular notion that 'impure' means primarily and originally physically unclean is erroneous. The two words are, in Hebrew, as in most primitive languages, entirely different. (Cf. below, vol. iii, p. 356.)

[5] *Numbers*, xix. 9 sqq.; cf. *Leviticus*, xii. 2.

state is signified by marking a person or an object with blood, whether of man, beast, or fowl; red paint serves equally well, for the blood is not the cause of the tabu, but the mark of it. The condition of a manslayer whom his deed has rendered 'sacred,' or tabu, is indicated by painting him red.[1] Among the Maori of New Zealand "the way of rendering anything 'tapu' (or more exactly of marking it as 'tapu') was by making it red. When a person died, his house was thus painted; when a 'tapu' was laid on anything the chief erected a post and painted it with 'kura'; wherever a corpse rested some memorial was set up; oftentimes the nearest stone, rock, or tree served as a monument; but, whatever object was selected, it was sure to be red. If the corpse was conveyed by water, wherever they landed a similar token was left; and when it reached its destination, the canoe was dragged on shore, painted red, and abandoned. When a 'hahunga' took place the scraped bones of the chief thus ornamented and wrapped in a red-stained mat were deposited in a box smeared with the sacred colour and placed in a painted tomb." [2]

Blood, as one of the forms of the vital principle, or soul, has a special significance of its own, and the practice of painting corpses and bones red, which is well-nigh universal in primitive society, and has been so from the earliest ages in Europe,[3] may be regarded as connected with that special aspect of it. But even that aspect of the importance attached to blood is not unconnected with its significance in the primitive tabu. It is from the menstrual blood retained in the womb that, in the conceptions of primitive peoples, human beings are formed,[4] and that blood is expressly stated by the Maori to be the substance of the human spirit.[5] The condition of women

[1] T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, vol. i, pp. 55 sq.; S. Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort to the Northern Ocean*, p. 204; H. Cole, "Notes on the Wagogo of German East Africa," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii, p. 314; E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, "Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Yaka," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi, pp. 50 sq.

[2] J. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, p. 95; cf. E. Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, p. 92.

[3] J. Fraser, *The Aborigines of New South Wales*, p. 82; *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 250; R. W. Williamson, *The Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea* pp. 126 sqq.; A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 162; P. Marcoy, *Voyage dans l'Amérique du Sud*, vol. ii, p. 391 (Mesayas of Brazil). For palaeolithic skeletons from Europe painted red, see M. Much, *Die Trugspielung orientalischer Kultur in den vorgeschichtliche Zeitaltern*, p. 134; E. Cartailhac, *La France préhistorique*, p. 91.

[4] See below, p. 444.

[5] E. Best, "The Lore of the Whare-Kohanga," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, xiv, p. 210.

in a tabu state is itself commonly indicated by their painting themselves red. Thus among the Dieri and other Australian tribes, menstruating women were marked with red paint round the mouth.[1] Among the tribes of Victoria a menstruating woman is painted red from the waist upwards.[2] Among the Tapuya tribes of Brazil a menstruating woman is also painted red.[3] In some parts of the Gold Coast women painted themselves red when menstruating.[4] Kaffir women, when they are pregnant, paint themselves with red ochre.[5] In India the condition of a menstruating woman is indicated by her wearing round her neck a handkerchief stained with menstrual blood.[6]

The sign of blood is commonly used to make women tabu in marriage ceremonies. The theory of patriarchal marriage is expressed with admirable explicitness by Brahmanic writers: "The wife," says the 'Baudhayana Dharma-sutra,' "is pure to her husband, and impure to every stranger."[7] To marry a woman is therefore to make her tabu to everyone except oneself. Accordingly she is marked with blood or red paint. Marking the bride with 'sindur' is the essential of the marriage ceremony throughout modern India.[8] The parting of a bride's hair is commonly stained with vermilion.[9] Among the Santals, if a young man succeeds in laying a dab of vermilion paint on the forehead of a girl, she is his wife. It is considered a very serious offence to do so; the parents are very wroth and the young man is severely punished; but the marriage cannot be dissolved.[10] The same use of red paint is made in China.[11] Among the Chukchi and the Yukaghir the bride is smeared with blood;[12] and among the Koryak in former days her forehead and her abdomen were anointed with blood.[13]

[1] W. B. Spencer and J. F. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 472.

[2] J. Dawson, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, pp. ci sq.

[3] O. Dapper, *Die unbekante Neue Welt, oder Beschreibung des Weltteils Amerika*, p. 566.

[4] L. Degrandpré, *Voyage à la côte occidentale d'Afrique*, vol. i, p. 102.

[5] R. Monteiro, *Delagoa Bay, its Natives and Natural History*, p. 79.

[6] H. Ploss, *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde*, vol. i, p. 466.

[7] *Baudhayana Dharma-sutra*, i. 5. 9.

[8] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 131, 160, 216, 220, 252, 273, 317, 321.

[9] W. Crookes, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, vol. ii, p. 29.

[10] L. S. S. O'Malley, in *Census of India*, 1911, vol. v, p. 320.

[11] J. H. Gray, *China*, vol. i, pp. 200 sqq., 204; J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, vol. i, pp. 73, 78, 80, 86.

[12] W. Bogoras, *The Chuckchee*, pp. 595 sq.; W. Jochelson, *The Yukaghir*, p. 94.

[13] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 84.

The same thing is done by the natives of Borneo.[1] Red paint is also used to mark the bride in the Congo,[2] in the Solomon Islands,[3] and in Australia.[4] The Caribs, who, like so many other savages, were in the habit of bespeaking their bride before she was born, took possession of her by marking the abdomen of her mother with a red cross.[5]

Similarly men, on certain occasions, especially when embarking upon some perilous undertaking or when fearing malignant influences, paint themselves red. Thus the Caribs painted themselves red.[6] The practice is common in Africa.[7] Pliny tells us that the Ethiopian nobles in his day were in the habit of painting themselves red ;[8] and Herodotus noted the same custom among the Lybians and the Arabs.[9] The use of red paint appears to have been as common among the primitive Egyptians as among other African peoples, for cups of red ochre have been found in large quantities in tombs of the first dynasty.[10] Among the early Romans triumphant war-chiefs were painted red, and Camillus proceeded to the Capitol bedaubed with vermilion.[11] It may be surmised that originally the practice was not confined to those occasions. The idea, no doubt, in all such cases was to scare away evil and envious spirits by making a man tabu with the sign of blood. Mothers among the Tlinkit Indians, in order to safeguard their children against evil influences and cause them to grow strong, paint their noses red.[12] The door-posts of houses are marked with blood or with red paint, especially in times of danger and epidemics. The practice is observed in West Africa,[13] among

[1] "Memoirs of the Malay," *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, ii, p. 359.

[2] H. H. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, p. 679.

[3] R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln*, vol. iii, p. 13.

[4] C. Strehlow, *Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stamme in Zentral-Australien*, vol. iv, part i, p. 102.

[5] De La Borde, *Relation des Caraïbes*, p. 596.

[6] C. de Rochefort, *Histoire naturelle et morale des îles Antilles*, p. 443.

[7] H. Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa*, vol. i, p. 251 ; D. Kidd, *Savage Childhood*, p. 31 ; G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. ii, p. 106 ; J. F. Cunningham, *Uganda and its People*, p. 354 ; P. B. Du Chaillu, *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa*, p. 109 ; S. W. Baker, *The Albert N'yanza*, vol. i, p. 309 ; L. von Höhnel, *Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stefanie*, vol. i, p. 102 ; H. Trilles, *Le totémisme chez les Fân*, pp. 50, 551.

[8] Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, xxxiii. 38.

[9] Herodotus, iv. 191 ; vii. 69.

[10] E. Amélineau, *Prolégomène à l'étude de la religion égyptienne*, p. 153 ; A. E. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. ii, p. 257.

[11] Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, xxxiii. 36.

[12] J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 429.

[13] M. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 454.

the Dayaks of Borneo,[1] in Bengal,[2] as it was in ancient Peru,[3] and among the Jews.[4] In Ceram the house in which a menstruous woman is segregated was painted red.[5]

All objects which are 'sacred' or tabu are commonly marked with blood or red paint. Thus the sacred stones of various native tribes in India and Burma are either smeared with blood or painted red.[6] In Madagascar sacred stones are likewise daubed with blood.[7] Sacred trees, among the Esthonians, were smeared with blood.[8] The statues of the gods in India are usually painted red.[9] The Oraons of Chota Nagpur, before they go on a hunt, religiously mark the images of their totems with vermilion paint.[10] The Banyoro, on the day of the new moon, waylay a man and cut his throat in order to smear with his blood the royal fetiches.[11] The Greeks painted the statues of Dionysos red ;[12] and the Romans just before their festivals applied a coat of red paint to the face of Jupiter.[13] The natives of West Africa and the Congo likewise paint their idols red on the first day of the new moon.[14] The sacred charms and tent-poles of the Chukchi are painted with blood.[15] The Australian blacks pour blood over their sacred stones and poles,[16] and paint their 'churingas' with red ochre. They paint themselves red after the performance of the intichiuma rites.[17] They moreover volunteer the strangely significant information that this red paint is really the menstrual blood of women. "The deposits of red ochre which are found in various parts of the country," say Sir Baldwin Spencer and Mr. Gillen, "are

[1] E. H. Gomes, *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo*, p. 201.

[2] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 115, 270, 272.

[3] E. F. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, vol. i, p. 394 n.

[4] *Exodus*, xi. 13, 16 ; *Numbers*, iii. 13 ; viii. 17.

[5] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 139.

[6] C. J. F. S. Forbes, *British Burmah and its People*, p. 295 ; *Ethnological Journal*, viii, pp. 96, 115.

[7] J. Sibree, *The Great African Island*, p. 305.

[8] F. J. Wiedemann, *Aus dem inneren und aüsseren Leben der Ehsten*, p. 450.

[9] H. H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. i, p. 243 ; vol. ii, pp. 222, 263.

[10] Sarat Chandra Roy, *The Oraons of Chota Nagpur*, p. 338.

[11] J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara, or Banyoro*, p. 108.

[12] Pausanias, ii. 2. 6 ; vii. 26. 11 ; viii. 39. 6.

[13] Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, xxx. 36 ; xxxv. 45 ; Servius, *ad Eclog.*, vi. 22.

[14] J. Merolla, "A Voyage to Congo," in Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, vol. xvi, p. 273.

[15] W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 361.

[16] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 184, 281, 284, 370.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

associated with women's blood. Near the Stuart's Hole, on the Finke River, there is a red ochre pit which has evidently been used for a long time; and tradition says that in the Alcheringa two kangaroo women came from Ilpilla, and at this spot caused blood to flow from the vulva in large quantities, and so formed the deposit of red ochre. Travelling away westward they did the same thing in other places. In much the same way it is related of the dancing Unthippa women that, at a place called Wankima, in the eastern part of the Arunta district, they were so exhausted with dancing that their organs fell out, and gave rise to the large deposits of red ochre found there."[1] The Bushmen and Hottentots appear to have similar ideas. The red ochre with which they paint themselves at their ritual dances is called 'gorob,' after 'Gorob' or 'Gorib,' one of their principal deities, which, there can be little doubt, is a form of the moon.[2] In a Hottentot song addressed to the spirit of rain, she is thus addressed: "Thou who hast painted thy body red, like Goro; thou who dost not drop the menses."[3] The Bushmen and Hottentots thus appear to associate, like the Australian aborigines, their ceremonial red paint with menstrual blood.

Some other Tabus probably connected with the Menstrual Prohibition.

The foregoing facts and considerations, taken together, point to the conclusion that the veto imposed by women upon the masculine impulses during their periodical unfitness for sexual functions was the earliest formulated prohibition imposed upon the operation of natural instincts, and embodied in human tradition. It was therefore the prototype of all such prohibitions or tabus. In the evolution of those specific psychological characters of human mentality, as in all other evolutions, it is the first step that counts. Once a categorical prohibition is established, all other tabu prohibitions tend naturally to become assimilated to the pattern of their prototype. In some uncultured societies, such as those of Melanesia and of Polynesia, the arbitrary imposition of tabus became a despotic form of tyranny in the hands of priests and chieftains, who went about with a paint-brush, so to speak, imposing tabus on things and persons as suited their purposes. Yet, innumerable as are the forms of traditional tabus, the original type of all such interdicts is preserved in the most highly developed codes of moral prohibitions; for of all moral restrictions on human

[1] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 463 sq.

[2] See below, p. 745 sq.

[3] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, p. 60; cf. p. 104.

behaviour none are regarded as of such transcendent importance as those which have reference to the restraint of the sexual instincts, and morality is in the highest cultures currently understood to be synonymous with sexual morality.

In primitive societies those sexual restrictions, although seldom conceived in the same manner as sexual morality amongst ourselves, play an important part in the tabus connected with nearly every act and avocation of primitive man. The hunter, the fisherman, the warrior, the agriculturist, the magician, regard abstention from intercourse and contact with women as essential to the success of their undertakings;[1] their weapons, nets, and instruments must be likewise protected from the risk of losing their virtue and efficacy by contact with women.

Other tabus, although their connection with the primitive prototype is not so apparent, are nevertheless found on enquiry to be no less directly related to the menstrual tabu. As illustrations of such a connection, we will consider two tabus which are still observed amongst ourselves.

Few people, I suppose, would suspect that there exists any relation between one of the most commonly observed of our everyday superstitions, namely, the rule that it is unlucky to step under a ladder, and the tabu on menstruating women. Many who are not given to superstitious ideas regard the rule with tolerance as a not altogether unwise precaution against the possible presence of a paint-pot or a hod of bricks on the ladder. The observance of the superstition is, however, much older than the use of paint-pots and bricks, or even ladders. It is a survival of what appears to be a very widespread scruple existing among savages against passing under anything at all. And that savage superstition is connected in the most direct manner with the menstrual tabu. Sir James Frazer has put together some facts bearing on those ideas, and I cannot do better than give the examples he adduces in his own words: "The Australian blacks have a dread of passing under a leaning tree, or even under the rails of a fence. The reason they give is that a woman may have been upon the tree or fence, and some blood from her may have fallen on it and might fall on them. In Ugi, one of the Solomon Islands, a man will never, if he can help it, pass under a tree which has fallen across the path, for the reason that a woman may have stepped over it before him. Amongst the Karens of Burma, going under a house, especially if there are females within, is avoided, as is also passing under trees. . . . The Siamese think it unlucky to pass under a rope on which women's clothes are hung. . . .

[1] See below, vol. iii, pp. 354 sqq.

Probably in all such cases the rule is based on a fear of being brought into contact with blood, especially the blood of women. From a like fear a Maori will never lean his back against the wall of a native house," [1] for Maori women are in the habit of thrusting their soiled diapers between the house-boards. For similar reasons a Maori would never permit a girl or woman to step over his legs when he was sitting down, for if she did, his power of running and overtaking an enemy would, it was believed, be entirely lost.[2] The Baganda have the same notion, which is indeed a very common one.[3] The same fears which Sir James Frazer mentions account also, no doubt, for the horror which would fill the Oraons of Chota Nagpur if they were to see a woman climbing on to the thatched roof of a hut. In olden days a woman guilty of such an act would have been punished by having her ears cut off.[4] As in other cases, the dread which attaches in those instances to a woman who may be menstruating does not arise from her 'impure,' but from her 'sacred,' character, for the Maori believe that a spirit or god passing over their store-houses would have exactly the same baneful influence, and that all their food would rot.[5] The facts mentioned by Sir James Frazer are not adduced by him in elucidation of our superstition about walking under a ladder, but of the rule observed in Rome that the Flamen Dialis might not walk under a trellised vine, for the juice of the grape, which is commonly regarded as the equivalent of blood, might have fallen on him, and thus placed him in a state of tabu. But there can, I think, be little doubt that our own superstition is lineally connected with the same order of primitive notions and observances. The Jews were, like all primitive peoples, extremely careful to dispose of their cut hair and nail clippings, so that they might not, as parts of their own bodies, be subjected to evil influences, which would inevitably affect them also. The specific reason which they gave for those precautions was that it might chance that a menstruating woman should step over them.[6]

The Sabbath.

As a further example of the relation of which we are speaking we may consider another, and much more important, tabu which

[1] J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, vol. iii, pp. 250 sq.
[2] J. White, *Maori Superstitions*, p. 28.
[3] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 49.
[4] Sarat Chandra Roy, *The Oraons of Chota Nagpur*, p. 273.
[5] J. White, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
[6] P. I. Hershon, *A Talmudic Miscellany*, p. 49, citing *Hishnah Moedh Katan*, fol. 18.

is still observed amongst ourselves, and which we derive from the ancient Hebrews, namely, the keeping holy, or tabu, of the Sabbath day.

We have seen that it is an almost universal rule that a menstruating or puerperal woman must not set her hand to any kind of work. The tabu extends not infrequently to the woman's husband, who is thrown out of employment by his wife's condition.[1] Among the Habe, a tribe of the French Sudan, a man whose wife is menstruating would not dare to undertake a journey, or go hunting, or sow a field ; indeed, it would be of little use his attempting to do anything of the kind, for such undertakings could not possibly prosper.[2] Among the Monumbo people of New Guinea the disabilities under which the poor husband suffers during the whole time of his wife's pregnancy and also while she is nursing are beyond belief. He is subject to so many tabus that he is virtually a pariah ; no one considers it safe to do anything for him, and he has accordingly to attend to all his wants himself ; he can on no account borrow a light from anyone else, even to light his pipe, and has therefore to be particularly careful that his fire should not go out.[3] An Eskimo husband is incapacitated from work for some weeks after his wife's confinement, nor is it considered proper that he should enter into any commercial transaction.[4] Among the Sea Dayaks of Borneo a man is not altogether debarred from working on account of his wife's condition, but it is necessary that he should get someone to start the work for him ; he may then proceed with it with a fair chance of success.[5] Sometimes the tabu under which a woman is labouring is considered to affect the entire household. Thus among the Naga tribes of Manipur, when a woman has given birth to a child, all the inmates of the house, including any casual lodgers, are under a ' genna ' or tabu, and are regarded as quite unfit to undertake any work for several days. Even the fact that a bitch has laid a litter of puppies, or that the cat has had kittens, is sufficient to place the whole household under an interdict and to unfit them for any useful labours.[6] A childbirth

[1] E.g., Stseeli Indians of British Columbia (C. Hill Tout, " Ethnological Report on the Stseelis," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv, p. 320) ; natives of Torres Straits (*Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 207).

[2] A. M. L. Desplagnes, *Le plateau central nigérien, une mission archéologique et ethnologique au Soudan Français*, p. 227.

[3] F. Vormann, " Zur Psychologie, Religion, Soziologie und Geschichte der Monumbo-Papua in Deutsch Neu-Guinea," *Anthropos*, v, p. 411.

[4] H. J. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, p. 54.

[5] H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, vol. i, p. 98.

[6] T. C. Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, pp. 177, 180.

among the Land Dayaks imposes a tabu of eight days upon all the members of the household.[1] Those restrictions sometimes extend not only to the inmates of the house, but to the whole community. Thus among the Yabin of New Guinea, when a birth takes place in the village, all the inhabitants remain indoors the next day, and no work is done in the fields, for no good could come of such work, owing, as the natives explain, to the malignant influence which spreads over the country from the lochial discharge of the woman.[2] In New Britain all the men of the village in which a puerperal woman is lying must, as we saw, undergo disinfection before they are fit for their ordinary avocations.[3] The Zulus also had in former times to be carefully disinfected if a birth had taken place in the kraal in which they lived.[4] Among the Sawngtung Karens of Burma, and among the White Karens, when a birth has taken place no one is permitted to leave the village.[5] Whether this is on account of the dangers which they might incur by undertaking a journey in those circumstances, or from a considerate desire not to carry the infection to another village, is not made clear.

General abstinence from all kind of work is commonly observed by almost every primitive community on occasions which are accounted inauspicious, such as an eclipse, an epidemic sickness, or, very frequently, the pollution caused by the death of some important personage.[6] As Professor Webster remarks, those general tabus imposed by circumstances on the whole community "are to be assimilated to those which rested upon individuals alone. If we assume that the individual tabus represent the earlier phase of the institution, then communal tabus may be regarded as merely an extension to the body politic of these simpler and more rudimentary customs." [7]

Besides those tabu days which affect a community on some special inauspicious occasion, there exist among many peoples regular tabu days recurring at fixed intervals. To the superstitious mind all days are distinguished into 'lucky' and 'unlucky,' and some are always regarded as being too unpropitious to warrant the

[1] S. St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, vol. i, p. 160.

[2] K. Vetter, "Bericht . . . über papuanische Rechtsverhältnisse, wie solche namentlich bei den Jabim beobachtet wurden," *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, 1897, p. 87.

[3] See above, p. 383.

[4] D. Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 201.

[5] R. C. Temple, art. "Burma," in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iii, pp. 32, 37.

[6] H. Webster, *Rest Days*, especially pp. 8 sqq., 62 sqq.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 25. I have in the present section freely availed myself of Professor Webster's great learning.

undertaking of any work or business. An old resident in Ashanti calculated that there were only about one hundred and fifty or one hundred and sixty days in the year during which any business of importance could safely be undertaken in the dusky kingdom.[1] The ancient Greeks were almost as bad as the natives of Ashanti in this respect; Hesiod's poem on 'Works' has for its object to lay down on what days it is safe to undertake any work on a farm. The chief purpose of the calendar among the ancient Egyptians appears to have been to mark the lucky and the unlucky days, and the Babylonian calendar had primarily the same purpose. The calendar of unlucky days, which among most peoples assume the form of established tabu or holy days, is almost invariably regulated by the phases of the moon. The day of the new moon is most generally looked upon as particularly unsuited for any undertaking. To this the day of the full moon is very frequently added. "According to the rules of Astrology," observes Aubrey, "it is not good to undertake any business of importance in the new moon, and not better just at the full moon."[2] In order to be on the safe side two more specially unlucky days should be added, the four days corresponding to the four recognisable phases of the moon being thus marked out as specially unlucky. With a large number of African peoples the day of the new moon is observed as a day of general abstention from work. Thus, the Zulus abstain on new-moon days from work of any kind, "thinking if anything is sown on those days they can never reap the benefits thereof."[3] So also among the Bechuana, on the day of the new moon, "all must cease from work, and keep what is called in England a holiday."[4] They believe "that if they should set about their labour at such a season, the millet would remain in the ground without sprouting, or that the ear would fail to fill, or that it would be destroyed by rust."[5] Among the Baziba, a tribe dwelling to the south-west of Lake Victoria, the day of the new moon is "a recognised day of rest."[6] The Baganda hold imposing ceremonies at the new moon, and it is the recognised custom to dispense on such days with all unnecessary work; firewood must not be cut, and care is taken to prepare all

[1] J. Dupuis, *Journal of a Residence in Ashantee*, p. 213 n. Cf. J. Beecham, *Ashantee and the Gold Coast*, p. 188.

[2] J. Aubrey, *Remains of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, p. 85.

[3] Lieutenant Farewell, in W. F. W. Owen, *Narrative of Voyages to Explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar*, vol. ii, p. 397. Cf. D. Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 110.

[4] J. Campbell, *Travels in South Africa*, vol. ii, p. 205.

[5] G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, p. 414. Cf. D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, p. 255.

[6] J. F. Cunningham, *Uganda and its People*, p. 294.

food for the festival beforehand, so that the women should not have to do any cooking on the holy day.[1] The Banyoro observe similarly the day of the new moon. When Speke called on the King of Unyoro on that day, he found the palace shut up, and no one about. It was indeed their Sunday, although it was a Moon-day, and no sort of business could be done.[2] The Warega of the Upper Congo hold that nothing which they could do or undertake at the time of the new moon could come to good.[3] Among the peoples of the Gold Coast every god has his tabu day, and on those days no work may be done, and it is not considered proper to travel.[4] In Ashanti there is a regular weekly tabu day on which it is believed no work would prosper; "the fishermen would expect that, were they to go out on that day, the fetich would be angry and spoil their fishing."[5] A similar weekly Sabbath is observed at Coomassie.[6] In southern Nigeria every eighth day is sacred to the goddess Nimm, and is called the 'Women's Day.' No work must be done on that day. "Should any transgress the law and go to work on the farm, Nimm would be angered, and send her servants, the beasts, to destroy it."[7]

The two great monthly festivals of ancient Hindu religion, on which, after preparatory fastings and abstinences, the sacrifice of the 'soma,' or moon-plant, was celebrated, took place on the days of the new moon and of the full moon.[8] On those occasions a Brahman might not trim his hair or his beard, nor cut his nails; he might not set out on a journey, nor sell any goods, and he was to speak as little as possible.[9] The 'Vishnu Purana' lays it down in so many words that anyone attending to secular affairs on the day of the new moon or of the full moon will go down to hell.[10] Those observances became in later Brahmanical religion extended, on the

[1] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, pp. 297, 299, 428; Id., "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii, p. 76.

[2] J. H. Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, p. 523.

[3] C. Delhaise, *Les Warega*, p. 279.

[4] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 93.

[5] J. Beecham, *Ashantee and the Gold Coast*, pp. 185 sq.

[6] A. B. Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

[7] P. A. Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, p. 94.

[8] *Rig-Veda*, i. 9. 1; i. 94. 4 (H. Grassmann's translation, vol. ii, pp. 8, 95); *Atharva-Veda*, vii. 79. 3, vii. 80. 1–4 (W. D. Whitney's translation, pp. 444 sqq.); A. Hillebrandt, *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*; A. Weber, "Zur Kenntniss des vedische Opferrituals," *Indische Studien*, x, pp. 329 sqq.; H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 364 sq.

[9] *Grihya-sutra*, i. 5. 1–26 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxx, pp. 25 sqq. Cf. *The Laws of Manu*, xi. 217 sqq. (*ibid.*, vol. xxv, pp. 474 sq.).

[10] *Vishnu Purana*, ii. 6 (H. H. Wilson's translation, edited by F. Hall, vol. ii, p. 219; cf. vol. iii, pp. 132 sq.).

principle of greater thoroughness, to the first days of the intermediate phases of the moon, and the observance of the tabu days thus became a weekly one. It is worthy of note that, in contrast with the observance of the Sabbath in English and Scottish households, where it was a strict rule that all secular literature should be put aside and that no reading should be indulged in except that of the Holy Scriptures, Brahmanical religious thought considered that the four monthly tabu days, or 'parvans,' were the very days upon which the Sacred Books should on no account be read. Hindu religion thus took a somewhat more primitive view than Protestant thought of the 'sacred' or tabu character of the holy day, and considered that, the day being dangerous and inauspicious, the Sacred Scriptures should not be exposed to the risk of pollution by being read on the Sabbath. It could not profit a man to read them on those days. "The new-moon day," the 'Laws of Manu' enjoin, "destroys the teacher, the fourteenth day the pupil, the eighth and full-moon days destroy all remembrance of the Veda; let him therefore avoid reading on those days." [1]

The four monthly Sabbaths of Vedic and Brahmanical religion were adopted by Buddhism, though their institution was, of course, ascribed to the Founder.[2] On those holy days, or 'uposatha,' no cooking may be done, any food required being prepared the day before, or in the early morning; all secular pursuits whatsoever, such as buying and selling, hunting and fishing, are forbidden; markets and shops, schools, courts of justice, and places of amusement must be closed.[3] It is not considered becoming to wear too gay an apparel on such days, or to adorn oneself with garlands, to use perfumes, or to sleep on a raised couch.[4] In Burma, according to Symes, "on these hebdomadal holidays no public business is transacted in the Rhoom; mercantile dealings are suspended; handicraft is forbidden; and the strictly pious take no sustenance between the rising and the setting of the sun. But the latter instance of self-denial is not very common, and, as I understood, is rarely practised, except in the metropolis, where the appearance of sanctity is sometimes assumed as a ladder by which the crafty attempt to climb to promotion." [5] In Siam, where the observance of the four

[1] *The Laws of Manu*, iv. 113 sq. (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxv, p. 147). Cf. *The Sacred Laws of the Aryas*, Gautama, xvi. 22. 35–37 (*ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 258 sq.).

[2] R. C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pali Language*, s.v., 'uposhato'; H. Kern, *Der Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien*, vol. ii, pp. 256 sqq.

[3] *Mahâvagga*, ii. 1. 1–4 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiii, p. 240).

[4] *Sutta Nipâta*, ii. 14. 19–26 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. x, part ii, pp. 65 sqq.).

[5] M. Symes, *An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava*, p. 335.

monthly Sabbaths was probably also instituted by Buddhist missionaries, " their Sunday, called by them ' vampra,' is always the fourth day of the moon ; in each month they have two great ones, at the new and full moon, and two less solemn, on the seventh and twenty-first." [1] Offerings were made in the temples, and the priests preached to the people in large halls. No fishing or hunting was permitted on those days, and neither fresh fish nor meat was sold in the bazaars under pain of a fine or of corporal punishment.[2]

Among the Dayaks of Borneo the influences of the moon are particularly dreaded, and the month is elaborately parcelled out into inauspicious or evil days, and days which are regarded as comparatively safe.[3] Among the Sea Dayaks " at certain seasons of the moon, just before and just after the full, the Dayaks do not work at their farms ; and what with bad omens, sounds, signs, adverse dreams, and deaths, two-thirds of their time is not spent in farm labour." [4] The Land Dayaks are equally handicapped in their occupations ; almost every occurrence is looked upon with suspicion, and, if considered hopelessly unlucky, a general tabu, or ' pamali,' is proclaimed, and all work must cease. Those tabu days are, of course, dependent above all upon the dreaded influences of the moon. " At full moon, and on the third day after it (called ' bubuk '), no farm work may be done, unless it is wished that the paddy should be devoured by blight and mildew. In some tribes the unlucky days are those of the new and full moon, and its first and third quarters." [5] The excessive superstition of the Dayaks as regards unlucky occasions has, then, with the last-mentioned tribes, had the beneficial result of leading them to the regular observance of a weekly Sabbath.

Cf. Shway Yoe, *The Burman : his Life and Notions*, pp. 217 sqq. ; C. J. F. S. Forbes, *British Burma*, pp. 169 sqq. ; A. Sangermano, *A Description of the Burmese Empire*, p. 92 ; H. Cox, *Journal of a Residence in the Burman Empire*, p. 241.

[1] F. H. Turpin, *Histoire civile et naturelle du royaume de Siam*, vol. i, pp. 45 sq.

[2] J. Bowring, *The Kingdom and People of Siam*, vol. i, p. 158 ; J. B. Pallegroix, *Description du royaume de Thaï ou Siam*, vol. i, p. 249 ; J. Crawfurd, *Journal of an Embassy to the Court of Ava*, vol. ii, p. 75. For the observance of hebdomanal Sabbaths in neighbouring countries, see J. Moura, *Le royaume de Cambodge*, vol. i, p. 321 ; J. G. Scott and J. P. Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, Part i, vol. i, p. 558 (Tungthu of Tenasserim) ; C. O. Blagden, " Notes on the Folk-lore and Popular Religion of the Malays," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 29, p. 6 ; J. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 206.

[3] A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, vol. i, p. 415, vol. ii, pp. 122 sq.

[4] C. Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, vol. i, p. 149.

[5] H. L. Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, vol. i, p. 401.

The observance of tabu days attained, as we might expect, its most perfect form in Polynesia, where the applications of tabu prohibitions were so conspicuous. In Hawaii there were four regular tabu days in each month, except during the four 'makahiki' months of the year which were specially devoted to ceremonies in honour of the god Lono.[1] Those Hawaiian Sabbaths had quite an old-fashioned English aspect. "Men were required to abstain from their common pursuits, and to attend prayer morning and evening. A general gloom and silence pervaded the whole district or island. Not a fire or light was to be seen, or canoe launched; none bathed; the mouths of dogs were tied up, and fowls were put under calabashes or their heads enveloped in cloth; for no noise of man or animal must be heard. No person, except those who officiated at the temples, were allowed to leave the shelter of their roofs. Were but one of these rules broken the tabu would fail and the gods would be displeased."[2] In Samoa the Sabbath observances were carried out in a similar manner, but there was only one regular Sabbath in the month, namely, at the appearance of the new moon. If anyone were seen strolling idly about on such a day he would probably be beaten, if not killed. It was not considered becoming to put on any finery, such as a white turban; but, on the other hand, it was not respectable to be seen carrying a parcel or a log of firewood.[3] So accustomed from of old were the Polynesians to the thoroughgoing observance of tabu days that, when they were instructed in the truths of the Christian religion, they took to the Fourth Commandment like fish to water. Their familiarity with the observance of the Sabbath probably contributed greatly to their rapid conversion, and in a few years the Pacific Islands became a domain of the Wesleyan missions. The Hawaiians, however, complained that the missionaries were far too lax in enforcing the proper observance of the Sabbath, and Sunday Leagues were formed among the most influential natives, who sent deputations to the clergymen imploring them to be somewhat more strict in seeing that the Lord's Day were not defiled. Sunday in Hawaii was so Puritanical that visitors complained that it was far more strictly observed than anywhere in England or in America, and that the gloom pervading those beautiful islands on a Sunday was intolerable.[4] The missionaries, on the

[1] D. Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, p. 56; W. D. Alexander, *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People*, pp. 50 sqq.; S. Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands*, pp. 25 sq.

[2] J. Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands*, p. 58. Cf. W. Ellis, *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii*, pp. 368 sqq.; A. Campbell, *A Voyage round the World*, p. 177.

[3] G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 60, 29 sq.

[4] H. T. Cheevers, *Life in the Sandwich Islands, or the Heart of the Pacific* p. 249.

other hand, were filled with thankfulness, and recognised that, in spite of the shocking licentiousness and lasciviousness of the natives and of their cannibalistic customs, the dispositions of people who were so thoroughly imbued with the principles of Sabbath observance could not be wholly bad. Writing recently from Fiji, where these observances had been immemorial, a gentleman expresses the joy with which the perfect Sunday peace achieved in those islands filled his soul. "One can enjoy the Sabbath," he says, "for on that day scarce a sail is seen on the blue-green waters, nor ever a spade touches the soil; the sound of an axe is not heard in the deep woods. The native Christian is Pharisaical to the point of refusing to pluck a fruit from a tree or eat a fish cooked on Sunday." [1]

The four regular monthly Sabbaths of Hawaii were a special instance of the tabu days which were observed on any critical or inauspicious occasion, such as the death of a king, a storm, an epidemic, and so forth, not only in Hawaii, but throughout the Polynesian Islands. Thus, for example, in New Zealand a general tabu was observed in preparation for the mackerel fishing expeditions. The banks of the rivers where the nets were prepared were sacred, and no one might walk about over them; canoes were not launched, all fires were put out, and no food might be cooked until the tabu was over; the men exercised the greatest abstinence and practised strict chastity.[2] Similar tabus were observed on the occasion of the planting of 'kumaras,' the sweet-potato of New Zealand,[3] and while preparing for a war expedition.[4] So again in the Marquesas the same observances were regularly carried out in preparation for the fishing season. The men abstained from work, and the women put aside their mat-making and thread-work: "in a word all work was forbidden, it was a day of silence and devotion." [5] So again in Bowditch Island a general tabu was observed in the month of May in preparation for a good season in which a plentiful supply of fish and of coco-nuts should be obtained.[6] The Hawaiian Sabbaths were thus but a

[1] W. Deane, *Fijian Society*, p. 129. Cf. W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, vol. iv, p. 408; C. S. Stewart, *A Visit to the South Seas*, pp. 277 sqq., 302 sq. For the observance of tabu days in Fiji in heathen times, see L. Fison, "The 'Nanga,' or Sacred Stone Enclosure of Wainimala, Fiji," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv, p. 18; H. Hale, in *United States Exploring Expedition*, vol. vi, pp. 67 sq.; C. Wilkes, *ibid.*, *Narrative*, vol. iii, pp. 90 sq.

[2] W. Yate, *An Account of New Zealand*, p. 85.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

[4] J. Cowan, *The Maoris of New Zealand*, pp. 116 sq.; R. Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, p. 57.

[5] J. A. Moerenhout, *Voyages aux îles du grand océan*, vol. i, p. 210; M. Garcia, *Lettres sur les îles Marquises*, p. 210.

[6] G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 269.

particular instance of observances which were believed to be called for whenever the occasion appeared critical or people were specially anxious to avert bad luck. The four monthly tabu days were dedicated respectively to the Hawaiian gods, Ku, Hua, Kaloa, and Kane. But, as Dr. Hutton Webster remarks, " that these Sabbaths had originally no connection with any divinity and arose in consequence of superstitious beliefs regarding lunar phenomena is a highly probable conclusion, when we recall the numerous tabus attaching to the phases of the moon." [1]

Those periodical tabu days, or Sabbaths, of the more lowly cultures are, then, determined in their incidence by the phases of the moon. Since, before the comparatively late elucidation of the solar cycle, the lunar phases afford the only means of marking the flow of time over an extended period, it may be thought that the association of the recurrent observances with the moon depends merely on the circumstance that the latter is the only calendar available to people in the lower stages of culture. It may be, and has been, argued that the fact that a periodic observance is timed to take place at a given phase of the moon, does not prove that it is associated with the moon otherwise than with the function of that celestial body as the universal timepiece or calendar of uncultured humanity. But a consideration of the relevant facts renders such a view, so far at least as regards the observance of periodic tabu days, untenable. No distinction is drawn in the primitive mind between the relation of adventitious synchronism and that of cause and effect; you will not easily persuade a savage that when two events habitually take place at the same time, the one is not the cause of the other. The moon, as is shown by evidence which will presently be considered, is not regarded by primitive humanity merely as a convenient measure or marker of time, but as the *cause* of time. Those phenomena which in their periodical recurrence correspond, or are supposed to correspond, with the phases of the moon are universally regarded as the direct effects of those lunar changes. Even where a periodical practice, such, for instance, as a given agricultural operation, is timed by a certain phase of the moon, without, perhaps, any reference to its influence, the relation between the observance and the phases by which it is regulated will invariably be regarded as one of cause and effect. It is abundantly clear from the examples which we have considered that days of general tabu observances, whether arising from special eventualities or periodically established, do not owe their origin to any considerations as to the desirability and benefit of an occasional rest from all labour, but to the persuasion that no work or business undertaken on such days could

[1] H. Webster, *Rest Days*, p. 88.

possibly prosper or come to good. The tabu, or 'sacred,' character of those days of abstention from work is the direct consequence of their supposed unlucky and unpropitious nature and of the malign and dangerous influences which are supposed to be abroad; and there is no more constant and universally recognised cause for that unpropitious character of particular days than certain phases of the moon. The moon is everywhere regarded as exercising a dangerous, dreaded, and malignant influence, and the dangers arising from that evil influence are considered to be greatest during certain phases of the lunar cycle. Ideas as to which phases are fraught with most danger vary with different peoples, but the new moon and next to it the full moon, and, more generally, every transition from one phase to another, are usually looked upon as the periods of most accentuated danger.

The conceptions which attach amongst most primitive peoples to the influence of the moon are extremely varied and complex; but there can be little doubt that the original ground for the dangerous and maleficent character universally ascribed to the moon is its direct association with the sexual functions of women. The actual connection between the physiological and the lunar cycle is in all probability due, as Darwin suggested, to the fact that animal life developed during the greater part of its evolution in the sea. The vital rhythm, impressed once for all during incalculable ages upon all physiological functions in primitive marine forms of life by the periodical changes in the environment produced by tidal phenomena, has persisted in the periodical variations of all their descendants.[1] The correctness of that hypothesis has received what appears to be conclusive confirmation from more recent knowledge. In a number of marine creatures it has been found that the reproductive cycle takes place in accordance with the phases of the moon. Thus in several polychaete annulates, spawning occurs at regular intervals during the breeding season at the new and at the full moon.[2] The reproductive functions of sea-urchins are found to correspond with the phases of the moon. "There is a periodic reproductive cycle correlated with the lunar period, the genital products being

[1] C. Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, vol. i, p. 254. Darwin makes special reference to the ascidians, which are particularly affected in the conditions of their life by tidal changes; and it has been objected that the relation of ascidians to early vertebrates is doubtful. But the view of the cause of the lunar periodicity of vital functions is quite independent of any theory as to vertebrate phylogeny; for no one disputes that all land animals are descended from marine forms of life, and the more immediate ancestors of land vertebrates must obviously have been shore forms living in tidal waters, and led ultimately by tidal phenomena to periodical amphibious habits.

[2] A. Krämer, *Ueber den Bau der Korallenriffe und die Planktonverteilung*

spawned into the sea round about each full moon during the breeding season. After spawning the testes and ovaries become reduced in bulk. . . . After the new moon these increase. Microscopic examination of the gonads of a number of individuals between the first quarter and the full moon shows the majority to be swollen and packed with spermatozoa or eggs. . . . Between the third quarter and the new moon all gonads are shrunken and contain nothing but developing spermatocytes and oöcytes. This lunar cycle is repeated throughout the breeding season." [1] The same lunar periodicity in the reproductive functions has been observed in molluscs of the species *Chiton*.[2] Algae likewise exhibit a lunar reproductive rhythm.[3]

The correspondence between the cycle of sexual functions in women, and of menstruation in particular, with the cycle of lunar changes has forced itself upon the notice of even

an dem Samoanischen Küsten, p. 113; B. Friedländer, "Ueber den sogenanten Palolowurm," *Biologisches Centralblatt*, xviii, pp. 337 sqq.; R. Horst, "Over Wavo (*Lysidice oele*, n.sp.), *Rumphius Gedenkboek*, pp. 105 sqq.; A. Izuka, "Observations on the Japanese Palolo, *Ceratocephale osawai*, n. sp.," *Journal of the College of Science, Imperial University of Tokyo*, xvii, art. 11, pp. 29, 33; A. G. Mayer, "The Annual Breeding-swarm of the Atlantic Palolo," *Papers from the Tortugas Laboratory of the Carnegie Institution*, vol. i, pp. 107 sqq.; J. W. Scott, "Some Egg-laying Habits of *Amphitrite ornata*," *Biological Bulletin of the Marine Biological Laboratory, Woods Hole*, xvii, pp. 331 sqq.; F. R. Little and E. E. Just, "Breeding Habits of the Heteronereid form of *Nereis limbata*," *ibid.*, xxiv, pp. 148 sq.; E. E. Just, "Breeding Habits of the Heteronereid form of *Platynereis megalops*," *ibid.*, xxxvii, pp. 201 sqq.; F. Hempelmann, "Zur Naturgeschichte von *Nereis dumerlii*, Aud. et Edw.," *Zoologica*, xxv, pp. 148 sqq.

[1] H. Munro Fox, "Lunar Periodicity in Living Organisms," *Science Progress*, xvii, p. 275.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 279, from information communicated by Dr. W. J. Crozier.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 280. For discussions of the correlation, see B. Friedländer, "Nochmals der Palolo und die Frage nach unbekannte kosmische Einflüsse auf physiologischen Vorgänge," *Biologisches Centralblatt*, xix, pp. 242 sqq.; S. Arrhenius, "Die Einwirkung kosmischer Einflüsse auf physilogischen Verhältnisse," *Skandinavisches Archiv für Physiologie*, viii, pp. 367 sqq. The exact mode of action determining the correlation has not been made clear. Friedländer says that the correlation is "altogether enigmatical." Mr. Fox's suggestion that lunar changes may react on the organisms by affecting the hydrostatic pressure and the tension of dissolved gases appears probable. Mr. Scott says in speaking of Nereis: "The sexual activity of the worm is clearly associated with a similar rhythmical period of general bodily activity; and the greater bodily vigour of the animal is induced by conditions that depend upon the tides" (*op. cit.*, p. 334). Other theories that have been suggested to account for the correspondence between menstruation and the lunar cycle are scarcely worth considering. Thus it has been suggested that "moonlight nights are favourable to courting" (Mantegazza, referred to by H. H. Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. i, p. 51). But such a suggestion will not bear examination. Even if its

the rudest and most primitive peoples. The periodicity of those functions is naturally reckoned by women, in every part of the world, by the changes of the moon, and their whole life is thus regulated by that body. Menstruation, that is, 'moon-change,' is commonly spoken of by all peoples as 'the moon.' The peasants in Germany usually refer to women's periods simply as 'the moon,' [1] and in France it is called 'le moment de la lune.' [2] The Mandingo call menstruation 'carro,' that is, the moon; the Susus call it 'kaikai,' which also means 'moon.' [3] In the Congo menstruation is spoken of as 'ngonde,' that is, 'the moon.' [4] In Torres Straits the same word means both 'moon' and 'menstrual blood.' [5] In India menstruation is called 'the moon.' I have heard of a judge in a native court in India being puzzled by the statement that a female witness was unable to attend the court because of the moon. In British East Africa it is believed by all

operation be imagined to be sufficiently constant, general, and potent to establish a physiological cycle, the suggested cause could not, at best, be supposed to give rise to anything but a rough and approximate, and not an exact and accurate, correspondence. Menstrual periodicity is liable to be very easily disturbed, and variations, especially in civilised conditions, are extremely common; nevertheless, the sexual periodic cycle is normally exact, and often within a few hours. That exact correspondence is most clearly manifested in gestation, throughout which the menstrual periodicity proceeds undisturbed as "a muffled beat," and the termination of which is exactly determined by that lunar cycle. Any departure from that determined term of pregnancy, whether as premature labour or prolongation, measures, almost invariably, a lunar period or a multiple of one. The operation of the causes which have established that correspondence has therefore been direct, constant, and accurate, not indirect, approximate, and adventitious; and the Darwinian explanation is, as far as I can see, entirely adequate and satisfactory. Menstruation in the human female is but a manifestation, which happens to be the only conspicuous one, of a monthly periodicity which affects all vital functions whatsoever (see in particular O. Ott, "Des lois de la périodicité de la fonction physiologique de l'organisme féminin," *Nouvelles Archives d'obstétrique et de gynécologie*, 1890, pp. 502 sqq.); and there can be little doubt that a similar periodicity exists in the male (H. H. Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. i, pp. 67 sqq., 218 sqq.; I. Bloch, *The Sexual Life of Our Time*, p. 26 n.). The accentuation of the decidual changes, which take place in other mammalian females and especially in monkeys, is probably one of the many effects of the adoption of the erect attitude; it may also bear some relation to the prolongation of gestatory functions, menstruation being in fact a decidual abortion.

[1] M. Höfler, *Deutsches Krankheitsnamen-Buch*, p. 420.

[2] S. Icard, *La femme pendant la période menstruelle*, p. 261.

[3] T. Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone*, vol. ii, p. 206.

[4] G. Bentley, *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language*, s.v.

[5] C. G. Seligman, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 206.

natives that menstruation is caused by the new moon.[1] Similar ideas are universal. Thus, for example, the Papuans "believe the moon's changes to be the cause of menstruation."[2] They say that a girl's first menstruation is due to the moon having had connection with her during her sleep.[3] "The moon," says Dr. Seligman, "is considered responsible for the appearance of the menses."[4] The Maori speak of menstruation as 'moon sickness,' 'mate marama.' An old Maori woman gave the following explanations: "The reason of the sickness being known as 'mate marama' is because it affects women when the moon appears. It never affects them when the moon is lost to view, that is, during the dark nights of the moon. Some women are affected when the moon is just seen, and others at various stages of its growth, some when the 'turu' (full) moon appears. A woman is always affected at the same stage of each moon, the time of her affliction does not vary." And another Maori stated: "The moon is the permanent husband, or true husband, of all women, because women 'paheke' (menstruate) when the moon appears. According to the knowledge of our ancestors and elders, the marriage of man and wife is a matter of no moment; the moon is the real husband."[5] We shall see that the conceptions thus clearly expressed are by no means peculiar to the Maori, but pervade primitive human thought. Amongst the Fuegians, the moon is likewise intimately associated with all female functions. The Fuegians call the moon "The Lord of the Women."[6]

I shall have a good deal to say in subsequent chapters concerning that close primitive association between the moon and the functions of women. We shall, I think, see that it is fundamental, and that it extends to all the activities and functions with which primitive women are connected. But there can be little doubt that the primary link in that varied and extensive chain of associations is constituted by the synchronism between the periodical changes of the moon and the periodicity of the sexual functions in women. The moon is by all peoples in the lower phases of culture regarded primarily as a male; this is doubtless on account of the notion already indicated, that menstruation is due to

[1] C. W. Hobley, "British East Africa, Anthropological Studies in Kavirondo and Nandi," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii, p. 258.

[2] E. Beardmore, "The Natives of Mowat, Daudai, New Guinea," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix, p. 460.

[3] A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 206.

[4] C. G. Seligman, "The Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery of the Sinaugolo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii, p. 303.

[5] E. Best, "The Lore of the Whare-Kohanga," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, xiv, p. 211. Cf. Id., "Notes on Maori Mythology," *ibid.*, viii, p. 101.

[6] A. Cojazzi, *Los Indios del Archipelago Fueguino*, pp. 24 sq.

sexual intercourse of the Moon-god with women. In later stages the sex of the lunar power is usually changed, and the moon, the 'Lord of the Women,' becomes the chief goddess in mythological pantheons, the Great Mother. Every great female deity, every Great Mother—Isis, Ishtar, Demeter, Artemis, Aphrodite, 'The Queen of Heaven'—has the attributes of the moon, and is a moon-goddess. The cult of moon deities, whether male or female, is everywhere the special cult of women. Thus mong the Ibo of Nigeria, as we have seen, the periodical Sabbath observed on the day of the new moon is called 'The Women's Day.'[1] In the Congo special prayers and rites are observed by the women at the new moon.[2] The Wemba women whiten their faces when the new moon appears.[3] The Aleutian women have special rites and dances in the moonlight at the full moon.[4] Those feminine lunar observances and cults are conspicuous in the more advanced religions of Western Asia, Egypt, and Europe. Relics of them are, or were until lately found, in our midst. Thus in Yorkshire and the northern countries according to Aubrey, "women doe worship the new moon on their bare knees, kneeling upon an earth-fast stone";[5] in Ireland, on first seeing the new moon, they fall on their knees, saying, "O Moon! leave us as well as you found us."[6] In Bombay Muslim girls stay at home at the new moon, as it is considered dangerous for them to go out at such a time.[7]

The Jewish Sabbath was, in the form in which we know it, similar to that of the Babylonians.[8] The name 'Shabattu,'

[1] See above p. 423.

[2] J. Merolla, "A Voyage to the Congo," in Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, vol. xvi, p. 273.

[3] C. Gouldsbury and H. Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 255.

[4] W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 389.

[5] J. Aubrey, *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, p. 83.

[6] Lady Wilde, *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms, and Superstitions of Ireland*, pp. 205 sq.

[7] W. Crooke, *Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, vol. i, p. 16. For further examples, see below, pp. 639 sq.

[8] There is no evidence to warrant the supposition that the Jewish Sabbath was derived, or borrowed, from the Babylonian institution, and it is an exceedingly improbable one. The observance of lunar feasts was one of the oldest and most general institutions of all the Semites, and there is considerable evidence that they were observed by the Jewish tribes long before they left the Arabian Peninsula (cf. below, vol. iii, pp. 106 sqq.). The most that one is warranted in saying is that the Jewish observance in later time was probably influenced to a considerable degree by the Babylonian institution; the weekly celebration of the tabu day, and possibly the name 'Sabbath,' may have been adopted by the Hebrews from their Babylonian neighbours.

'shabattum,' or 'sapattu,' was that of the Babylonian tabu days, and is explained in a cuneiform vocabulary as "a day of abstinence," or "of propitiation."[1] The Babylonian tabu days are also referred to as the "evil days."[2] In the calendar of Elul II, on a tablet in the British Museum, "every month is divided into four weeks, and the seventh days, or 'Sabbaths,' are marked out as days on which no work should be undertaken."[3] All other days are set down as 'favourable'; the term 'evil day' is applied to the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of the lunar

[1] H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. ii, Pl. 32, No. 1; H. Zimmern, in E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, pp. 592 sq. The phrase by which the word 'shabattu' is explained in the lexicographic tablet—"ûm nûkh libbi"—has been somewhat variously interpreted by different scholars. It appears to contain the idea of 'respite,' of 'ceasing'; but a doubt may arise as to whether the 'respite' has reference to human labour or to the anger of the gods. On general anthropological, as well as on Babylonian comparative evidence, the latter certainly seems the more probable interpretation, and is the one adopted by most authorities; 'shabattu,' according to the gloss, would thus mean "the day of propitiation" (M. Jastrow, "The Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath," *American Journal of Theology*, ii, pp. 316 sq., 351; Id., *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions* pp. 134, 149; H. Zimmern, *loc. cit.*; H. Hirschfeld, "Remarks on the Etymology of Sabbāth," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xxviii, p. 357; C. H. Toy, "The Earliest Form of the Hebrew Sabbath," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xviii, pp. 190 sqq.; Id., *Introduction to the History of Religions*, p. 251). Some scholars have given entirely different interpretations of the word 'shabattu.' According to Hehn, it signifies primarily 'completeness,' 'fulness' (J. Hehn, *Siebenzahl und Sabbat*, p. 98). Dr. Langdon interprets it as a "day of lament" (S. Langdon, "The Derivation of 'Sabattu' and Other Notes," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, lxii, p. 30).

[2] In two texts the word 'shabattu' is definitely applied to the fifteenth or full-moon day, one of the 'evil days' of the Babylonian calendar (T. G. Pinches, "'Sapattu,' the Babylonian Sabbath," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xxvi, pp. 51 sqq.; E. Weidener, "Zur babylonischen Astronomie," *Babyloniaca*, vi, pp. 8 sqq.). Previously to the publication of those texts there was no express proof of the identity of 'shabattu' days with the 'evil days,' and controversy turned largely on the absence of that evidence. The texts apply the term 'shabbatu' to the full-moon day only, and from analogies in the Hebrew use of the word 'sabbath' it would seem that this is the proper application of the term. In all probability, however, it was loosely extended in Babylon, or among the Jews, to the four monthly observances of tabu days. In the 'Epic of Creation' the word 'sabattu' appears to be expressly applied to "the seventh day" (T. G. Pinches, art. "Sabbath (Babylonian)," in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. x, p. 890); but the text is mutilated and the reading doubtful.

[3] G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 12. The famous calendar, concerning which a whole literature has appeared, was first made known by George Smith in 1869. The text is given in H. C. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, Nos. 32–33, and translations have been given by most Assyriologists.

month. It appears probable that in earlier times, only two days a month, the day of the new moon and that of the full moon, were observed as Sabbaths, and originally perhaps only one. We know from cuneiform tablets of the fourth dynasty of Ur, dating from the third millennium B.C., that at that period the day of the new moon and the fifteenth day of the month were the chief days for sacrificial observances in Sumer.[1] As with the ancient Hindus, the Dayaks, and the Polynesians, the monthly or fortnightly observance of tabu days became, with the early Semites, extended to the first day of each of the four phases of the moon. The directions for the observance of the four 'evil days' are given in the Babylonian calendar, and are repeated, with a single variant, with reference to each of the four days. They run as follows: "An evil day. The Shepherd of the Great People shall not eat flesh cooked upon coals, or bread from the oven. (Variant: 'anything touched by fire.') He shall not change his garment, nor put on clean raiment, nor offer sacrifice. The king shall not ride in his chariot. He shall not deliver judgment. The priest shall not give oracles in the secret place. The physician shall not lay his hands upon the sick. The day is inauspicious for all affairs whatsoever. At night the king shall bring his offering before Marduk and Ishtar; he shall offer sacrifice."[2] The deities under whose auspices the Babylonian 'evil days' were observed, and who had to be propitiated, were, then, Marduk and Ishtar. Marduk was an official city-god, whom it was proper to introduce in civic observances.[3] The deity really concerned was the moon-goddess Ishtar; the Babylonian 'shabattu' was her 'evil day.'

It is not unlikely that on her 'evil day' the goddess was thought to be actually menstruating. The notion that goddesses are subject to the infirmities of mortal women is common at the present day in India. Thus in Bengal "it is currently believed that at the time of the first burst of rain, Mother Earth prepared herself for being fertilised by menstruating. During that time there is an entire cessation from all ploughing, sowing, and other farm work."[4] The menstruation of the Earth-goddess is thus observed by the Bengali as a Sabbath. Again, in Travancore, "there is a very important periodic ceremony performed in the temple. This is

[1] H. Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, pp. 314 sq.

[2] A. H. Sayce, "A Babylonian Saints' Calendar," *Records of the Past*, vii, pp. 157 sqq.; M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, vol. ii, p. 533; F. Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible*, p. 156; R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, p. 189. Variations occur in the translations. The last sentence but one is rendered in Mr. Rogers's version: "To issue a malediction the day is not suitable." But the majority of Assyriologists agree in translating it in the sense given in the text.

[3] See below, vol. iii, p. 84.

[4] E. A. Gait, in *Census of India*, 1901, vol. i, "India," p. 189.

known as 'trippukhārattu,' or purification ceremony, in connection with the menstruation of the goddess, which is believed to take place about eight or ten times a year. The cloth wrapped round the metal image of the goddess is found to be discoloured with red spots, exactly as in the case of menstruation. The discoloured cloth is sent up to the ladies of the Vanijpuzha or Talavur Patti houses for examination, and, on its being passed by them, the image is removed to a separate shed, the inner and principal shrine being closed for the period. The cloth is given to the washerwoman and never used again for the goddess. There is a great demand among the people for the discoloured cloth, which passes as a holy relic. It is only after the purification ceremony is performed on the fourth day that the goddess is taken back to the shrine." [1] Another menstruating goddess, who is no other than Parvati, the Great Goddess of the Hindu pantheon, is found at Chunganur. In that locality " there is a temple to Siva, of considerable celebrity. In it there is an image of Parvati, his consort. Parvati, being a female, of course, menstruates, and periodically a red spot appears on the cloth worn by the image. When this happens the temple is closed for three days, and no worship is allowed in it." [2] It is firmly believed, even in some parts of Europe, that the moon regularly menstruates. The peasants of Bavaria, for instance, when the moon is on the wane, say that she is ' sickening,' using the same expression as they employ in reference to a menstruating woman.[3] It has very commonly been believed, since the days of Homer,[4] that drops of blood, or a rain of blood, not infrequently fall from heaven,[5] and that heavenly blood is commonly spoken of among the rural populations of Europe as ' moon-blood.' In Switzerland " the peasants do not look upon the ' moon-blood ' as a figurative expression, but as an actual physical fact, in the same way as they look upon the moon itself as a real living being. Hence the moon is spoken of as ' sickening ' (' luna deficiens,' or, according to Rabham, ' laborans '), as of an evil influence." [6] In Ashanti the day of the new moon is called ' the Day of Blood,' and the Yoruba believe, that if they were to work the fields on that day the corn and rice would turn blood-red.[7]

[1] V. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, vol. ii, pp. 89 sq.

[2] Sunkuni Wariyar, " A Variant of the Bloody Cloth," *The Indian Antiquary*, xviii, pp. 159 sq.

[3] J. A. Schmeller, *Bayerisches Wörterbuch* (edited by G. K. Frommann), vol. i, cols. 1373 sq.; M. Höfler, *Deutsches Krankheitsnamen-Buch*, p. 59.

[4] Homer, *Iliad*, xi. 52.

[5] G. Tissandier, *L'océan aérien*, pp. 219 sqq.

[6] E. L. Rochholz, *Deutscher Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der heidnischen Vorzeit*, vol. i, p. 70.

[7] A. W. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 146.

The Jewish Sabbath dated from more ancient times than any contact of the Hebrew people with the Babylonians. It was reckoned by the Jews amongst their oldest institutions, and they had lost the memory of its origin. The aetiological explanation of it as a day of rest connected with the current account of Creation was a late theory of the observance. For the narrative is, according to the conclusion of the most competent and reputable critics, among the later products of ancient Hebrew literature; and the division of the Divine labours into six days, followed by a day of rest, proceeds from the institution of the seventh-day Sabbath, rather than the latter from the former.[1] The Jewish Sabbath was primarily a new-moon and full-moon observance, extended later, as in so many other instances, to each phase of the moon.[2] We shall in a subsequent chapter have an opportunity of noting how intimately ancient Hebrew religion was associated, in its origin, with lunar cults. Although the traces of that early association were as far as possible carefully obliterated by the editors of the Sacred Scriptures, the connection of the Sabbath with the phases of the moon is freely recognised, and constantly referred to, in the Old Testament. Thus, when the Shunammite woman wished to consult the prophet Elisha, her husband asked: "Wherefore wilt thou go to him to-day? It is not new-moon or Sabbath."[3] And Amos represents the Jewish profiteers as impatient at the restrictions placed on business by the tabu days, and as exclaiming: "When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell grain? and the Sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the epha small and the shekel great?"[4] Isaiah, at a time when it was still a matter of some uncertainty what practices belonged to the pure religion of Yahweh and which were foreign corruptions, denounced in one breath both "new moon and Sabbath."[5] The two are thus constantly associated,[6] and in other passages the day of the new moon is referred to as the day of rest in opposition to days of business.[7] That primary

[1] Cf. M. Jastrow, "The Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath," *American Journal of Theology*, ii, pp. 313 sq.; S. R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis*, p. 35; T. K. Cheyne, *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel*, p. 70; H. Webster, *Rest Days*, pp. 242 sq.

[2] E. G. Hirsch, art. "Sabbath," in *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, vol. x, p. 590.

[3] *II Kings*, iv. 23. [4] *Amos*, viii. 4–5. [5] *Isaiah*, i. 13.

[6] *Hosea*, ii. 11; *Psalms*, lxxxi. 3. Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, pp. 112 sqq.; I. Goldziher, *Mythology among the Hebrews*, p. 63; H. Ewald, *Antiquities of Israel*, pp. 349 sq.

[7] *I Samuel*, xx. 5–6, 18–19; cf. 24–29; *II Kings*, iv. 23. In the first of those passages the Hebrew "beyom hama 'aseh" is rendered in the A.V. (margin) "in the day of the business." But from the Septuagint, Vulgate, Aramaic Targum, and Douai version it would seem to be the ordinary

association has never down to the present time been effaced in Jewish thought. It is considered among Jews to be "a very pious act to bless the moon at the close of the Sabbath." [1]

As with the moon feast of the Aleuts, of the Ibo of Nigeria, and of most primitive peoples, the observance of the Hebrew Sabbath was regarded as the particular concern of the women. Inveighing against the corrupt practices of the Jewish women, Hosea, speaking in the name of Yahweh, exclaims: "I will cause all her mirth to cease, her feasts days, her new moons, and her Sabbaths, and all her solemn feasts." [2] That character of the Sabbath as a special women's festival is several times referred to in Talmudic literature. The Sabbath itself is spoken of by the epithet of 'The Queen,' or 'the bride.' [3] In the tractate, Kikur Sh'lh, it is set out that "God has given the first day of the month as a festival more for women than for men." [4] To this day, among Jews, it is customary for women to abstain from work on the day of the new moon, though this does not apply to the men. [5]

The Hebrew Sabbath did not, then, differ essentially in origin, character, and primary intention from the tabu days observed by most primitive peoples on critical and inauspicious occasions, and in particular at the phases of the moon which are supposed by them to impart their dreaded and dangerous character to the periodic functions of women. The Jewish institution, which already enjoyed considerable popularity in Roman society, where oriental religious observances had become fashionable,[6] was adopted by the Christian Church.[7] But the Greeks and Romans had been

designation for "a working day" (see H. Webster, *Rest Days*, p. 249, note 3). Taken in conjunction with the cuneiform texts (above, p. 434 n[2]) those passages indicate that the term 'Sabbath,' like the Babylonian 'shabattu,' primarily applied to the full-moon day, and that its extension to all four lunar tabu days was a later enlargement of its connotation.

[1] P. I. Hershon, *A Talmudic Miscellany*, p. 342. [2] *Hosea*, ii. 11.

[3] E.G. Hirsch, art. "Sabbath," in *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, vol. x, p. 589.

[4] P. I. Hershon, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

[5] J. Allen, *Modern Judaism*, pp. 390 sqq.; P. I. Hershon, *loc. cit.* Cf. M. Friedmann, in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, iii (1891), p. 712; I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 374; F. Löwe, *Schulchan Aruch, oder die vier jüdischen Gesetzbücher*, vol. i, p. 91.

[6] Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, ii. 39; Philo, *De vita Moysis*, ii. 137. Cf. Horace *Sat.*, i. 9. 69; Juvenal, *Sat.*, xiv. 96–106; Persius, v. 179 sqq.; Martial, iv. 4. 7; Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, vi. 11; S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, p. 84.

[7] Strictly speaking, Christianity, from the Gospels onward, rejected the Jewish Sabbath as completely as it did Jewish circumcision. It established a special weekly feast-day of its own, the Sun-day (*Dies solis*), as a day of rejoicing associated with the Resurrection. This, however, became inevitably confounded with the Jewish Sabbath. The Puritan Sabbath of England and Scotland is, historically, un-Christian.

from time immemorial familiar with the observance of solemn restrictions on certain tabu days, and more especially on the day of the new moon. When the trial of the bow of Odysseus was proposed to the suitors, they objected that it was the day of the new moon, and that it was therefore unbeseeming to hold a contest on that day.[1] The Greek lunar tabu days never extended, as did those of Babylonia and of Palestine, to the four phase-days of the moon, but were mostly confined to the first, which was known as New-moon Day, or 'Noumenia.' Although there was no general stoppage of business, most public activities, except those of a religious character, were intermitted on that day, and it was considered unsuitable for farm-work.[2] A less solemn monthly festival, known as Dichomenia, was held on the day of the full moon.[3] The Romans observed the Kalends, or days of the new moon, in a similar manner. The day was devoted to religious ceremonies, and, in old-fashioned households, it was customary that the paterfamilias should remain at home on those days and offer prayers to the family gods.[4] The introduction of the Hebrew usage by the Christian Church did not, therefore, bring any violent change or startling novelty in the customs and ideas of the citizens of the Roman Empire.[5]

It will thus be seen that, although our enquiry into the connection between the keeping holy of the Sabbath day and the tabu on menstruating women may have taken us somewhat far afield, that connection is direct and close; and the observance which, in the usages of our own country at the present day, bears most clearly the character of a primitive tabu, is immediately dependent upon what we have reason to believe was the first tabu, or moral prohibition, imposed in human tradition upon the animal instincts of primitive mankind.

[1] Homer, *Odyssey*, xxi. 258 sq. Cf. xiv. 158 sqq.; xx. 156, 276 sqq.

[2] Hesiod, *Erga*, 770; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.*, 5; Id., *De vitando aere alieno*, 2; Demosthenes, *Adv. Aristogiton*, i. 99; Athenaeus, xii. 76; Aristophanes, *Nubes*, 615 sqq.; *Vespae*, 96; *Acharnenses*, 999; Theophrastus, xiv; Lucian, *Icaromenippus*, 13; *Lexiphanes*, 6; Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii. 16.

[3] Hesiod, *Erga*, 819; *Hymni Homerici*, xxxii. 11; Plutarch, *De gloria Atheniensis*, vii; Dion, xxiii.

[4] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, p. 369; Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 47; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.*, 24; Vergil, *Bucolica*, i. 43 sq.; Horace, *Carmina*, iii. 23. 1 sq.

[5] In the second century two Sundays only in the month were observed by the Christians (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii. 37).

CHAPTER XVIII

THE TOTEM

The Sacredness of Food.

EVEN the most cursory survey of the tabus observed by primitive peoples cannot fail to impress the enquirer with the large part played in those ideas by food and the act of eating. An enormous proportion of tabus has reference to articles of food, and is concerned with what should and what should not be eaten, and with the manner of eating things. We are familiar with the strict rules relating to diet and the preparation of food in many religions, with the regulations concerning food among the Jews, Muhammadans, and Hindus, for instance. The rites of some pastoral peoples, such as the Todas, the Banyoro, the Bahima, have reference for the most part to the preparation and preservation of the sacred properties of the milk of their cows. In the religion of the most civilised peoples the importance and significance attached to the act of eating are scarcely less prominent ; the chief sacrament of the Christian religion is a mystic meal. We need not go beyond our own communities to see that the act of eating has a deep and old-established significance. A meal is amongst ourselves often begun with a religious invocation, calling down a blessing on the food and consecrating it ; and a further prayer is sometimes offered at the end of the meal, to which is thus imparted the character of a religious ceremony. In Scotland the consequences of neglecting those observances may, it is considered by many people, be very serious not only to the consumers, but even to persons in their vicinity. A man, on passing a certain house in a Scottish village, was suddenly seized with a feeling of inanition which almost caused him to faint. An old lady who noticed his pallor had no difficulty in diagnosing the case. " You have passed," she said, " a house where people sat and partook of food without asking a blessing." And in fact the effects of the maleficent influence emanating from that impious household were immediately counteracted by partaking of a piece of bread over which the name of the Blessed Trinity had been

duly pronounced.[1] Among Italian peasants in the Abruzzi any article of food is habitually spoken of as "a grace of God," and "everything which provides nourishment is looked upon as a sacred thing." If a loaf should drop from the hand or from the table, it is at once picked up and is respectfully kissed, as if to ask its forgiveness.[2]

When a person is tabu, the tabu applies not only to everything that has been part of his body, such as his hair, nail-parings, spittle, etc., but also to the food which is intended for him, and to any food that may be left over after he has eaten. Nothing is more subject to the influence of tabu than food. The strictest prohibitions affecting a menstruous woman have reference to her handling or cooking food, which would become poisoned and have the most disastrous effects on anyone partaking of it; and the idea is still the most persistent survival of the tabu on a menstruating woman. The numerous restrictions to which women are subject in regard to food arise for the most part from fear lest all animals and plants of the same species should be sympathetically affected and injured.

Since food and reproduction are the primary interests of man, as of all living beings, the important part played by food in primitive ideas can cause no surprise. We should, however, entirely fail to appreciate the significance of those sentiments and ideas connected in the primitive mind with food if we regarded them as pure and simple expressions of man's utilitarian interests in his means of subsistence. To do so would be a self-contradiction. A purely utilitarian value is the antithesis of an emotional, sentimental, imaginative value. The interest in food is the type of gross, material, practical, prosaic, unsentimental interests, of that order of values and interests which are the direct negation of the extra-utilitarian sentiments of life and which ruthlessly antagonise them. Had food been regarded by the primitive mind from the utilitarian point of view alone, it could never have acquired a mystic significance, it could never have become an object of emotional sentiment. In order to become invested with such ulterior values, food must have acquired significance other than its economic face-value. The very fact of an ulterior sentiment transcending the utilitarian value of food as an economic necessity, and conflicting with that value by imposing restrictions and prohibitions on its use, postulates a superadded interpretation, an imported interest by which the direct interest in food has become transformed.

There is, anteriorly to the development of cultural and

[1] G. Henderson, *Survivals in Belief among the Celts*, p. 57.
[2] G. Finamore, *Tradizioni popolari abruzzesi*, pp. 18 sq.

intellectual values that are foreign to primitive psychology, but one order of interests which could thus be superadded to the interest in food, namely, the other primary interest of life, the reproductive interest. As food is the prototype of utilitarian, materialistic, economic values, so the reproductive impulse is the prototype of emotional, non-utilitarian, idealistic values. The one is the symbol of the prosaic realities, the other of the poetry of life.

The immediate, practical interest is typically the interest of the active, battling male. His perception of the world presents it in terms of his possible activities, that is, in material terms. He deals with that material world in view of the immediate uses which he can extract from it. In other words, the male tendency is to deal with things rationally, to use the powers developed in active experience along the line of tried efficiency. In the female, on the other hand, the immediate utilitarian values are not the dominant interest. The female's protended interests are the racial instincts for which things have another significance than the immediate utilitarian one, a significance not to be apprehended by acute devising and penetrating cognitive efforts, by reasoning, but one which is given as an affective value, a sentiment investing things with the more remote, indirect, extended life-interests of the race. The male is concerned with his daily bread, the female does not live by that bread alone. All values that have become attached to things over and above their direct value in terms of practical activities, all the richer perceptions and interpretations which colour the actualities of life, all art, all poetic sentiment, are irradiations of those extra-individualistic, racial interests which are represented by the reproductive instincts, and are the dominant interests of the female. They have their source in those race-regarding feminine impulses that are partaken of by the male in so far only as his instincts have become modified by adaptation to her sexual needs.[1]

[1] The comparative sterility of women as regards creative art appears to contrast with the dominance of extra-utilitarian impulses and emotion. That seeming antinomy is rendered intelligible when it is remembered that creative artistic production involves the intellectual control of the emotion it expresses. That opposition between the intellectual control and the emotional motive of art, between productive technique and inspiration, is in fact the pervading problem of all art; intellect and technique kill art, and, on the other hand, artistic emotion cannot attain adequate expression without them. In discussing the question of feminine artistic inaptitude, Dr. Havelock Ellis aptly cites the following remarks of Mr. Upton in reference to the most emotional of all arts, music: "Conceding that music is the highest expression of the emotions, and that woman is emotional by nature, is it not one solution of the problem that woman does not musically reproduce them because she herself is emotional by temperament and nature, and cannot project herself outwardly any more than she can give outward expression to other

Those higher developments of extra-utilitarian, creative psychism are far removed from the sphere of primitive mentality. To interpret the products of the latter in terms of those creative, speculative activities is an anachronism unfortunately all too common, which sets aside the order of psychological development. We are at present concerned with the very origin of that process by which the facts of life are invested with ulterior values. And in the first steps of that process, and for long after, the primitive human mind takes no imaginative or speculative flights; its operation never departs very far, if at all, from the concrete facts of experience. At the earliest stages, as in the most exalted idealisms, the material economic facts of life have been invested with ulterior values by the action upon them of timeless reproductive interests.

Strange as it may appear at first sight, the connection between food and reproduction is not, in terms of primitive ideas, a mystic and fanciful one, but, on the contrary, a direct, close, and manifest relation.

Ignorance concerning the Physiology of Generation.

The process of generation cannot present itself to the mind of primitive man in the same light as it does to us. That the contributions of father and mother to the inherited life of the offspring are equal is a piece of knowledge which dates from recent years. It was in the seventeenth century that Swammerdam first discovered that contact of the spermatic fluid with the ovum is a necessary condition of generation.[1] The revolutionary and somewhat heretical discovery gave rise to fierce controversies, and

mysterious and deeply-hidden traits of her nature? The emotion is part of herself, and is as natural to her as breathing. Man controls his emotions, and can give outward expression of them. In woman they are the dominating element, and so long as they are dominant she absorbs music. Great actresses may express emotion because they express their own natures; but to treat emotions as if they were mathematics, to bind and measure and limit them within the rigid laws of harmony and counterpoint, and to express them with arbitrary signs, is a cold-blooded operation possible only to the sterner and more obdurate nature of man" (G. P. Upton, *Woman and Music*, cited by H. H. Ellis, *Man and Woman*, p. 320). The dominance of emotional values and the expression of emotion are two antagonistic mental attitudes. A woman, as Madame de Staël remarked, either has children or writes books. The power of artistic creation is not the power of emotion, but of *transmuted* emotion; that transmutation does not take place in woman, but in man, whose reproductive impulses are subject to modification by the mating instincts of the female; in her there is no modification or transmutation.

[1] J. Swammerdam, *Miraculum naturae, sive uteri muliebri fabrica, notis in J. van Horne prodromum illustratum* (Leyde, 1672).

many were reluctant to admit that fertilisation by the male was absolutely essential to conception. The male germ-cells were discovered in 1785 only by Spallanzani.[1] That the process of reproduction is initiated by the fusion of the male and female germ-cells was first suspected by Barry in the year 1843,[2] and adequately demonstrated for the first time by Herman Fol in 1879.[3] The knowledge of those facts thus dates, so to speak, from yesterday; the actual process which governs the development of the foetus still remains obscure to many scientific minds, and the speculations of Professor Weissmann, which have exercised a great influence upon current conceptions on the subject, may appear as quaint to future generations as the notions of Australian aborigines. For Aristotle the male's contribution in the process of generation consisted in some obscure "impulse to movement," ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, and the child was entirely formed out of the menstrual blood retained in the uterus;[4] "for in very deed," as Pliny stated the view, "it is the material substance of generation, and the man's seed serveth in steed of runnet to gather it round into a curd, which afterwards in process of time quickeneth and groweth to the forme of a bodie."[5] The Midrash gives an account of the process in almost the same words;[6] and Indian science arrived at the same conclusion as Aristotle.[7] The view is, indeed, very general throughout the lower phases of culture. The Maori of New Zealand, for example, have the same conception of the process as ancient authorities. The child, they believe, is formed entirely out of the menstrual blood which is retained in the womb. "The discharge is a kind of human being, because if the discharge ceases, then it grows into a person, that is, the 'paheke' (menstrual blood) ceases to come away, then it assumes human form and grows into a man."[8] Although

[1] L. Spallanzani, *Expériences pour servir à l'histoire naturelle de la génération des animaux et des plantes* (Geneva, 1785).

[2] M. Barry, "Spermatozoa observed within the Mammiferous Ovum," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1843, p. 33.

[3] H. Fol, "Recherches sur la fécondation et le commencement de l'hénogénie chez divers animaux," *Mémoires de la Société de Physique et d'Histoire Naturelle de Genève*, xxvi (1879), pp. 89 sqq.

[4] Aristotle, *De generatione animalium*, i. 88.

[5] Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, vii. 15; Philemon Holland's translation.

[6] *Midrash* (*Leviticus*), Parascha, xiv, cap. xii. 2 (*Der Midrasch Wajikra Rabba*, transl. by A. Wünsché, p. 96): "The uterus remains full of blood, which would else flow out as menstrual issue. When it is the will of the Creator, there comes a drop of white seed and falls therein, and the growth of the child at once takes place, exactly as happens when one puts rennet into a bowl of milk."

[7] R. Schmidt, *Liebe und Ehe in alten und modernen Indien*, p. 205.

[8] E. Best, "The Lore of the Whare-Kohanga," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, xiv, p. 212. Cf. E. Tregear, "The Maoris of New Zealand," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix, p. 101.

Hippocrates, by a stroke of genius, had divined the existence of a male and a female germ, his opinion was regarded as strange and found little acceptance; and the Aristotelian view remained the teaching of our medical schools until less than two hundred years ago, and was completely displaced only by quite recent advances in our knowledge.

The notion of paternity was not generally regarded in ancient and modern times, and is not regarded by the majority of primitive peoples, as representing a physiological relation, but a social and juridic claim. A father is 'responsible' for a woman's child in an economic and juridic sense; his relation to it is not founded, as is the woman's, on physical facts. The Roman jurists were quite clear on the point; the relation between mother and child is a natural fact, 'natura verum,' while paternity belongs entirely to the sphere of civil law.[1] The fruit depends upon the soil, not upon the seed, and the mother is similar to the soil.[2] Plato's estimate is much the same.[3] The maternal relation is the only natural fact not because paternity is subject to uncertainty, but because of the absence of the physiological conception of paternity. The peasant populations of Europe have the same views as most primitive peoples. The women especially maintain, as I have frequently heard them do, that the father has no part whatever in the child; his only claim in regard to it is what may be established by law.[4]

The fact of physical or mental resemblance between father and child does not suggest a physical nexus between the two, but is accounted for in other ways. In patriarchal society the child is often a reincarnation of some ancestor of the father; hence the resemblance between them. Or that resemblance may be due, according to primitive notions, to the mother's maternal impressions imparting to the child the likeness of the father. In the early days of settlement in Australia many of the women in those tribes nearest to the white settlements gave birth to light-coloured children. But the strange phenomenon was accounted for, quite honestly, I believe, by the effects of changes of diet, of white bread and other articles of food that were obtained from the white man.[5]

The tribes of Central Australia so carefully studied in the classical

[1] Cuiacus, *Opera*, vol. vi, p. 32.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 219; Julian, in *Digesta*, vii. 22. 1.

[3] Plato, *Respub.*, vi. 497.

[4] I find what appears to be an echo of the same assumption in the writings of a highly cultured woman with some scientific training: "Nature has bestowed upon woman the greatest of her privileges, that of being able to create life, of eternalising herself in the species" (Gina Lombroso, *L'anima della donna*, p. 259). Apparently the male does not enjoy that privilege.

[5] A. R. Brown, "Beliefs concerning Childbirth in some Australian Tribes," *Man*, xii, p. 181.

investigations of Sir Baldwin Spencer and Mr. Gillen were stated by them not to recognise any relation between sexual congress and reproduction, and the suggestion that there exists any such relation is, when made to those natives, received with derision.[1] The statement, when first published, gave rise to more expressions of incredulity than perhaps any other ethnological report; and a whole literature has appeared protesting against the possibility of such physiological ignorance in a people living in a state of nature. The accuracy of the report appears to be now fully established. The matter has not only been re-examined in subsequent researches of Sir Baldwin Spencer and Mr. Gillen, but has been independently confirmed by other observers.[2] The same thing is, indeed, reported with uniform consistency of almost all the wilder tribes of Australian aborigines. The tribes of Northern Queensland do not regard conception as dependent upon sexual intercourse.[3] Among the north-western tribes generation is likewise stated to be unrelated to sexual congress.[4] In the Kariera, Namal and Injibandi tribes of Western Australia no relation is recognised between intercourse and conception, and the husband of a woman is not even regarded as the human medium or indirect progenitor of her children; that conception of fatherhood being attached to some other man and independently of any sexual relations with the woman.[5]

There appears to be nothing singular or surprising in such

[1] B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 265.

[2] Id., *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 330 sq., 660; C. Strehlow, *Die Aranda und Loritja Stamme in Zentral-Australien*, vol. i, p. 15, vol. ii, pp. 51 sqq.; H. Basedow, "Anthropological Notes on the Western Central Tribes of the Northern Territory of South Australia," *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia*, xxxi, pp. 4 sqq.; R. H. Mathews, "Notes on some Native Tribes of Australia," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xl, p. 110; Id., "Notes on the Arranda Tribe," *ibid.*, xli, p. 147; Id., "Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of Queensland," *Queensland Geographical Journal*, N.S., xx, p. 73; Id., "Notes on the Aborigines of the Northern Territory, Western Australia and Queensland," *ibid.*, xxii, pp. 75 sq.; J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. i, p. 577, from information supplied by Dr. Frodsham, Bishop of North Queensland.

[3] W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 8*, p. 7; *Bulletin No. 5*, p. 22. In the Tully River tribes a woman "cannot publicly insult an individual more than by drawing attention to his alleged large amount of semen, such qualification being regarded as a grave disqualification."

[4] J. Bischofs, "Die Niol-Niol, ein Eingeborenstamm in Nordwest Australien," *Anthropos*, iii, p. 35.

[5] A. R. Brown, *loc. cit.*, pp. 180 sq. I am personally assured by Mr. E. L. Grant-Watson, who accompanied Mr. Brown in Western Australia, that the fact can be stated with the greatest emphasis.

ignorance on the part of some Australian aborigines. The notions of peoples considerably above the most primitive cultural levels concerning the mechanism of reproduction are often extremely vague and inaccurate; and there is perhaps no primitive people that regards the congress of male and female as being the actual and indispensable cause of generation. Where sexual activity is unrestricted even before puberty, and pregnancy does not follow in one instance out of a hundred, there is no relation of 'post hoc ergo propter hoc' between the two facts. Some tribes have been astonished to learn that menstruation could make its appearance without sexual intercourse.[1] Among others who recognise the relation between sexual intercourse and pregnancy it is commonly believed that the latter cannot result from one sexual act alone, but that repeated connection is indispensable.[2] The Sinaugolo Papuans of the Rigo district of New Guinea are under the impression that conception takes place in the breast, and judge of its existence by the enlargement of the mammae; they think that the foetus drops down from the chest into the abdomen during the later months. They have no knowledge of the internal organs of the female, and do not know of the existence of the womb. They do not associate the stoppage of the menses with pregnancy.[3] Mr. W. Heape exclaims that any woman who has once had experience of pregnancy cannot fail to recognise the first symptoms of the condition. That may be true of civilised woman, but it does not appear to be true of savage woman. Probably many of the subjective nervous and gastric symptoms which are prominent in the former are either absent or less marked in the latter. As a matter of fact pregnancy is, among savages, usually diagnosed by comparatively late symptoms, often not before 'quickening' takes place. The Baka Bahau of Central Borneo think that pregnancy lasts from four to five months; that is, they are ignorant of the date of conception, and know only the

[1] J. Jetté, "On the Superstitions of the Ten'a Indians," *Anthropos*, v, p. 700; "Les Attie (Côte d'Ivoire)," par un missionnaire, *Revue d'Ethnographie et des Traditions Populaires*, iii, p. 5; A. and G. Grandidier, *Histoire physique naturelle et politique de Madagascar*, vol. iv, part ii, p. 133.

[2] C. G. Seligman, "The Medicine, Surgery, and Midwifery of the Sinaugolo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii, p. 300; D. Blyth, "Notes on the Traditions and Customs of the Natives of Fiji relative to Conception, Pregnancy, and Parturition," *Glasgow Medical Journal*, xxviii, p 181; H. H. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, p. 676; H. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. i, p. 188; B. Pilsudski, "Schwangerschaft, Entbindung und Fehlgeburt bei dem Bewohnern der Insel Sachalin," *Anthropos*, v, p. 769.

[3] C. G. Seligman, "The Medicine, Surgery, and Midwifery of the Sinaugolo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii, p. 300.

existence of pregnancy from the time of quickening.[1] The natives of the Loyalty Islands have no exact idea of the duration of pregnancy.[2] In this they are far from singular. The tribes of the Orinoco did not know the duration of pregnancy.[3] The Tepecanos of Mexico believe that "the period of gestation lasts nine months with a boy but only seven or eight months with a girl."[4] Among people so far removed from primitive savagedom as the Tuareg of the Ahir there is no definite idea as to the duration of gestation; they think it quite possible that it may last several years.[5] Even the Italian peasants of the Abruzzi have as inaccurate ideas on the subject as the native tribes of Mexico; they believe that pregnancy lasts nine lunar months, and any prolongation of gestation beyond that term is regarded by them as due to abnormal causes; they also believe that when the child is a girl pregnancy lasts longer than when it is a boy.[6] Among the southern Slavs it is believed that pregnancy may occasionally last only six weeks.[7]

The Baka Bahau expect also to breed from dogs which they have castrated.[8] But that physiological ignorance can scarcely cause surprise when we are told that among the peasants of Sicily "it is not even suspected that the seminal fluid is secreted by the testicles; according to indisputable and unanimous tradition it comes from the spinal marrow."[9] In the Kai tribe of Papua women "deny in all seriousness the connexion between sexual intercourse and pregnancy."[10] Among the natives of Trobriand Island, off New Guinea, sexual relations are regarded as being purely accessory to generation; and the most definite proof of the reality of that conviction is afforded by the fact that girls who do not desire to become pregnant are much more careful not to bathe at high tide or to avoid haunted spots than to abstain from sexual intercourse, which is unrestricted.[11] Similarly among the Baganda, according to Mr. Roscoe, "while the present generation knows the cause of pregnancy, the people in the earlier times were uncertain as to its real cause, and thought that it was possible to conceive

[1] A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, vol. i, pp. 444 sq.
[2] E. Hadfield, *Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group*, pp. 61 sq.
[3] F. S. Gilii, *Saggio di storia americana*, vol. ii, p. 264.
[4] A. Hrdlička, "The Region of the Ancient Chichimecs, with Notes on the Tepecanos," *The American Anthropologist*, N.S., v, p. 412.
[5] C. Jean, *Les Touaregs du sud-est. L'Aïr*, p. 205.
[6] G. Finamore, *Tradizioni popolari abruzzesi*, p. 62.
[7] F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, p. 530.
[8] A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *loc. cit.*
[9] G. Pitré, *Medicina popolare siciliana*, p. 128.
[10] C. Keysser, in R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, vol. iii, p. 26.
[11] B. Malinowski, "Baloma; the Spirit of the Dead in the Trobriand Islands," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlvi, pp. 403 sqq.

without intercourse with the male sex." [1] The Hausa believe that a virgin may become pregnant if she sits on a spot which is still warm from the body of a man.[2] The North American Indians, like the Australians, believed that women might be impregnated by the souls of the unborn, and they buried children along the highways "in order that the women who pass may gather their souls." [3] The ancient Britons believed that conception could take place without sexual intercourse. Nennius informs us that some Saxons, hearing some British boys quarrelling and one taunting another with his having no father, "sought out the boy's mother, and asked her if he had no father. She assured them with an oath that he had none, and that she did not know how he had been conceived, as she never had intercourse with any man." [4]

Such views are not singularities. The opinion of the Australian Arunta is but a slightly more emphatic form of ideas which are entertained by all uncultured peoples concerning generation. Sexual congress, even where it is regarded as having a definite relation to conception, is not looked upon as the cause of it. A woman conceives because a spirit enters into her. It may be an ancestral spirit seeking re-birth, or it may come from some god; but the universal view of primitive peoples is that a man can at most act as a medium for the transmission of that spirit. Thus the Shilluk and Nuer of the Upper Nile expressly attribute pregnancy to their god, Kosz, "with the assistance of the husband." [5] All the Mongol and Tartaric tribes of Central Asia "believe that each human being is brought into existence by special divine interference." [6] That, indeed, is the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church at the present day. The soul of a human being "is created and united by God to the infant body yet unborn, which union is called passive conception, in which parents have no part." [7] The problem how children could be born out of an adulterous union, since God was the

[1] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, pp. 46 sqq.

[2] A. J. N. Tremearne, "Bori Beliefs and Ceremonies," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlv, p. 35.

[3] F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. vi, p. 75. Cf. E. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, vol. i, pp. 253 sq.; W. Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians*, p. 51.

[4] Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, 40.

[5] H. C. Jackson, "The Nuer of the Upper Nile Province," *Sudan Notes and Records*, vi, p. 143.

[6] J. Stadling, "Shamanism," *The Contemporary Review*, 1901, vol. i, p. 91.

[7] The Very Rev. J. Faa di Bruno, *Catholic Belief*, p. 200. That is, of course, the Pauline view: "That seed which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be . . . but God giveth it a body" (*I Corinthians*, xv. 37, 38).

real father of every child, and He condemns adultery, puzzled some of the early Christian Fathers.[1] To the truly religious person, to the religious woman especially, the view that the coming into existence of a new human being is solely or chiefly the result of the material act of sexual intercourse, is a notion little short of blasphemous; children are sent by God. The conception differs in degree only from the belief of the Australian aborigines.

Immaculate Conception through Food and other Agencies.

But further, although concourse with the male is regarded as the usual condition of conception and the habitual medium for the transference of the unborn spirit to the body of the woman, that medium is by no means considered indispensable. Belief in 'immaculate conception' is universal. It is the usual manner in which gods and heroes are conceived even in cultural stages far above savagery.[2] It is by no means a privilege of heroes

[1] L. E. Du Pin, *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques*, vol. i. p. 195.

[2] Almost every hero-god among the North American races is virgin-born (D. G. Brinton, *American Hero Myths*, p. 47; Id., *The Lenape and their Legends*, p. 131; G. A. Dorsey, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnees*, p. 307; E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, vol. i, p. 414; H. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance from Port Leavenworth to San Diego*, pp. 82 sqq.; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit Indianer*, pp. 254, 262, 314.) The Aztec divinities, Quetzalcoatl and Huilzilopochtlic, were born of virgins (E. C. Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Popol Vuh*, pp. cxxxvii, 88 sqq.; M. E. Beauvois, "Deux sources de l'histoire des Quetzalcoatl," *Le Muséon*, v, pp. 435 sq., 441, 600); Montezuma was virgin-born (H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. iii, p. 175 n.). So were the national heroes of the Manacicas of Paraguay (*Relation des Missions du Paraguay*, p. 38), of the Maceni (H. de Charencey, *Le Fils de la Vierge*, p. 111), of the Bakairi of Brazil (C. von den Steinen, *Unter Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, p. 372), and of the Huitoto and other tribes of the Upper Amazon (H. A. Coudreau, *La France équinoxiale*, vol. ii, pp. 184 sq.). The divine heroes of the Bushmen (T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, p. 69), of the Samoans (G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, pp. 48 sq.), of the Admiralty Islanders (J. Meier, "Mythen und Sagen der Admiralität Insularen," *Anthropos*, ii, p. 938), of the Banks Islanders (R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 154 sq.), of the Alfurs of Minahassa (J. A. T. Schwatz, "Ethnographica uit de Minahassa," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xviii, p. 59), of the Lynngams of Assam (P. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, p. 195), of the Ainu of Japan (H. de Charencey, *Le Folk-lore dans les deux mondes*, p. 191) were born of virgins. The Mongolian tribes of Central Asia lay the greatest stress on the virgin birth of their heroes (Girard de Rialle, *Mémoire sur l'Asie Centrale*, pp. 80, 89; J. Stadling, "Shamanism," *The Contemporary Review*, 1901, vol. i, p. 90). Tibetan saints and prophets (Paulinus de S. Bartholomeo, *Alphabetum Thibetanum*, p. 32), holy heroes in Siam (M. Drach, "Croyances des peuples de l'antiquité sur une

and gods ; the stories and legends of impregnation by agencies other than sexual intercourse are innumerable in all parts of the world and in all ages.[1] Nor does the belief belong by any means exclusively to the realms of myth and legend. Like the Australians most uncultured peoples believe that a woman may become pregnant through the agency of a supernatural being or spirit. The Subanu, for example, a primitive tribe dwelling in the mountains of Mindanao in the Philippines, consider that all spirits may cause a woman to conceive without any sexual intercourse.[2] Conception may take place through the operation of the moon, of the sun, by bathing in the sea or in other waters, by rain, by partaking of various foods. Pliny,[3] Vergil,[4] St. Augustine[5] believed that mares could be fertilised by the wind ; and Plutarch thought that birds might be impregnated in the same manner.[6] In northern India young women are careful

vierge mère," *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, vii, p. 114) are virgin-born. In China every ancient sage and hero and every founder of a dynasty is virgin-born, and the catalogues of their names fills a whole volume of Chinese Biographical Encyclopaedias (*Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, vol. ix, pp. 317, 385 ; J. H. de Prémaré, *Vestiges des principaux dogmes chrétiens tirés des anciens livres chinois*, pp. 204 sqq.). Buddha (T. W. Rys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 63 ; W. W. Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, pp. 80 sq. ; Paulinus de S. Bartholomeo, *Systema brahmanicum*, p. 158) and Zoroaster (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. v, p. 187) were born of virgins. Jinghis-Khan was virgin-born (J. Deguignes, *Histoire générale des Huns*, vol. iii, p. 9), and so were the national heroes of the Finns (*The Kalevala*, ed. by J. H. Crawford, vol. i, pp. 3 sq.), of the Hungarians (E. Sayous, *Les origines et l'époque païenne des l'histoire des Hongrois*, p. 16), and of the Southern Slavs (T. R. Georgevitch, " Parthenogenesis in Serbian Popular Tradition," *Folk-lore*, xxix, pp. 58 sqq.). The hero-gods of the ancient Germans and Gauls were born of virgins (E. Schedius, *De Diis Germanis*, p. 346 ; A. Bonnetty, " Découverte d'une statuette gauloise d'une Vierge Mère," *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, 6e Série, ix, pp. 204 sqq.). Attis was virgin-born (Pausanias, vii. 17 ; Arnobius, *Adv. Gentes*, v. 5–7) ; Hera, according to some myths, gave birth to Ares, to Hephaistos, to Hebe, to Typoeus without sexual intercourse (Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 255 ; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, Praefatio ; Apollodorus, i. 3. 5 ; Natalis Comes, *Mythologia*, p. 14 ; *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 350 sqq. ; Lucian, *De sacrificiis*, vi ; Stesichorus, in *Etymologicon Magnum*, 772. 49). Plato was regarded in popular tradition as having been born when his mother, Perictone, was a virgin (Diogenes Laertius, iii. i. 1), and Origen appealed to the tradition in support of the virgin birth of Christ (Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i. 27).

[1] For examples of those myths see : E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. i, pp. 71 sqq. ; Id., *Primitive Paternity*, vol. i, pp. 4 sqq. ; P. Saintyves, *Les Vierges Mères et les Naissances Miraculeuses* ; H. de Charencey, *Le Fils de la Vierge* ; Id., *Le Folklore dans les deux Mondes*, pp. 121 sqq. ; L. Frobenius, *Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes*, pp. 223 sqq.

[2] J. P. Finley and W. Churchill, *The Subanu*, p. 32.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii. 67.

[4] Vergil, *Georgics*, ii. 266 sqq.

[5] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, xxi. 5.

[6] Plutarch, *Quaestiones Conviviales*, viii. 1. 3.

not to linger in the sunlight while they are menstruating, for this would cause them to become pregnant;[1] and the precaution is observed among American tribes.[2] Bushmen women and girls are careful to take shelter during a shower, for the rain from heaven which fertilises the earth would impregnate them also.[3] Hottentot women believe that it would be impossible for them to have any children unless they had first stood naked in a thunder-shower.[4] Australian women likewise believe they can be impregnated by the rain.[5] A Mongol princess conceived through the operation of a hail-storm, and another by an aurora borealis.[6] In Australia women are careful to avoid a sand-storm, for the ancestral spirits travel in the whirlwind and would enter into them and render them pregnant.[7] A similar mode of impregnation was believed to be possible by the inhabitants of Scotland; for we read in an old account that at a place near Arnach, where the bones of warriors from some long-forgotten battle were lying about, when a young girl one night "took up her cloaths and uncovered herself sum part here, a sudden whirlwind threw some of the ashes in her private member. Whereupon she conceaved and bore a son called Gillie Downak Chravolick."[8]

In a considerable number of the myths and stories of virgin births conception is brought about through the medium of things eaten. The virgin mother-goddesses and princesses of China usually conceived by eating a lotus-flower.[9] The Manchus were descended from a girl who conceived through eating a red fruit;[10] and the Shang dynasty was descended from the princess Kien-Ti, who became pregnant through eating swallows' eggs.[11] The Divine Mother in Japanese tradition conceived by eating cherries.[12]

[1] W. Crooke, *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, vol. i, p. 11.

[2] J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, vol. x, pp. 41, 44, 46 sq.

[3] L. C. Lloyd, *A Short Account of further Bushman Material*, p. 21.

[4] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, pp. 86 sq.

[5] G. Taplin, *The Folklore, Manners, Customs and Languages of the South Australian Aborigines*, p. 88.

[6] J. Stadling, "Shamanism," *The Contemporary Review*, 1901, vol. i, p. 90.

[7] B. Spencer and F. G. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 125 n.; A. R. Brown, "Beliefs concerning Childbirth in some Australian Tribes," *Man*, xii, p. 182.

[8] W. Macfarlane, *Geographical Collection relating to Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 520.

[9] J. Barrow, *Travels in China*, pp. 473, 476; J. M. de Groot, *Les fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emoui*, vol. i, p. 262.

[10] M. E. F. Koepen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, vol. ii, p. 160.

[11] Se-Ma-Ts'ien, *Mémoires historiques*, vol. i, pp. 173 sq.

[12] *Ambassades mémorables de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales des Provinces Unies vers les Empereurs du Japon*, Part i, p. 82; Gio. Fr. Gemelli Careri, *Giro del Mondo*, vol. v, p. 224.

Zarathustra was conceived through his mother drinking an infusion of 'hono' and cow's milk.[1] In the Egyptian tale of the Two Brothers, the heroine is impregnated by swallowing a chip of wood.[2] Attis was conceived by his mother eating almonds,[3] or, according to another version, a pomegranate.[4] Hera conceived Hephaistos by eating a flower,[5] and Hebe by eating lettuce.[6] In a Spanish version of the tale of Tristan and Iseult, a lily that grows from the tears of the heroine causes any woman who eats of it to become pregnant.[7] In the Finnish poem of Kalevala the virgin Mariatta conceives through eating a bilberry.[8] In several stories virgins become pregnant through eating bone-dust.[9] The Irish heroes Cuchulainn and Conchobar were conceived by their mother from swallowing a worm.[10] A wife of Cormac, King of Ulster, was made to conceive by her mother cooking a mess of pottage for her; but she had doubts as to its having the desired effect. "Bad is what thou hast given me," she says, "it will be a daughter that I shall bear."[11] Jacob was, no doubt, conceived by Rebecca in consequence of her having eaten of the fruit of the mandrake.[12] Poshayam, the hero of the Sia, was born of a virgin who had eaten pinan nuts;[13] and the hero of the Hottentots was born of a girl who had eaten a juicy herb.[14] In British Columbia a tale relates how a girl became pregnant from eating the fat of an animal;[15] and in Tlinkit legends a girl is impregnated by swallowing a heated pebble, and another by drinking water.[16] The mother

[1] *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. v, p. 187.
[2] G. Maspéro, *Les Contes Populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*, p. 17.
[3] Pausanias, vii. 17.
[4] Arnobius, *Adversus Gentes*, v. 5. 7.
[5] Hesiod, *Theogon*, v. 927; Lucian, *De Sacrificiis*, vi.
[6] Natalis Comes, *Mythologia*, p. 14.
[7] T. J. de Boudet de Puymaigre, *Les vieux auteurs castillans*, vol. ii, pp. 355 sq.
[8] *The Kalevala*, ed. J. H. Crawford, vol. ii, pp. 719 sqq.
[9] J. Fricz and L. Leger, *La Bohème historique, pittoresque et littéraire*, pp. 344 sq.; F. S. Krauss, *Sagen und Märchen der Südslaven*, p. 195; "Compert Concobuir," *Revue Celtique*, vi, pp. 179 sq.; L. Duvan, "Légende de la conception de Cuchulainn," *Revue Celtique*, ix, p. 12.
[10] G. Henderson, *Survival of Belief among the Celts*, p. 74.
[11] Whitley Stokes, "The Destruction of Dá Derga's Hostel," *Revue Celtique*, xxii, p. 18.
[12] *Genesis*, xxx. 14–24; J. G. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, vol. ii, pp. 372 sqq.
[13] M. C. Stevenson, "The Sia," *Eleventh Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 59.
[14] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, p. 69.
[15] J. Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 36.
[16] A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit Indianer*, pp. 254, 262.

of a hero in the island of Sabai, in Torres Straits, was impregnated by eating shell-fish.[1]

Impregnation by food plays perhaps an even more important part in ordinary life than in myths and legends which offer scope for the operation of more miraculous methods. The Menangkabau women of Sumatra are careful not to eat of a certain kind of cocoanut, which would cause them to become pregnant ;[2] and throughout northern India coco-nuts are eaten for the express purpose of bringing about conception.[3] Hindu women are also impregnated by eating pellets of rice that have been consecrated by a priest.[4] A similar practice is common in Tuscany, where women desirous of having children are wont to obtain from a priest one or two apples which have been specially consecrated.[5] The same custom obtains in Portugal.[6] In Fiji the sex of a child is determined according as a woman eats certain herbs.[7] The Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia chew the gum of the red pine ; but girls avoid chewing the gum of the white pine, for that would cause them to become pregnant.[8] The dew or rain-water dropping from a bough of mistletoe, or an infusion of the plant, was held by the ancient Celts to cause any female animal or woman to become pregnant ;[9] and an attenuated reminiscence of the notion survives amongst ourselves. The Ainu of Japan and the natives of the island of Mabuiag in Torres Straits take the same view of the properties of the mistletoe as did the ancient Druids.[10]

[1] A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 32.

[2] J. L. van der Toorn, " Het animisme bij den Minangkabauer in der Padangsche Bovenlande," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Neerlandsch-Indië*, xxxix, p. 78.

[3] W. Crooke, *Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, vol. i, p. 227.

[4] R. F. Burton, *The Thousand Nights and One Night ; Supplementary Nights*, vol. iii, p. 576.

[5] C. G. Leland, *Etruscan and Roman Remains in Popular Tradition*, p. 246.

[6] T. Braga, *O Povo Portuguez, nos sens costumes, crenças e traditioes*, vol. i, p. 42. A tragic story is told of a woman who, having obtained three consecrated apples from a priest, laid them on the mantelpiece while she cooked the dinner. Her husband, coming home in the meanwhile, and feeling hungry, ate the apples. His horror was great when the mistake was discovered. He appears to have had a rather bad time of it, but was eventually safely delivered of a daughter by Caesarean section.

[7] E. Rougier, " Maladies et médecine à Fiji," *Anthropos*, ii, p. 996.

[8] F. Boas, " Sixth Report on the Indians of British Columbia," *Report of the Sixty-sixth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1896, p. 579.

[9] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xvi. 44., xxiv. 11 sq. ; *Mémoires de l'Académie Celtique*, xv, p. 331.

[10] J. Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folklore*, p. 222; A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, pp. 198 sq.

Ainu women also eat the flesh of flying-squirrels with the object of procuring pregnancy.[1] Kamchadal women eat spiders for the same purpose.[2] In Greenland women, and even men, have conceived through eating certain fish ;[3] and the same mode of conception is familiar to the North American Indians.[4] In the Andaman Islands a woman wishing to have a child catches, cooks, and eats a certain species of frog.[5] The Australian women of the Tully River are impregnated by roasting a black bream and merely inhaling the fumes that come from the fish.[6] In southern and in western Australia women are in danger of conceiving from whatever animal they may eat.[7] Among the Salish tribes of British Columbia unmarried girls must on no account eat the breast or tenderloin of an animal, for they would at once become pregnant ; and if they eat both sides they would give birth to twins.[8] Siouan women conceive through eating buffalo-meat.[9] In Transylvania the women eat parts of a hare to procure children ;[10] and in Esthonia it was customary for the bride to eat a goat's testicles.[11]

Relation between Food and Offspring.

It is a universal axiom that eating the flesh of an animal communicates the qualities, both physical and psychical, of that animal to the consumer. Courage is acquired by eating the flesh, and especially the heart, of lions, tigers, jaguars, and the like ; swiftness and sagacity by eating antelopes and other swift-footed game.[12]

[1] J. Batchelor, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

[2] S. P. Krasheninnikoff, *The History of Kamschatka*, p. 217.

[3] H. J. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimos*, pp. 443 sq.

[4] C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 277.

[5] A. R. Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, p. 90.

[6] E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnology, Bulletin No. 5*, p. 22.

[7] H. Basedow, " Anthropological Notes on the Western Central Tribes of the Northern Territory of South Australia," *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia*, xxxi, pp. 4 sqq. ; A. R. Brown, " Beliefs concerning Childbirth in some Australian Tribes," *Man*, xii, p. 180.

[8] F. Boas, " First General Report on the Indians of British Columbia," *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1889, p. 842.

[9] Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied, *Voyages in the Interior of North America*, vol. ii, p. 156.

[10] H. von Wlislocki, *Volksglaube und Volksbrauch der Siebenburger Sachsen*, p. 169.

[11] L. von Schröder, *Die Hochzeitgebräuche der Esten und einiger anderer finnish-ugrischer Völkerschaften*, p. 171.

[12] H. Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulus*, p. 438 ; T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, p. 106 ; W. H. I. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folk-lore*, p. 373 ; J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal*, p. 399 ; H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 787 ; Id., *British Central Africa*, p. 399 ; J. Buchanan, *The Shiré Highlands*, p. 138 ; O. Baumann, *Usumbara*, p. 128 ;

Ability to run and jump is developed by partaking of the meat of kangaroos and emus.[1] On the other hand, the flesh of heavy-footed cattle makes men sluggish and slow;[2] and eating hare or deer makes them timid.[3] An American Indian, seeing a Frenchman eat the heart of a bird, was amazed that he could do such a thing; "If we were to eat that," he said, "we should be unable to fight, and our enemies would very soon get the better of us."[4] Eating rhinoceros hardens the skin;[5] but eating frogs, which have soft and brittle bones, would render also the consumer's bones brittle.[6] Swine's flesh gives people small eyes.[7] Eating the flesh of squirrels, whose habitual position is cramped, favours rheumatism;[8] while the flesh of a white buffalo is liable to cause leprosy.[9] Children among the Eskimo are given seals' eyes to eat that their eyes may become bright and clear.[10] Girls among the Déné Indians are careful never to eat the head of a rabbit, whose mouth is continually in motion, for they would thereby contract a twitching of the lips.[11] The Greeks believed that to eat a nightingale would cause insomnia.[12] Similar notions are still current among the peasants of Europe. Thus in southern Italy, in order that a boy should be quickwitted, he is compelled by his parents to eat the heart of a swallow which has just been torn out of the living bird.[13] It is sometimes thought that eating the flesh of an animal may lead to an even more complete assimilation of the eater with the eaten. In Celebes a woman, after eating the flesh of a snake, turned into a snake; and in Borneo a similar

E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 33; J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebs en Papua*, pp. 10, 262, 345; A. Leared, *Morocco and the Moors*, p. 281; P. Lozano, *Descripción Chorographica del Gran Chaco*, p. 90; T. Guevara, "Folklore Araucano," *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, cxxvii, p. 568.

[1] E. C. Stirling, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv, p. 179.

[2] J. Adair, *History of the American Indians*, p. 133; A. Simson, *Travels in the Wilds of Ecuador*, p. 168.

[3] T. Hahn, *loc. cit.*; S. St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, vol. i, pp. 186, 206; A. C. Kruijt, *Het Animisme in den Indischen Archipel*, p. 51.

[4] *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Le Jeune's Relation, vol. ix, p. 121.

[5] M. Merker, *Rechtsverhältnisse und Sitten der Wadschagga*, p. 38.

[6] J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokees," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i, p. 285.

[7] C. de Rochefort, *Histoire naturelle et morale des îles Antilles*, p. 465.

[8] J. Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

[9] A. C. Kruijt, *Het Animisme in den Indischen Archipel*, p. 51.

[10] E. Reclus, *Primitive Folks*, p. 37.

[11] J. Jetté, "On the Superstitions of the Ten'a Indians," *Anthropos*, vi, p. 253.

[12] Aelian, *Nat. Animal.*, i. 42.

[13] G. Finamore, *Tradizioni popolari abruzzesi*, p. 234.

transformation is reported to have taken place owing to a girl having eaten the eggs of a crocodile.[1]

Those effects of food are particularly constant and pronounced where a pregnant woman is concerned, and what she eats is accordingly the object of special attention. In Guiana the flesh of the agouti is forbidden "lest the child should be meagre," the fish called haimara, "lest it should be blind," and if the fish called labba were eaten by a pregnant woman her child would have protruding lips and be spotted all over.[2] The Indian women of the Gran Chaco do not eat mutton after they are married, for their children would be flat-nosed.[3] Among the Ibibio of Southern Nigeria it is thought that if the mother were to eat snails, her baby would slaver inordinately;[4] and the same belief obtains in Anatolia.[5] In Madagascar a pregnant woman may not eat the snout of an animal lest her child should have a hare-lip, nor long-legged waterfowl lest it should come into the world spindle-legged, or any bird of prey lest the baby should turn out a thief.[6] Among the Thonga a carrying mother is careful not to eat eggs, for if she did her child would be bald; she also abstains from eating porcupines or monkeys that her offspring may not resemble those animals.[7] Eating porcupine flesh would cause the child of an Australian woman to be hump-backed.[8] In some parts of Melanesia a pregnant woman must not eat cuttle-fish, which is supposed to walk backwards, for her child would be a coward;[9] and Turkish women, when pregnant, abstain from eating crabs for the same reason.[10] In Fiji a pregnant woman must not eat vesu fish, for her child would have teeth like it; nor must she eat shark, which would cause her child to be blind.[11] In Tongareva (Penrhyn Island) it is thought that if women were to eat porpoises their children would have faces like porpoises.[12] In southern Italy, if a woman were to eat the flesh of a wolf, her child would be fierce and voracious.[13] Wolf's flesh is not at the present

[1] A. C. Kruijt, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
[2] W. H. Brett, *The Indian Tribes of Guiana*, p. 355.
[3] Ploss-Bartels, *Das Weib*, vol. i, p. 867.
[4] P. A. Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, p. 21.
[5] E. H. Carnoy and J. Nicolaïdes, *Traditions populaires de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 308.
[6] P. Camboué, "Notes sur quelques moeurs et coutumes malgaches," *Anthropos*, ii, p. 984.
[7] H. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. i, p. 185.
[8] W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 5*, pp. 25 sq.
[9] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 33.
[10] E. H. Carnoy and J. Nicolaïdes, *op. cit.*, p. 308.
[11] E. Rougier, "Maladies et médecine à Fiji," *Anthropos*, ii, p. 996.
[12] W. W. Gill, *Jottings from the Pacific*, p. 147.
[13] A. Karusio, "Pregiudizzi popolari putignatesi," *Archivio per l'Antropologia e l'Etnologia*, xvii, p. 328.

day a common article of diet, but the same effects would result from eating the flesh of an animal which had been killed by a wolf.[1]

The dangers from transmission to the child of qualities derived from the mother's food are so numerous that primitive women are usually very restricted in their diet during pregnancy; it is further reduced by the dangers of tainting the food-supply. More sensible views sometimes prevail, and care is taken that a pregnant woman shall be well fed. Among the North American Indians she must have an abundant supply of meat in order to bear strong children.[2] Hottentot women during pregnancy eat the meat of the lion or leopard, and drink their blood in order that their children may be brave, swift, and strong.[3] Turkish women make a point of eating plenty of apples, that their children may have rosy cheeks.[4] Gipsy women eat cocks or hens, according to the desired sex of the child;[5] and in southern Hungary they eat slices of quince sprinkled with the blood of a strong man.[6]

The 'fancies' as regards articles of food to which pregnant women are subject must, it is believed by most peoples, be satisfied at all cost. Among the tribes of Pennsylvania if "a pregnant woman longs for any article of food, be it what it may, and however difficult to be procured, the husband immediately sets out to endeavour to get it. I have known," says Heckewelder, "a man to go forty or fifty miles for a mess of cranberries to satisfy a wife's longing."[7] It has also been noted among the Seminoles of Florida that the husbands go to great trouble to satisfy the whims and fancies of a pregnant woman; and these are often for strange articles of diet, such as tadpoles or red ants' nests.[8] The same anxiety to satisfy a pregnant woman's fancy is shown among the Indians of the Orinoco.[9] In Australia a pregnant woman is subject, as among most savages, to numerous restrictions as to food, lest the tribe's food-supply should be sympathetically contaminated. But a husband will frequently disregard those prohibitions if a woman expresses a wish for a particular food; and when it is found that the supply of eels in a water-hole fails, that misfortune is generally set

[1] G. Finamore, *Tradizioni popolari abruzzesi*, p. 58.

[2] F. Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, (*Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin No.* 26), p. 155; A. L. Kroeber, "Preliminary Sketch of the Mohave Indians," *University of California Publications*, iv, pp. 199, 243.

[3] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, p. 88.

[4] E. H. Carnoy and J. Nicolaïdes, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

[5] H. von Wlislocki, *Volksglaube und religiöser Brauch der Zigeuner*, p. 144.

[6] Ploss-Bartel, *Das Weib*, vol. i, p. 870.

[7] J. Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 159.

[8] Clay McCauley, "Seminole Indians of Florida," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Anthropology*, p. 109.

[9] F. S. Gilii, *Saggio di Storia Americana*, vol. ii, p. 265.

down to some man having caught eels there in order to satisfy the 'fancy' of a pregnant woman.[1] In New Zealand the fancy of a pregnant woman for a particular food must be satisfied at all cost or the foetus would not develop.[2] In the Philippines, among the Tinguianes, a man will risk his life to procure a particular article of diet which his wife fancies; there are tales in their folk-lore of husbands facing innumerable dangers, and fighting six-headed giants in order to obtain some fruit for which their pregnant wives have expressed a desire.[3] The Arabs also are persuaded that the 'fancy' of a pregnant woman must be satisfied, however difficult it may be to do so,[4] and the same belief is held in the Sudan.[5] The Hausa regard birth-marks as due to the 'fancy' of a pregnant woman for some article of food having been left unsatisfied.[6] In south-eastern Borneo, among the Olon Maajan, it is believed that when a woman desires a certain fruit it is because there is a spirit dwelling in that fruit which desires to be born again from the woman.[7] In India it is thought that if the fancy of a pregnant woman is not gratified the child will be weak and that it will have the evil eye,[8] or that it will long for the article all its life.[9] In Italy birth-marks are called 'voglie,' that is, 'longings,' or 'fancies.' The peasantry are convinced of the necessity of gratifying the longings of a pregnant woman. Should it be impossible to do so, there is serious danger of a miscarriage, and charms and spells are resorted to in order to counteract it. The woman who experiences a 'fancy' carefully abstains from touching her own body, for a mark would infallibly appear on the corresponding part of the child's body.[10] The same belief is held in Andalusia, and instances are cited of women who

[1] J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. cii.

[2] E. Best, "Ceremonial Performances pertaining to Birth as performed by the Maories," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xliii, p. 130.

[3] Fay-Cooper Cole, *Traditions of the Tinguian*, pp. 208 sq.

[4] A. P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, vol. ii, p. 493.

[5] J. W. Crowfoot, "Customs of the Rubātāb," *Sudan Notes and Records*, i, p. 129.

[6] A. J. N. Tremearne, "Bori Beliefs and Ceremonies," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlv, p. 32.

[7] F. Grabowsky, "Der Distrikt Dusson Timor in Südost-Borneo und seine Bewohner," *Das Ausland*, 1884, p. 471.

[8] W. Crooke, *Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, vol. i, p. 186; J. Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, p. 207.

[9] R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, vol. ii, p. 27.

[10] G. Finamore, *Tradizioni popolari abruzzesi*, p. 59 sq.; A. Karusio, "Pregiudizzi popolari putignatesi," *Archivio per l'antropologia e l'etnologia*, xvii, p. 343; G. Pitré, *Usi e costumi, credenze e pregiudizi del popolo siciliano*, vol. ii, p. 116.

longed for figs and were unable to obtain any, giving birth to children with the mark of a fig on their faces.[1]

The Importance and Sacredness of Food-Animals.

The nearest animal allies of man are almost entirely vegetarian. Chimpanzees and gorillas are said to catch and eat occasionally small animals, such as birds or rats.[2] The development of the hunter's skill was among the greatest achievements of growing human efficiency. But the capture of an animal prey must for a long time have been very far from an everyday occurrence. At the present day such an event is in the life of many hunting communities a red-letter day. Most primitive societies are haunted by the spectre of hunger and famine; there are long spells during which the 'hunger-belt' has to be drawn tight, and men, women, and children perish from inanition. A plentiful catch of game, during which all gorge themselves in an incredible manner, is a tribal feast. Savages are ravenously fond of meat, even when they are, from local circumstances, mainly agriculturists or milk-drinkers. Among the Baganda the poorer people have often to go months without meat. "Women are said to have at times such craving for meat that they were driven to bite the ears of their own children."[3] The Wachanga of the Kilimanjaro region live chiefly on milk and vegetable food, but they gorge on meat when they get the chance, and will travel miles to have a drink of blood.[4] So likewise the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills, who live almost entirely on milk and use no hunting weapons, greatly appreciate meat when it is given to them; "If a foreigner gives them venison they smack their lips over it; the feast creates an epoch, and long afterwards they take pleasure in recalling its incidents."[5] We may hence realise the part which the prized animal prey played in the life of primitive humanity. The art of twenty thousand years ago deals almost exclusively with animals. The 'sport' on which his food-supply, his life, depended was the centre of interest of primitive man. The animal on which his existence depended was his totem.

[1] A. Guichot y Sierra, "Supersticiones populares andaluzas," *Biblioteca de las tradiciones populares españolas*, vol. i, p. 281. Cf. also F. S. Krauss; *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, pp. 531 sq., for similar beliefs in Bosnia.

[2] P. Deschamps, "Les différences sociologiques entre les sauvages et les anthropoïdes," *L'Anthropologie*, xxx, p. 138.

[3] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 439.

[4] H. H. Johnston, "The People of Eastern Equatorial Africa," *Journal the Anthropological Institute*, xv, p. 13.

[5] E. Reclus, *Primitive Folk*, p. 182.

Certain ideas which have as their essential feature the notion of an intimate relation existing between a man and a natural object, generally an animal, which among the Ojibwa Indians is known as a totem, are prevalent in many parts of the uncivilised world. Notions and traditions are also met with in comparatively advanced phases of culture which appear to have had their origin in conceptions similar to those found among the uncultured races of America, of many parts of Africa, of Australia, and among the more primitive races of Asia, of Melanesia and Micronesia. None of the people who still retain totemic notions is able to give any clear account of their original significance. Those notions must, in the course of incomputable ages, have undergone many and great transformations; their original significance being lost, new ones have become attached to them, or the established tradition has persisted after all meaning or purpose has faded away. If, as appears probable, totemic ideas were connected in the first instance with the food-supply of the tribe, that food-supply itself must of necessity have completely changed with most peoples, in the course of migrations and altered economic conditions. Nowhere, then, can we expect to find primitive totemism; and here, as elsewhere, the task of interpreting primitive ideas, is to distinguish in the palimpsest of tradition what is primitive and original from what are later, adventitious, and secondaty phenomena.

Although by far the largest number of the totems recognised by primitive tribes are animals or plants, a number of natural, and even of artificial, objects are at times regarded as clan-totems. There can nevertheless be little doubt that the totem was originally an animal or a plant; for not only are the great majority of totems animals or plants, but to suppose that others are equally original and primitive would be inconsistent with one of the most characteristic and universal ideas connected with the totem. The primitive savage identifies himself completely with his totem, believes himself to be of the same race, of the same species, of the same blood; and he endeavours by every means to impersonate his totem and to assimilate himself with it. We find tribes whose totem is the wind or the sun, or even a tool or weapon, such as nets, axes, knives; but it is clear that a man could not go to the length of identifying himself permanently with the wind, or with a net or an axe, and believe himself to be identical with those objects and to be descended from them. Little more survives of the primitive idea of the totem in such instances than in our regimental mascots and badges, and the totem has, in fact, become a badge.

Again, the totem is frequently tabu, sacred; and in some instances the full force of the awful character distinctive of things tabu applies to the totem animal or plant; not only may it

not be eaten, or killed, or injured, but in some instances it may not even be looked at. But such a tabu character is, in fact, comparatively rare. Although we find every degree of ceremonial sacredness attaching to the totem, up to its treatment as a deity, yet it is quite exceptional to find it invested with such a sacred character as we are accustomed to find applied to things and persons primarily tabu or sacred, such as kings or menstruous women. The awe attaching to those dreaded persons is in general, and more especially among the most primitive totemic peoples, entirely absent from their attitude towards their totems. The North American Indians generally "bear no religious respect to the animals from which they derive the name of their tribes, but will kill any of the species when opportunity serves." [1] In Australia, among the southern tribes, the men kill their totem.[2] The Dieri show no evidence of any prohibition or mark of special reverence concerning their totem, which they freely kill and eat.[3] In the Narrinyeri tribe "the totem may be killed and eaten by those who possess it, but they are always careful to destroy the remains, such as bones, feathers, etc., lest an enemy should obtain them for purposes of sorcery." [4] The tribes of New South Wales have no objection to anyone killing their totem, though they scruple to kill it themselves, and they freely partake of it.[5] Some of the tribes of Central Australia "will actually help in the destruction of their totem." [6] In the northern tribes of Queensland the men hunt and fish their totems.[7] The Western Australian tribes first observed by Sir George Grey will not kill their totem "if they find it asleep"; they are said to "kill it reluctantly, and never without affording it a chance to escape." [8] But among the Western Australian tribes investigated more recently the men kill and eat their totem and show no trace of respect towards

[1] J. Adair, *History of the American Indians*, p. 17. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 16; W. L. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Sources of St. Peter's River*, vol. i, p. 117; J. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 180.

[2] E. J. Eyre, *Journal of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, vol. ii, p. 328.

[3] J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. i, p. 19, after S. Gason.

[4] G. Taplin, *The Folklore, Manners, Customs and Languages of the South Australian Aborigines*, p. 35. Cf. Id., in J. D. Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 63.

[5] A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv, pp. 67 sq.

[6] B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 207.

[7] W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 5*, p. 207.

[8] G. Grey, *Journals of two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia*, vol. ii, p. 288.

it.[1] In Samoa men will not kill their totem, but have no objection to anyone else doing so, and when thus obtained they will freely eat of it.[2] Speaking of the natives of Saibai in the Torres Straits Mr. Haddon remarks: "The idea of sacredness is very limited, merely implying a family connection. No worship or reverence, so far as I know, was ever paid to a totem." [3] The members of the Dugong clan derive their ordinary food from their totem.[4] In Chota Nagpur "the general attitude of the Oraon to his clan-totem is that of a man to his equal, to his friend and ally"; and several of the Oraon clans eat their totems.[5] The Bakwain of the zebra totem "eat the zebra without hesitation." [6] Among the Bushongo the clan-totem "is not held sacred, since no particular respect is paid to it, and it may be killed by the individual who acknowledges it as his 'ikina.'" [7] The Menomini Indians of the bear-totem freely hunted and ate the bear, contenting themselves with offering it a formal apology for killing it.[8] The Bororo of Brazil kill their totem, which is a brightly coloured parrot, to get its feathers. They keep certain representatives of the totem in captivity,[9] as is also done by the Bugalai of New Guinea,[10] and by the tribes of Formosa.[11] Very commonly the totem may be killed when there is a necessity, or after the formality of offering it an apology has been complied with.[12]

If the original notion attaching to the totem animal or plant were its sacredness, a holy and awful character ascribed to it in the first place, and if the primary significance of its totemic function rested upon that sacred character and were derived from it, it would be difficult to understand how we come to find the behaviour of primitive men towards their totems so frequently

[1] A. R. Brown, "Beliefs concerning Childbirth in some Australian Tribes," *Man*, xii, p. 180.

[2] G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 67 sq.

[3] A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 364.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 185 sq.

[5] Sarat Chandra Roy, *The Oraons of Chota Nagpur*, pp. 337 sq., 330 sq.

[6] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, p. 255.

[7] T. A. Joyce, in communication to Sir J. G. Frazer, cited in *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. iv, p. 308.

[8] W. J. Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 44.

[9] K. von den Steinen, *Unter Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, p. 512.

[10] J. Chalmers, "Notes on the Natives of Kiwai Island, Fly River, British New Guinea," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii, p. 109.

[11] W. Joest, "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Eingebornen der Inseln Formosa und Ceram," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 1882, pp. 56 sq.

[12] E. Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 211; L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 168 sq.; *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. vi, p. 271.

devoid of any trace of such a sentiment. The awe with which a sacred being, such as a king or a tabu woman, is regarded tends as a rule in the primitive stages of society to grow rather than to diminish, and the notion of the appalling consequences attaching to any breach of tabu regulations in regard to them is definite and deep. The tabu personage is an object of haunting terror. If such a character were part of the primary conception of the totem, it is inconceivable that it could have disappeared in primitive societies which still possess a complete totemic organisation, without leaving a trace. It has been often suggested, and sometimes assumed as a matter of course, that where no tabu is observed in regard to the totem and where it is treated unceremoniously and freely killed and eaten, totemic ideas are in a state of decadence and dissolution. But such a supposition seems inconsistent with the facts. As regards totemic ideas, Australia certainly presents one of the most primitive surviving examples ; however much those ideas may have become modified, the whole organisation and much of the religious or quasi-religious ideas of Australian tribes centre round the totem. Yet lack of tabu character is perhaps as common among their totems as the tabu on eating them ; and even where such a tabu exists there is nowhere any pronounced manifestation of awe or dread, or of any of those sentiments with which a tabu is everywhere regarded by primitive man. It is in Africa, where totemic ideas are overlaid with other notions, where totemic organisation is mostly in a state of advanced decay, that we commonly find rigorous prohibitions and sentiments of awe attaching to totems. The tabu against eating the totem has the full force of a solemn and awful prohibition where every other trace of totemism has disappeared. For example, among the Tuareg of the Sahara, notwithstanding the extreme scarcity of food, fish and birds are regarded with the same horror as articles of diet as is pork among Muhammadans and Jews. " When questioned on the cause of that abstention they reply that they do not know the reason which induced their fathers to proscribe fish and birds from their diet." [1] In the more primitive totemic societies of America and Australia the horror with which the breach of ancient food tabus is regarded in comparatively advanced semi-civilised societies is either rare or unknown. We are, therefore, compelled, when all the facts are taken into account, to regard the character of sacredness or tabu as not being the primary one from which totemic ideas have been derived, but as a secondary derivative attribute which has become subsequently attached to the notion of the totem.

[1] H. Duveyrier, *Les Touaregs du Nord*, pp. 401 sq. Those prohibitions most probably date from a time when the Tuareg were dwellers among the lakes and marshes and on the seashore of Northern Africa.

Among a considerable number of peoples with totemic traditions a breach of the tabu on the totem is not only permissible, but is a sacred and solemn duty as ritually important as the tabu itself. Thus among the Edo of Nigeria the tabu against eating the totem animal is rigorously observed ; a wife may not even cook the totem of her husband in his presence. But it is nevertheless a solemn duty on the occasion of the annual festival to eat a mouthful of the totem ; the same ritual duty is obligatory at the funeral of any member of the totem clan, and it is regarded as important that no relative of the deceased clansman should omit to perform it. The food is merely tasted ; sometimes it is only taken in the mouth and then spit out.[1] Among the Hausas likewise " some clans sacrifice the totem annually," presumably eating of it, although our information omits to state so.[2] Among the Baluba of the Congo there is a women's religious association to which nearly all the women of the tribe belong, and which is known as Bulindu. They observe a strict tabu with regard to pork, for in the flesh of the pig " resides the spirit of the association." It is, however, incumbent upon every member to eat pork on her initiation into the society.[3] Similarly, a Bechuana clan who have the porcupine for their totem observe very strictly the tabus attaching to its sacred character ; no man would think of eating it, and its death at the hands of a stranger is duly mourned and lamented. Nevertheless, it is considered necessary that every child should have its joints anointed with a preparation from the body of the animal, and should drink a broth prepared from it.[4] The Banyoro of East Central Africa are a pastoral people who live almost exclusively on the milk of their herds, and have for their totems various parts of the oxen and cows from which they derive their subsistence ; the flesh of the animals is strictly tabu to them.[5] But the king partook daily of a small portion of the meat of a young calf, which was prepared and eaten with great ceremony. " The king was not supposed to eat any other meat, the rest of his food being milk alone, and this ceremonial meat-eating was regarded, not as a meal, but as a sacrifice to bring blessing on all the food of the land." [6] Among the Kacharis of north-eastern India the members of the Leech-clan must not eat

[1] N. W. Thomas, " Totemism in Southern Nigeria," *Anthropos*, x–xi, pp. 236 sq. ; Id., " Notes on Edo Burial Customs," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, l, p. 386.

[2] A. J. N. Tremearne, *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*, p. 119

[3] Colle, *Les Baluba*, vol. ii, pp. 618, 619. Cf. below, p. 549.

[4] T. Arbousset and F. Daumas, *Relation d'un voyage d'exploration au nord-est de la colonie du Cap de Bonne Espérance*, pp. 349 sq.

[5] See below, p. 480.

[6] J. Roscoe, *The Soul of Central Africa*, pp. 149 sq., 143.

leeches ; but it is imperative that they should do so at least once in their lifetime, chewing some of them mixed with jute.[1] The same rule is observed by the Arkansas Indians, who trace their descent from a dog-totem ; they are under the obligation of eating some dog flesh once a year.[2] Among the Omahas the members of the Reptile clan are rigorously debarred from eating any creeping thing, but when worms are infesting the corn, and certain ceremonies have to be performed to induce them to depart, the members of the clan pound worms with their food and eat them.[3]

Among the Central Australian tribes eating the totem is a necessary condition for the performance of the intichiuma ceremonies intended to promote its abundance. Thus both men and women of the Witchetty Grub totem are obliged to eat some of it, else " the power of successfully performing the intichiuma would depart from them and there would be very few grubs." The men of the Kangaroo totem eat kangaroo before the performance of the rites ; those of the Irriahura totem eat the irriahura bulb, and men of the Idnimita totem eat some of that grub before performing their totemic ceremonies.[4] Moreover, many of those rites, although eating the totem does not at the present day form a part of the actual ceremony, yet make distinct reference to such a meal, and in fact consist in a simulated representation of it. For the sacred objects called ' churingas ' are supposed to represent, or to contain, the substance or essence of the totem, and the use which is made of them in the rites is to rub them on the stomachs of the participants. Thus in the Witchetty Grub intichiuma the performer picks up one of the churinga stones which represent the eggs of the totem and, rubbing it against the stomach of each man, says : " You have eaten much food." [5] This and other similar intichiuma ceremonies would thus appear to represent a symbolic eating of the totem. And this is confirmed by the fact that the consecrated spots where those ceremonies are held are expressly stated to be the places where the ancestors of the totem clans " cooked and ate " the totem for their food.[6] Furthermore, in the traditions of those tribes which refer to the origin of the intichiuma ceremonies, and of which those ceremonies are supposed to be representations, express reference is invariably

[1] J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. iv, p. 298, from information communicated by the Rev. S. Endle.

[2] H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. iii, p. 316.

[3] J. O. Dorsey, " Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 248.

[4] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 205 ; Id. *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 321 sqq.

[5] Id., *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 172 ; cf. p. 188.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 172, 194.

made to the eating of the totem by the original members of the clan.[1] As Sir Baldwin Spencer and Mr. Gillen remark, "though we find circumstantial reference to this (eating of the totem) there is no attempt to explain how the present tabu arose, but we find, on the contrary, that in the far-away times to which the traditions are supposed to refer there simply was no such tabu. Under the circumstances we are probably justified in regarding the tradition in question as actually indicative of a time when customs in this and in other respects were very different from those in force at the present day." [2]

The instances of the ritual eating of a totem that is otherwise tabu as food which have come to our knowledge are not very numerous, though that is doubtless to a large extent due to the defective character of our information; but they are found among the most diverse and widely separated peoples on the four continents where totemism survives. And those practices so closely resemble others which are quite common in far higher stages of culture that we are led to suspect that those ritual meals also had originally their root in totemistic ideas. Long before any of the ritual usages of totemic peoples were known, W. Robertson Smith reached the conclusion that the ceremonial eating of the totem was an essential feature of the practices associated with totemic beliefs; and the subsequent discovery of the actual existence of those usages has been a striking verification of the accuracy of his inference. He illustrated his view by the description left by St. Nilus of the sacrificial eating of a consecrated camel among certain tribes of Arabs on the Sinai peninsula. The sacrificial camel was bound to a rough altar and, at the rising of the morning star, the tribesmen marched round chanting in chorus. While the last words of the hymn were being sung the leader inflicted the first wound and in all haste drank the gushing blood. The whole company at once drew their swords and fell upon the victim, hacking it to pieces and devouring the raw flesh. One of the rules observed was that the sacrificial victim, skin, hair, intestines, and all, must be entirely consumed before the light of the morning star had faded in the rays of the rising sun.[3] That rule, that no part of the food must be left over, is found almost universally in primitive ritual meals. It was observed by the ancient Hebrews when they partook

[1] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 122; Id., *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 320 sq.

[2] Id., *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 207 sq.; cf. pp. 209, 468; *Northern Tribes*, pp. 320 sqq.

[3] W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, p. 320. The sacrifice of the camel was observed by Muhammad himself (Muhammad Abu-Jafar Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. iii, p. 111).

of the Paschal Lamb. We have noted it among the Australian Narrinyeri; it was observed by the Algonkins.[1] In West Africa, on the occasion of the funeral of a Dagomba chief, a sacrifice is made which at the present day consists of a cow. The animal is sanctified by passing the king's body over it. Everyone is under the obligation to partake of the meal; the hair is singed off, but all else must be completely consumed, and if anything is left over it is carefully buried.[2]

The Gallas of Abyssinia have at the present day very similar rites to those of the Arabs described by St. Nilus. They say that the eating of the sacrificial flesh causes a spirit to enter their bodies. "We feel," they say, "the spirit moving within us as we eat." The Catholic missionary who reports their statement laughed when they expressed to him so absurd an idea, but he felt compelled to assume a more serious demeanour when he perceived how deeply offended and scandalised they were at his levity and impiety. "After all," he remarks, "the conviction that a supernatural being enters into them at the moment when they masticate the victim is akin to the fundamental idea of the Holy Communion."[3] At the beginning of the seventeenth century those same Gallas, when they first saw the Jesuit Fathers celebrating mass, could not get it out of their heads that the consecrated hosts were portions of the spinal marrow of a hare.[4]

But the question, which has aroused much interest and discussion, whether the ritual eating of the totem constitutes an essential part of totemic practices, appears to be misleading. If the totem was originally the staple or the favourite food of the tribe, to partake of that food would not be a 'rite' or a 'ceremony,' but, as Sir Baldwin Spencer put it, "a functional necessity." The eating of the totem was not a ritual, but a meal, or rather, meal and ritual were originally one and the same thing. Among the Algonkin Indian tribes we find the meal partaken of with exactly the same solemn ritual and observances as the sacrificial communion in West Africa, among the ancient Jews, or among the Arabs described by St. Nilus. But the repast of the Algonkins was simply the meal partaken of when they returned from the chase and had secured a supply of food. It was not a special religious ceremony; it was their dinner. Or rather, dinner and religious ceremony were

[1] See below, p. 469.

[2] A. W. Cardinall, "Customs at the Death of King of Dagomba," *Man*, xxi, p. 90.

[3] P. M. de Salviac, *Un peuple antique au pays de Ménelek. Les Gallas*, p. 142.

[4] M. de Almeida, *Histoire de ce qui s'est passé ès royaumes d'Ethiopie en l'année 1626 jusqu'au mois de Mars 1627*, p. 28.

all one. "The heathen," says a Jesuit missionary, "do not partake of any meal without making a sacrifice, and we have great trouble in preventing them from observing this custom." [1] "Most of their meals," says another of the early Jesuit missionaries, "are nothing else than sacrifices to the devil, or are connected with their impious notions." [2] Those meals were presided over by one of the older men of the tribe, who opened the proceedings with a solemn invocation or prayer. Certain rules were strictly observed, similar to those which obtained amongst the ancient Hebrews. Thus no cutting instrument might be used, but the flesh of the animal had to be torn after the manner of primitive man; care also had to be taken that, as enjoined in the law of Leviticus, none of the bones of the animal should be broken.[3] As in other ritual meals which we have noted, the whole of the carcass had to be consumed and no portion left over; if a man's share was more than he could dispose of, he asked some of his neighbours to assist him in consuming it. The head of the animal was, however, separated before the meal began, and hung up in a conspicuous place; it was painted and richly decorated, and the invocations which took place during the course of the meal were addressed to it.[4] The meals of the Algonkins were, then, not special ritual ceremonies performed in view of magic or religious purposes, but ordinary meals partaken of in view of physiological needs; and the special significances which attached to those dinners were as much part of their notions of the physiology of digestion as of any doctrine of transubstantiation.

It appears probable that mystic and ritual meals were not originally special religious ceremonies with symbolic meanings attached to them; they were not representations of other acts, but were ordinary functional meals. A ritual act is a traditional act which continues to be performed after it has ceased to fulfil

[1] *Relations des Jésuites*, 1670, p. 89.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1642, p. 89.

[3] The same scruple is felt by the Australian aborigines. In the Narrinyeri tribe, when the carcass of an emu is being cut up, the operator gives warning when he is about to break a bone. The bystanders then leap, shout, and run about, returning in a few minutes, and go through the same performance each time a bone has to be broken. If they omitted those observances, their own bones, they believe, would rot (A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 765). The idea is, no doubt, that the spirit of the animal dwells in the bones (cf. below, pp. 706 sq.), and that its ghost would be offended by any injury done to the bones unless proper measures were taken to placate it.

[4] F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. vi, pp. 71 sqq.; A. Henry, *Travels and Adventures in the years 1760 and 1776*, pp. 139 sq. Cf. W. J. Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i, p. 65.

its original function. The ritual and the utilitarian act were, to begin with, not separate activities, but one and the same form of activity. The ritual is an attenuated survival, a representation, a dramatic performance reproducing the traditionally preserved act; it is done in memory of the importance and significance which the act once possessed. The Australian tribes perform their ritual and symbolic representation of a meal in memory of the meal once partaken of as a functional necessity by their ancestors; that functional act must of necessity precede the ritual memory and representation of it. But the original utilitarian act itself was 'ritually' performed, that is, with magical observances and in view of ulterior significances; and it is that character of every primitive act which brings about its survival as pure ritual. Primitive man never merely shoots an arrow, chops a piece of wood, lights a fire; those functional acts are invariably accompanied by words and actions of a magical character which are regarded as necessary to their successful issue. They are to him as much part of the act as what we regard as the direct measures calculated to insure success; there is primitively no distinction between ritual and utilitarian actions, between what we call religious and what we call secular acts, between the magical and the matter-of-fact. In Australia the ordinary meal is, as with the Algonkins, also treated ritually. In the Narrinyeri tribe, "when they are cooking an emu which has been shot or speared, they recite incantations and perform a variety of genuflexions over it. The emu is considered their most delicate food." [1] Among the Chukchi, remarks Mr. Bogoras, "strictly speaking every slaughtering of reindeer is a sacrifice and is performed according to certain rules." [2] That is universally true. Among the ancient Greeks all cooks and butchers were regarded as to some extent priestly personages; there were colleges of butchers, and the profession was one which no man, however noble, need be ashamed to exercise. The reason, as Athenaeus himself knew perfectly well, was that a butcher or a cook was originally a sacrificer, and that the art of slaughtering or dressing meat was a priestly function, a religious ceremony.[3] So also was the act of eating the sacrificial flesh. The Nambutiri Brahmans of Malabar, the most conservative Hindu caste, who aim at following the ancient Vedic rites, never eat meat unless it has been ritually sacrificed.[4]

[1] G. Taplin, *The Folk-lore, Manners, Customs, and Languages of the South Australian Aborigines*, p. 52.

[2] W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 368.

[3] Athenaeus, xiv. 78 sqq.

[4] *The Laws of Manu*, v. 7; E. Thurston, *Tribes and Castes of Southern India*, vol. v, p. 235; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. xviii, p. 51.

It thus appears probable that the totem was originally the food of the clan. We find it, in fact, in several instances, even when raised to an almost divine position, still continuing to be the staple or the favourite food of the people. Thus Garcilasso de la Vega relates that the Huancas of Peru, who worshipped the dog and had a temple dedicated to the Dog-deity, "considered the flesh of a dog to be the most savoury meat. It may be supposed," he remarks, "that they worshipped the dog because they were fond of its flesh; and their great festival was the repast they provided with the meat of the dog." [1] Speaking of the sacred things of other Peruvian aborigines Garcilasso also mentions that they "adored maize, or 'sara,' as they call it, because it was their bread. Others worshipped other kinds of corn and pulse, according to the abundance of the yield in each province;" and others "adored the fish that they caught in greatest abundance; for they said that the first fish that was made in the world above (for so they named Heaven) gave birth to all other fish of that species, and took care to send them plenty of its children to sustain their tribe. For this reason they worshipped sardines in one region, where they killed more of them than of any other fish; in others, the skate; in others, the dog-fish; in others, the craw-fish; in others, for want of larger gods, the crabs, where they had no other fish or where they knew not how to catch and kill them. In short, they had as their god whatever fish was most serviceable to them." "There was only one deity which the Collas united in worshipping and holding as their principal god. This was a white sheep, for they were the lords of innumerable flocks." [2] The Seri Indians of Tiburon, like numerous other uncultured peoples, represent their chief divine being in the form of an animal; their god is the Great Pelican. There can be little doubt that it was originally their most important totem. But pelicans, which abound in the home of the Seri, also constitute one of their chief sources of animal food. It is their principal game animal, although the germ of a tabu prohibition in regard to it is exhibited in their abstention from killing the bird during the breeding season.[3] So again, the Bahima and the Banyoro of Central Africa, who live on the milk of their herds, have cows for their totems.[4] A clan of the Yukaghir was called the

[1] Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, vol. i, p. 323.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 47 sqq., 168.

[3] W. J. McGee, "The Seri Indians," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i, p. 191.

[4] J. Roscoe, "The Bahima, a Cow Tribe of Enkole," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii, pp. 99 sq.; Id., *The Bakitara of Banyoro*, pp. 14 sqq.

'Fish Clan' "because they lived exclusively on fish." [1] The Dugong and the Turtle clans in New Guinea live on dugongs and turtles.[2] The Oraon clan, which has a fish called 'khalkho' for its totem, regards at the present day that fish as tabu, but their tradition states that they once were fishermen and lived by catching and eating khalkho fish.[3] The Central Australians are unanimous in stating, and their traditions agree in representing, that although "at the present day the totem animal or plant is almost, but not quite, tabu to the members of the totem," yet for their ancestors "there simply was no such tabu," and they freely killed and ate the totem, and that this was with them "a functional necessity." [4] Some of the tribes of Western Australia are even more explicit; they state in so many words that they are called after their totem animals because they used to subsist chiefly on those animals.[5]

Conception through eating the Totem.

The transformation of the totem from a customary and favourite article of food into a sacred, prohibited tabu food is, when the ideas that attach to it are apprehended, not only intelligible, but inevitable. From the economic function of supplying the tribe with food there logically follows, in accordance with primitive ideas which we have already noted, another function. For if the totem was the ordinary food of the tribe it is truly out of its substance that every member of the tribe was formed within the body of his mother. That, in harmony with universal conceptions, is an inevitable corollary; for the characteristics of the child are determined by the food which the mother eats, and the substance out of which the child is formed can be no other than that food. That is, in fact, the account of the matter given by some of the most primitive peoples. "When a man is hunting and kills game," say the Wogait of South Australia, "he gives it to his wife, who must eat of it, believing that the food will cause her to conceive and bring forth a child." [6] So likewise among the tribes of the Cairn district

[1] W. Jochelson, *The Yukaghir*, p. 117.

[2] A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of Expedition to Torres Straits*, v, pp. 364, 182 sq.

[3] Chatra Sandra Roy, *The Oraons*, p. 328.

[4] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 206, 209.

[5] G. Grey, *A Vocabulary of the Dialects of South-West Australia*, pp. 4, 9.

[6] H. Basedow, "Anthropological Notes on the Western Central Tribes of the Northern Territory of South Australia," *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia*, xxxi, pp. 4 sq.

of North Queensland, "the acceptance of food from a man by a woman was not merely regarded as a marriage ceremony, but as the actual cause of conception." [1] The even more primitive tribes of the wild western country are no less explicit. The man, who is responsible for a woman's pregnancy is not necessarily her husband or sexual companion, but he who supplies her with food with the deliberate purpose of bringing about that pregnancy. He "may give some food, either animal or vegetable, to the woman, and she eats it and becomes pregnant." Or "the man, when he is out hunting, kills an animal, preferably a kangeroo or a emu, and as it is dying he tells its spirit or ghost to go to a particular woman. The spirit of the dead animal goes into the woman and is born as a child." A native, says Mr. A. R. Brown, told him "that his father had speared a small animal called 'bandary,' probably a bandicoot, but now extinct in the neighbourhood. His mother ate the animal with the result that she gave birth to my informant. He showed me the mark in his side where, as he said, he had been speared by his father before being eaten by his mother. A little girl was pointed out to me as being the result of her mother eating a domestic cat, and her brother was said to have been produced by a bustard." [2] At the opposite end of the world the Eskimo have similar beliefs; they consider that a child's paternal parentage depends upon the person who supplied his mother with animal food.[3] Similar beliefs are reported from the Malay Peninsula. Among the aboriginal tribes it is held that the souls of the unborn dwell in the birds of the forest, and that they are conceived by women, through the latter eating the birds.[4]

The account which the Australians give of their relation to their totem represents, I believe, the original and essential significance of that relation. It is the direct logical consequence of ideas which are universal, not only among savages, but even among semi-civilised populations. The child is obviously made by the mother within her body; and the only material out of which it can possibly be made is the food which she eats. That is the view which most naturally presents itself to primitive thought; and in some form or other it is held by all primitive populations. The presentation of food by a man to a woman, which is regarded by the Australians as the cause of impregnation, is also the customary wedding rite in every part of the world. It is the essential rite among the North

[1] J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. i, p. 577, from information communicated by the Bishop of Queensland, Dr. Frodsham.

[2] A. R. Brown, "Beliefs concerning Childbirth in some Australian Tribes," *Man*, xii, pp. 180 sq.

[3] See beow, p. 485.

[4] R. J. Wilkinson, *Malay Beliefs*, p. 46.

American tribes,[1] among the natives of Uganda,[2] as in Australia. To partake of the same food, "to eat the fetich together," as the Issini express it,[3] is the central ritual of innumerable wedding ceremonies.[4] And although the idea of mutual adoption, of union into 'one flesh,' is doubtless often the most prominent, the evidence of primitive beliefs shows that, in the confluence of rites and significances, the notion of fertilisation and impregnation and that of community of substance, are but aspects of the bond which constitutes the unity of the totemic flesh. Savages commonly connect any food which they particularly relish with the reproductive activities. When the Makololo were first made acquainted with coffee, they took a great liking to it, and "some of the tribes attribute greater fecundity to the daily use of the beverage."[5] To primitive woman it is the food, about which she is so curiously fanciful during her pregnancy, which is the immediate source of the new life that stirs within her. Some Maori women whom I once came upon while they were enjoying a feast of shell-fish (pipis), laughingly remarked that they were engaged in "making little pipis." What they said half in jest was once, in all seriousness, the interpretation of the process of generation. The two primary interests of man are thus indissolubly linked in primitive thought; the economic interest in food is inseparately associated with the racial, ultra-economic interest in reproduction. "By the food of the body," says an old Mexican proverb, "life is upheld; by it the world is peopled."[6] And we read in the 'Upanishads': "Animals spring from seed, and the seed is the food; therefore it is clear that what is food is the seed and cause of everything. From food are born all creatures that live on earth; afterwards they live on food, and in the end they return to it."[7]

The simple and direct relation between the animal which habitually supplies the food of the tribe and generation cannot from the nature of the case continue long unchanged, for that food-supply must of necessity be subject to changes. In Australia, cut off as it has been for incalculable ages from the rest of the world and arrested in primitive stages of cultural development, those changes from the effects of animal and human migrations have probably been less marked than in most other

[1] G. Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners and Customs of the North American Indians*, vol. i, p. 179. [2] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 8.

[3] G. Loyer, *Relation du voyage du 'Royaume d'Issyny,'* p. 152.

[4] For a large number of examples see E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. ii, pp. 343 sqq.

[5] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 207.

[6] H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. ii, p. 250.

[7] *Upanishads, Maitrayana*, vi. 10. 11 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xvi, pp. 313, 315).

parts of the world. But even there, as in some of the examples just adduced, the animals which are regarded as the cause of generation of particular individuals have within the memory of those same individuals become extinct in their neighbourhood. Elsewhere the totems are not found in the country which the people bearing their names occupy, and the very appearance of the animals has been forgotten.[1] Such have been the innumerable changes and wanderings to which some totemic tribes have been subject, while their ancient totems persisted as traditions, that the very language of those tribes has changed, and the names by which the totem animals are known are no longer those used in current speech.[2] As the food of a tribe changed, while its traditional totems remained the same, the significance of the latter in regard to the causation of conception could not continue unmodified. A woman's impregnation cannot be set down to an article of food of which she has not in fact partaken. The theory must of necessity be adapted to altered conditions by extended interpretations. Sir James Frazer has set forth a theory of the origin of totemism which closely resembles the one which is here put forward. He arrived at the conclusion that totemism is essentially a theory of conception; but, while he regards the eating of the totem as one of the ways in which conception may be brought about, he takes a wider view of its mode of operation in primitive theory, and considers that the totem may also cause conception in a number of other ways. "Amongst the objects on which her (the mother's) fancy might pitch as the cause of her pregnancy," he says, "we may suppose that the last food she has eaten would often be one." But he further suggests that "almost any object that happened to be near her and engage her attention at the time of 'quickening' might be interpreted as the source of pregnancy."[3] Women do in fact ascribe the nature of their offspring to all sorts of 'maternal impressions,' to fancies, to sights, to dreams even. Thus among the Melanesians of the island of Aurora the child is associated by the mother with some animal which is called its 'nunu,' and which is believed to have projected itself by some mysterious influence into the mother and impregnated her;[4] and in Mota, among the Banks Islanders, conception is similarly ascribed to the influence at a distance of some animal which may only have been seen or dreamed of by the mother.[5] But in the Melanesian region whence

[1] H. Trilles, *Le totémisme chez les Fân*, p. 119.

[2] R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinvanga*, p. 174.

[3] J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. i, p. 159.

[4] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 252 sq.

[5] W. H. Rivers, "Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxix, p. 172.

those accounts are derived there no longer exists any organised totemism, although there is clear evidence of its former existence; and of those surviving relics Sir James Frazer himself remarks: "If this is totemism, it is totemism in decay." [1] It is inevitable that the conditions that determined the significance of the primitive totem should pass away, and that quite other theories should arise to explain that significance. The women being no longer able to ascribe conception to eating the totem, the procreative power of the latter has been represented in innumerable other ways, as operating through 'maternal impressions,' through dreams, through mystic and unknown influences. Such modifications of the original concrete belief are inevitable as the food-supply changes; and we may note incidentally that a precisely similar evolution is found to take place in myths and legends, where immaculate conception through dreams and visions succeeds older versions in which impregnation takes place by eating.[2] But psychological evolution does not proceed in the reverse manner from the indirect to the direct explanation. In Australia the evolution from the one to the other form of belief can, indeed, be distinctly traced. Among the central tribes, as likewise among the western, conception is ascribed to the women having been in the neighbourhood of certain spots, or totem-centres, where the spirits of unborn members of a particular totem-group are believed to lie in wait within stones and trees for an opportunity of incarnation. When the woman passes in the neighbourhood of such totem-centres the spirit is believed to enter her body and to grow in her womb as her child.[3] But those same totem-centres are, we are also definitely told, the places where the ancestors of the present people of that totem were wont to cook and eat the totem.[4] It can scarcely be supposed that a woman, after having actually introduced the totem into her body by eating it, would subsequently be disposed to ascribe her impregnation to the action at a distance of the same totem-spirit; and it is, I think, manifest that the latter explanation of the mode of conception arose as an alternative theory when the practice of eating the totem at the same spot where now the women are impregnated by it through invisible influences had ceased to take place, while the connection of child and totem had still to be accounted for.

[1] J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, p. 81. Speaking of the beliefs in Mota, Dr. Rivers says: "It is doubtful whether even a prolonged investigation of the point could now elicit the original belief of the people about the influence" (*loc. cit.*).

[2] E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, vol. i, p. 10.

[3] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 124.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

The Totem as Tribal Ancestor and Tribal God.

There is a further objection against the form in which the conceptual theory of totemism has been presented by Sir James Frazer, and one which appears to me to be fatal to it; for in accordance with that view, Sir James Frazer has felt compelled to regard all totems as having originally represented, not a group or clan relation, but a purely individual and personal relation, and to have been not group-totems, but individual totems. But totemism is not only a theory of conception, it is also an expression of primitive social organisation; on the bond constituted by a common totem the unity of the primitive clan is conceived to be founded, and on that community of totems all social relations are based. Those momentous consequences of totemic ideas are left unaccounted for when the totem is viewed as a purely personal relation, and they have to be independently explained by some separate theory. The greater number of totemic peoples, when asked to explain the significance of their totem animal, express it by saying that it is their 'father,' their 'grandfather,' the ancestor of the clan.[1] That common ancestry of clansmen from the totem is the corollary of primitive community of food. With the most primitive totemic peoples the relation is not so much one of historical ancestry as of identity of substance. In Australia, say Spencer and Gillen, "the totem of any man is regarded, just as it is elsewhere, as the same thing as himself; as a native once said to us when we were discussing the matter with him, 'that one,' pointing to his photograph which we had taken, 'is just the same as me; so is a kangaroo.'"[2] The Bororo of Brazil, who have a red macaw called arara for their totem, actually believe that they are similar to it in outward appearance. They say, "We are araras."[3] The Ojibwa and many other North American tribes,[4] the Torres Straits

[1] E. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 446; A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 206; C. H. Harper, "Notes on the Totemism of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi, pp. 183 sq.; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 147; T. Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York*, vol. iv, p. 184; H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. i, p. 118; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, pp. 404 sq.; E. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 184; W. J. Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 39, 43; T. Arbousset and F. Daumas, *Relation d'un voyage d'exploration au nord-est de la colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, p. 422; H. Trilles, *Le totémisme chez les Fân*, p. 88.

[2] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 202.

[3] K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, pp. 352, 512.

[4] W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v, p. 49.

Islanders,[1] believe that they resemble in form and bodily structure as well is in disposition their totem animals.

The notion of the man's identity with his totem loses much of its force with the development of the more advanced historical view of descent from the totem ancestor. The totemic individual no longer regards hinself as literally identical with it in outward form, but only in essence, in substance, as being of the same flesh. The ancestral totem itself tends, on the other hand, to assume indefinitely human attributes and forms. In Australia the totem-ancestor is a semi-human, semi-animal being in which it is impossible to distinguish clearly the human from the animal attributes, and which may equally be regarded as a totem-animal or as a totem-man. "The whole past history of the tribe," say Spencer and Gillen in describing the totemic ceremonies of the Aruntas, "may be said to be bound up with these totemic ceremonies, each of which is concerned with the doings of certain mythical ancestors who are supposed to have lived in the dim past, to which the natives give the name of 'Alcheringa.' In the Alcheringa lived ancestors who, in the native mind, are so intimately associated with the animals or plants the name of which they bear that an Alcheringa man of, say, the kangaroo totem may sometimes be spoken of either as a man-kangaroo or as a kangaroo-man. The identity of the human individual is often sunk in that of the animal or plant from which he is supposed to have originated. It is useless to try and get further back than the Alcheringa; the history of the tribe as known to the natives commences then. Going back to this far-away time, we find ourselves in the midst of semi-human creatures endowed with powers not possessed by their living descendants and inhabiting the same country which is now inhabited by the tribe."[2] Those ancestors or progenitors of the tribe, endowed with magical powers similar to, but surpassing in degree those exercised by medicine-men or magicians, tend to assume, by a natural evolution, a character and attributes resembling those of deities, and they have indeed been interpreted by Mr. Andrew Lang and others as being nothing less than 'supreme gods.' The ancestor of the tribe is by virtue of his very function of progenitor, the maker or creator of the tribe, and he also possesses the power, shared with him for that matter by any competent medicine-man, of creating mountains, trees, rivers, and all other things. According to the aborigines of Victoria the world was created by the Eagle-totem and the Crow-totem.[3]

[1] A. C. Haddon and W. H. R. Rivers, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 184.

[2] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 119 sq.

[3] F. Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i, p. 423. The Eagle

The Magpie was also a creator, for we are told that the Magpie, "who was at that time a man," separated the heavens from the earth, pushing the heavenly vault up with a stick, and that it set the sun on its course.[1] The Jay, which blew up a being called Bungil to the sky, was also "at that time a man," and apparently a semi-divine totem who had some quarrel with Bungil, that is, the Eagle-hawk.[2] Daramulum is the name of the iguana, the totem of one of the class-divisions of the Murring tribe,[3] and plays a part in the initiation ceremonies of the tribe which has been compared to that of an "august divine being." Baiame, another of those Australian gods, is a turtle.[4]

As in Australia so in America, the ancestors of the tribe, the tribal heroes, the embryonic deities, are inextricably mixed up in their nature and attributes with the totemic animals of the tribe. "The animals seem to have governed the world. All totemic animals went up to the sky and are supposed to live there at the present day."[5] They existed before the world was created.[6] Among the Wyandots the sun was created by the Little Turtle.[7] The Chippeway hero-deity is a wolf;[8] the Manitu of the Delawares is an elk;[9] among the tribes of Lake Huron he is a beaver;[10] elsewhere a bison;[11] and he appears among different tribes as a squirrel, an otter, a dog, and a goose.[12]

The same indefinite fusion between animals, men, and gods is equally conspicuous among the people of northern Asia. Thus among the Gilyak "animals, though outwardly differing in form from man, are in reality human beings with human feelings and souls, and human institutions, such as the clan. Some of them, indeed, are superior to man, with higher qualities of mind and

and Crow are the totems of the two primary classes of the Kamilaroi tribe (A. W. Howitt, "On some Australian Initiation Ceremonies," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, p. 437).

[1] A. W. Howitt, "On Australian Medicine Men," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi, p. 53.

[2] H. Brough Smyth, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 427.

[3] A. W. Howitt, "On some Australian Initiation Ceremonies," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, p. 454.

[4] E. Thorne, *The Queen of the Colonies*, p. 317. See, however, below, pp. 697 sqq.

[5] W. E. Connelley, "Notes on the Folk-Lore of Wyandots," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xii, p. 119.

[6] J. G. Müller, *Geschichte der amerikanischen Urreligionen*, p. 62.

[7] W. E. Connelley, *loc. cit.*

[8] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Algic Researches*, vol. i, pp. 216 sq.

[9] J. G. E. Heckewelder, *History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 366.

[10] J. G. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[11] M. zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, vol. ii, p. 181.

[12] J. G. Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 123 sq.

body." [1] Among almost all Siberian tribes the most important divine being is the Big Raven, and he is generally regarded as the creator or demiurge. "In the time of the Big Raven," according to the Koryak, "there was no sharp distinction between men, animals, and other objects; but what used to be the ordinary visible state in his time became invisible afterwards." [2] The same indistinction between men and beasts is likewise found in Indonesia.[3] Among the Dayaks of Sarawak the world and the human race is held to have been created by two birds.[4]

It must be apparent that the totem, which tends to assume such high attributes and to undergo by a natural evolution so important a transformation, should be prone to become 'sacred,' tabu; and from being originally the ordinary food of a people should become a prohibited article of diet. That tabu character must inevitably become attached to it in proportion as the importance of the animal or plant as a food diminishes and as the rôle of the totem as ancestor, as tribal creator, correspondingly increases. A common subterfuge by which the abstention from eating the totem on account of its sacredness is reconciled with its primary function as an article of food is that of regarding only a part of the animal, and that generally the least attractive as food, as tabu, and as the totem of the clan. Thus the Banyoro and Bahima of Central East Africa have for their totems the tongues, entrails, stomach, heart, leg, head, or kidneys of oxen; [5] and in Angoniland some totems are the heart of a goat and the nose of an ox.[6] Some clans of the Omahas have the shoulder, head, or tail of the buffalo for their totems.[7] The device was in favour among the ancient Egyptians, as appears from the account of Sextus Empiricus: "Of the Egyptians who are accounted wise, some deem it sacrilege to eat the head of an animal, others to eat the shoulder-blade, others the foot, and others some other part." [8] Some of those split-totems may possibly have resulted from the segmentation of clans having originally the same animal for their totem.

[1] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 271.

[2] W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 117.

[3] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 121, 151 sq., 286, 308 sq.; A. C. Kruijt, *Het animisme in den Indischen Archipel*, pp. 120 sqq.; T. J. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, vol. ii, p. 376.

[4] W. H. Forbes, *Folk-lore in Borneo*, p. 12.

[5] J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, pp. 520, 534; J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara, or Banyoro*, pp. 14 sqq.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 397.

[7] E. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, vol. ii, pp. 47 sqq.

[8] Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrhoniarum hypotyposeon*, iii. 223.

As clans and totems multiply the observance of tabus in regard to the latter becomes more practicable. A large proportion of totems, on the other hand, are, no doubt, what may be termed artificial totems, that is to say, they never had any connection with the food-supply of the clan that bears their name, nor were any primitive theories of generation or descent attached to them. In every totemic society new clans must of necessity come into being and separate from the original ones, and those subdivisions must assume a totem, which is then little more than an arbitrary badge, though it inherits some of the traditional attributes of the original totems.

Diffusion and Fundamental Conceptions of Totemism.

The group of primitive ideas which is now known as totemism, together with the social organisation into exogamic totem-clans which characteristically goes with those ideas, was first noted among the North American Indian tribes and is general amongst them. It is also found among some tribes of Central and South America. Totemism exists in a virtually identical form in many parts of Africa. It is found no less typically among several of the native Dravidian races of India. It is prominent in the social organisation and customs of all Australian tribes. Indications of its former existence sufficiently definite to justify us in regarding them as conclusive are found in several parts of Melanesia, New Guinea, Micronesia, and Indonesia. Those facts make it clear that we have here to do with some of the most fundamental conceptions of the human mind, whether their presence amongst races so diverse and so widely scattered arises from those conceptions being original constituents of the most ancient human tradition, or whether the same notions have arisen independently as the spontaneous reaction of the mind of primitive man to the circumstances of his social life and natural environment. The very existence of totemism in Australia shows that the ideas which we find in North America, in India, and in Central Africa date back probably to the Pleistocene age. The inference appears irresistible that those conceptions were once universal, and that the progenitors of every human race have at one time or other entertained them. The question has been the subject of considerable discussion. The answer, as has been justly perceived, depends on what are the truly fundamental conceptions in the cycle of totemic ideas and organisation. Notions and ideas suggesting totemism are found among almost all known peoples, including those of Europe. Animals are everywhere associated with gods, both in a sacrificial capacity or as

emblems or avatars of the gods themselves. But we are no more justified in inferring every time we find a people worshipping a god in the form of a bull or of a serpent that such a people once had bulls or serpents for their totems, than we should be in assuming that the ancestors of Mr. Wolf and of Mr. Lamb must needs have belonged to a wolf-clan and a lamb-clan. Not only is it improbable that certain animals, such as the bull and the serpent, which are constantly associated with gods, were formerly totems, but it may be said to be certain that they were not, for the symbolism and ideas that have given rise to the association of those animals with the gods are clearly traceable. Those sacred bulls, sacred cows, sacred serpents, sacred eagles are not and probably never were totems. But, on the other hand, it is highly probable that the process of symbolism which led to their association with the gods derives from the traditional habit of associating animals with gods; and thus, although the animals are not themselves derived from totems, their existence as pseudo-totemic sacred animals may well be due in the last resort to the traditions of totemism.[1]

[1] The substitution of theriomorphic divinities and symbolic animals as pseudo-totems for the original clan-totems is found in the lowest stages of culture. Thus the numerous snake, bird, and stone ' totems ' of the Melanesian races of eastern New Guinea, which Dr. Seligman and Sir James Frazer describe as totems, are certainly not such in the original sense of the totem (C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 446 sqq.; J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. iv, pp. 276 sqq.). We shall, I think, see that those animals and sacred objects have, in the ideas of the natives, quite other significances, although they may have become assimilated to older true totems (se below, pp. 640 sqq., vol. iii, pp. 191 sqq.). Speaking of the divine beings, Sigai and Maiau, who, in the island of Yam, in Torres Straits, are represented in their temples in the form of a shark and a crocodile, Sir James Frazer remarks that " they seem to be on the point of sloughing off their animal skins and developing into purely anthropomorphic heroes or gods " (J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, p. 21). But when the mythological and cosmological conceptions of the natives are taken into consideration it appears, I think, that the process which has taken place is the reverse of what Sir James Frazer describes: it is the anthropomorphic heroes or gods who have become assimilated to totemic animals (see below, pp. 688 sqq.). The sharks, lizards, eels, octopus, birds, etc., which are regarded as sacred and are associated with particular clans in Polynesia, are likewise clearly pseudo-totems, being definite incarnations of gods having a quite other than totemic origin. At the same time they appear to have been adopted as the special protecting deity of particular clans in a manner directly reminiscent of true totemism. An instance of such an adoption of an animal as the totem of a clan came under direct observation. When Captain Cook visited the island of Atiu, he presented some people with a dog. The clan adopted the animal as their totem, and declared it was their ancestor, and they are known to this day as the " Dog clan " (J. T. Large, " Some Notes on Atiu Island, Cook Group, South Pacific," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, xxii, p. 72). Pseudo-totems are, I believe, common enough

But further, among peoples who show otherwise no trace of the customs usually included under the term totemism, we come upon conceptions which are, nevertheless, identical with those found in connection with the ideas and organisation of totemic peoples; and such quasi-totemic ideas among non-totemic peoples throw a valuable light upon the question as to what are the essential and fundamental conceptions of totemism. There is perhaps no race in the world that shows a more complete absence of totemic organisation than do the Eskimo or Inuit. Mr. Dall expressly stated that "the totemic system is not found among the Inuit."[1] Mr, Nelson, indeed, thought he noticed amongst the Eskimo of Bering Straits some suggestions of totemic institutions and customs. "Arrows or other weapons marked with the sign of the wolf or other animal totem mark are believed to become invested with some of the qualities of the animal represented and to be endowed with special fatality;" the masks worn by the Eskimo at their festivals represent animals, and the wearer is assimilated to the animal he represents; various individuals wear about their dress a mark referring to an animal with which they are associated, and hunters carry portions of some animal in their quiver.[2] But those isolated indications, as Sir James Frazer appears justified in concluding, are too indefinite to be accepted without further confirmation as evidence of the existence among the Eskimo of what we usually understand by totemism.[3]

Nevertheless, those conceptions which we have been led to regard as the essential foundation of the totemic system are as vivid and prominent in the ideas of the Eskimo as in the most typically totemic society which we know. The superstitious, magical, or religious notions of the Eskimo may be said to centre round the supply of his means of subsistence and the animals which provide it. Those animals are not viewed as a prey to be circumvented and slaughtered, but are regarded with sentiments of friendly sympathy and gratitude, and almost of veneration as the givers of life to the Eskimo who is dependent on them for food. The hunting of animals is a complex tissue of magical and ritual observances designed to conciliate the good will of the food animals, so that they may be so well disposed towards their human dependents

in Australia itself. The iguana totem of the Murring, for instance, is not, it seems to me, an original totem that has arisen in what I take to be the normal way from the food-animal of a tribe, but a sacred animal having quite other associations and significances, which has become assimilated to a totem and adopted as such by a class-division.

[1] W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 145.

[2] E. W. Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i, pp. 322, 324 sq., 395.

[3] J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. iii, p. 369.

as to allow themselves to be killed. That sacrifice is performed with apologies for the hard necessity that calls for it and with every regard for the feelings of the animals. After a seal, walrus, or whale is killed by the Eskimo hunter, mourning rites are observed with the same ritual as for a human being; the women go about dishevelled and unwashed and cease from all occupations; the hut to which the carcass of the animal is brought becomes a sacred place; and the hunters themselves must make penance and undergo purification. The cooking and consumption of the meat are subject to ritual rules, and certain parts of the animal must not be injured. The soul of the slaughtered creature is supposed to reside in its bladder, and the bladders of the food-animals are the most sacred objects of the Eskimo. They are carefully preserved, and the most effective way of imparting magical virtues to any object, such as amulets and the heads of arrows and harpoons, is to enclose them in the sacred bladders. The chief religious festival of the Eskimo is the 'Feast of Bladders.' The soul-containing bladders are hung to the beams of a large hut, and are propitiated by dances. The ghosts of the animals, which so much care has been taken to preserve uninjured, are supposed to return ultimately into the sea to be reincarnated in more food-animals, and appropriate rites are performed to speed them on their journey and to promote their abundant multiplication.[1] The Eskimo are also, like the Algonkins, careful not to break any bone of an animal they have killed.[2] The food-animals are regarded as limbs of the Great Goddess, Sedna, who is no other than the moon, and has control of all sea-animals. She is, indeed, represented as a walrus. In fact the animals themselves are conceived by the Eskimo, as they are by all totemic peoples, as human beings. "In early days all animate beings had a dual existence, becoming at will either like man or the animal forms they now wear."[3] But at the same time they are by nature superior to men by virtue of their magical powers and insight; "the souls of the sea-animals are endowed with greater powers than those of ordinary human beings."[4]

[1] F. Boas, "The Central Eskimo," *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 584 sq.; Id., "The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, xv, Part i, pp. 121 sqq.; C. F. Hall, *Life with the Esquimaux*, pp. 321 sq.; Id., *Arctic Researches*, pp. 575, 580, 582; E. W. Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i, pp. 438 sqq.

[2] P. H. Ray, *Report on an International Expedition to Point Barrow, Alaska*, p. 40; F. Boas, "The Central Eskimo," pp. 595 sq.

[3] E. W. Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 395. Cf. H. J. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, p. 46.

[4] F. Boas, "The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, xv, Part i, p. 120.

The Eskimo, besides thus regarding the animals upon which their sustenance depends as semi-divine givers of life, have notions concerning the mechanism of conception similar to those of the Australian aborigines. A pregnant woman may eat only of the game which her husband has killed, and the latter, in supplying her with it, is careful not to injure the entrails of the animal. Should the woman eat of any animal food other than that procured by her husband, the latter would not regard her child as his.[1]

If, then, the Eskimo have no totemism, they have certainly to the fullest extent those conceptions with regard to their relation to the animals which supply their daily food which we have been led to conclude are the source of all totemic ideas. That conclusion is strongly confirmed by the important part played by those conceptions in a people among whom every trace of totemic organisation is perhaps more completely absent than among any other known people. Those Eskimo conceptions may be surviving relics of a former complete system of totemism, or they may never have developed into such a system. In either case they are shown to be fundamental. For if they are survivals of a former complete system of totemism, they are certainly not formal elements owing their persistence to the mere endurance of tradition, but represent the living core and essence of such a system. If, on the other hand, as appears more probable, the Eskimo never had a completely developed system of totemism, they have certainly all the elements and ideas out of which, in circumstances more favourable to tribal organisation, such a system might obviously have developed.

The religious ideas of the Eskimo, instead of leading to the development of a number of totemic sacred beings or tribal gods, have tended to assume a more cosmological form through the intimate association of the food-animals with their reputed controller or parent, the lunar deity, Sedna.[2] A similar process has taken place in the development of the religious ideas of peoples who had a definite totemic social organisation. It would seem, indeed, that the failure of Eskimo totemic conceptions to develop into a system of social tribal organisation has contributed to preserve rather than to efface the original character of those conceptions; for, as we have noted, that character must tend to lose its significance when the totem becomes little more than a tribal badge, and when new totems have constantly to be invented to distinguish newly formed tribal divisions.

[1] H. J. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, p. 54; E. Reclus, *Primitive Folk*, p. 35.

[2] See below, p. 721 and vol. iii, pp. 52 sq.

What is spoken of as ' totemism ' in anthropological literature is both a system of primitive religion and of social organisation. Totemic conceptions have in fact given rise to both. Magical ceremonies founded upon totemic ideas have become rituals which present a striking similarity in principle to the ritual conceptions of highly developed religions; tribal totems have by insensible gradations merged into gods and creators; the social organisation and system of group-kinship of many peoples, and their rules of intermarriage, are also regulated by the conception of clan-totems. But the primitive notions upon which such religious and social systems rest are neither. They are neither systematic theories nor organisations, but primitive man's natural and unpremeditated interpretation of the facts that are most important in his life; they consist in the belief that his substance and strength are derived from the food he eats, and that his body and spirit have likewise in the first instance been formed in his mother's womb out of the food she ate. When magical practices are carried out for the important object of promoting the supply of that food, they are naturally founded upon those conceptions; when tribal groups and clans have to be distinguished from one another and organised with reference to marriage and other relations, that organisation is founded upon those conceptions. But these do not depend upon magical practices, religious ideas, or social organisation; they are corollaries of totemic ideas which may quite well be entertained without such corollaries, and which have probably been far more fundamental and more general in their distribution.

Priestly Clans.

The decay of totemism through the multiplication of totem-clans may enhance the sacred character of certain totems, and has led to some momentous consequences. The members of a totemic clan enjoy by virtue of their community of flesh with their totem a special influence over it. The totem animal or plant shares with all the clansmen the sentiment of friendliness and trust and the obligation of helpfulness which constitute the bonds of the clan. Thus among the Omahas, when birds eat the corn at harvest-time, some of the members of the Bird clan chew some corn and go about the fields spitting it out; the birds, of course, refrain from eating of their own kinsmen, or, what is the same thing, of a substance which has been part of their bodies.[1] Similarly, the men of the

[1] J. Owen Dorsey, " Omaha Sociology," *Third Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 238 sq.

Reptile clan chew worms, when worms prove a nuisance.[1] The particular office of the Wind clan among the Kansas is to start a breeze by flapping blankets about when mosquitoes are troublesome.[2] Among the Zuñi Indians the Frog clan have the important power of making rain, for frogs are commonly supposed to control moisture and the supply of water.[3] When Mr. Hollis was camping at the foot of the Nandi escarpment in East Africa his porters were suddenly attacked by a swarm of bees. The African bee, it should be understood, is a very ferocious insect; men and donkeys have succumbed to their injuries after an encounter with them. Mr. Hollis's porters were therefore compelled to abandon their loads and could not approach them on account of the bees. A Nandi belonging to the Bee totem thereupon strolled into the camp, and, on learning the cause of the trouble, volunteered to quieten the bees, for, he said, "they belonged to him." The Bee-man was naked and approached the spot whistling; the bees swarmed round him, but beyond brushing them off his arms, he took no notice, and, still whistling, proceeded to the tree that held the hive. In a few minutes he returned none the worse for his adventure.[4] It is the usual belief that an animal to whom he is totemically related will not injure a man. If a man of the Zebra totem, among the Bakwains, is bitten by a zebra, this is taken as a clear indication that he is not a real member of the totem, and he and his family are expelled from the clan.[5] In Australia a man of the Emu totem will give a man of the Prune-tree totem a churinga over which he has performed incantations; this will enable the Prune-tree man to hunt the emu successfully.[6] The rites and ceremonies which are calculated to promote the fertility of nature and of the food-supplying animals and plants are naturally more effectual when carried out by members of a totem-clan in regard to their own totem. Their influence over their totem is thus a special virtue and privileged magical power belonging to them by birth. The older totemic clans of a community, whose totems are real totems, valuable sources of subsistence, and not mere arbitrary badges, thus possess a power of control of special importance.

[1] J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 248.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 240.

[3] M. C. Stevenson, "The Zuñi," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 58, 164 sq. Cf. below, pp. 634 sq., vol. iii, p. 10.

[4] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 6.

[5] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 255.

[6] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 463.

The Australian intichiuma ceremonies are intended, like many similar rites in other parts of the world, to promote the increase of the totem by practices of imitative magic. Each clan carries out intichiumas with reference to its own totem, the effect of those ceremonies being thus greatly enhanced by their being performed by specialists. But those special powers are exercised for the benefit of the whole community. Among the central tribes the members of the officiating clans usually abstain from using their totem as an article of ordinary food. Their magical power over the totem is thus, no doubt, still further enhanced; by placing a tabu, so far as they are themselves concerned, over the totem, except as regards the ritual communion which is necessary to maintain their unity of substance with it, they increase their credit with the totem, that is to say, their magical efficiency, their ritual purity. It cannot be supposed that such a division of labour was the original arrangement. In the traditions of the tribes the totemic groups which performed ceremonies for the multiplication of their totem, far from doing so for the benefit of other groups and abstaining from the particular food themselves, had, on the contrary, a prior claim to that food.[1] But by that specialisation everybody is benefited; the tabu imposed upon the clan's own totem is well worth while, and follows, moreover, from the increased sanctity of the relation between the totem-multipliers and their totem. The clan whose totem has a general economic importance in the life of the community thus acquires, in fact, the character of a magical society, or, as it might be called, a college of priests. Its members are the privileged mediators between their totem and the community at large.

In much later stages the superior magical power of certain clans leads to important developments. The clan enjoying the greatest consideration, either on account of the value of its totem or of its precedence as the oldest, comes to be regarded as endowed with magical powers not only in regard to its earthly totem, but in regard to the primal ancestors of the clans, and through them over all forces of vital importance to the tribe's welfare, such as the control of rain and of luck in war. The clans enjoying that magical power will become sacred clans, royal clans. Their power will be exercised on behalf of the people to propitiate the transformed ancestral totem, the tribal ancestor and progenitor, the god, who is their own particular ancestor and who can be approached and influenced through their mediation alone.

That sacred character depends upon the fleshly kinship between

[1] W. B. Spencer and J. F. Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 468.

the priest and the god. That identity, the foundation of such exalted power, that communion which is sought in many religions by rites of manducation in which is reproduced the original basis of the community of flesh of the primitive clan, have perhaps had an even more momentous importance in the origin of human society than in the higher phases of its evolution. The totem was not then a god; communion with it was not to be sought through the intervention of qualified mediators or through mystic rituals. The totemic man and woman were, as a physical and physiological fact, identical in flesh with their totem, and through it with all other members of the clan.

Primitive Tribal Solidarity and Communism.

Those ideas have been the corner-stone of human social solidarity; they constituted the concept of kinship between man and his fellows. The members of the clan regard themselves as members of one body through the community of food. In the Wotjobaluk tribe of South-east Australia the word for totem, 'youerin,' is likewise the word for 'flesh.'[1] In Arabic and in Hebrew one and the same word signifies 'flesh,' 'kindred,' or 'clan.'[2] In China kindred in the female line is expressed by the term 'of the same flesh.'[3] The same nomenclature is used in Tibet,[4] and in India among the Santals.[5] The word 'totem,' which we have adopted from the Ojibwa, signifies equally a totem animal, a member of the totem clan, and the clan itself; 'ototeman' means 'kinship in the female line.'[6] The corresponding designations are used by most totemic peoples in the same manner. The word 'ebussia,' for instance, is used by the Fanti of the Gold Coast to connote either the totemic animal or the maternal family.[7] That identity through the common food eaten is the primitive idea which stood for the notion of kinship. 'Kinship'

[1] A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 241.

[2] W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, p. 176.

[3] W. H. Medhurst, "Marriage, Affinity, and Inheritance in China," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, China Branch*, iv, p. 3.

[4] C. Puini, *Il Tibet secondo la relazione del viaggio del P. Ippolito Desideri*, p. 129.

[5] S. S. O'Malley, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. v, "Bengal," etc., p. 326. Among the Santals, as also in China and in Tibet, relationship in the male line is denoted by the term 'of the same bone.'

[6] J. A. Cuoq, *Lexique de la langue Algonquine*, p. 312.

[7] A. ffoulkes, "The Fanti Family," *Journal of the African Society*, vii, p. 395.

is a complex conception involving whole theories of generation and of social organisation. The notion did not make its appearance full-blown in the form in which it presents itself to us. In the proto-human stage the bond between members of a brood did not rest upon a concept, but upon a spontaneous sentiment, the irradiation of the maternal instincts. Primitive conceptions of the relation are but broad outlines lacking in detail, and taking account chiefly of obvious distinctions of age. In all primitive kinship the fundamental idea is not the individual relation to other individuals, but the solidary unity which binds all members of the group by virtue of a deep and fundamental identity that distinguishes them from other human beings. To primitive man members of his group are his people, all others are strangers, foes, individuals whom he looks upon with distrust, with actual hostility. With these he must be on his guard; with 'his own people' those primitive animal instincts of self-protection amid a hostile world are suspended; he and his people are one flesh, he can trust them as they can trust him. And that union and solidarity is materially represented in his conceptions by the community of food, which is expressed in its most concrete form by the system of totemic ideas. The Ojibwa Indians state that they have totems in order that "they might never forget they were all related to each other, and that in time of distress or war they were bound to help each other."[1] Common food means, as primitive man understands it, kinship and common generation; it is in the totemic conception identical with genetic affinity. He regards himself as being one with the group not because of any form of genealogical kinship, but because he is actually of the same substance. It is a universal rule among totemic savages that when travelling in a strange territory a man enquires whether there are any persons there bearing the same totem as himself. A man of the same totem is at once recognised as a brother. He is probably an absolute stranger, and there is not the remotest relationship between the two; the fact of his having the same animal as his totem may be pure coincidence; he may belong to a totally different totemic group. But identity of totem is sufficient to constitute the closest bond which could exist between the two men. People having the same totem "are bound, under whatever circumstances do they meet, even though they should be of different and hostile bands, to treat each other not only as friends, but as brethren, sisters, and relations of the same family."[2]

[1] P. Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians*, p. 87.

[2] *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, p. 313. Cf. R. Swanton, "Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American*

When there is any possibility of disloyalty within the totem group, where any treachery may be contemplated, as when embarking upon a dangerous enterprise, or on an avenging expedition where the passions of each individual may not be equally involved, solidarity is confirmed, not by rules and penalties, but by emphasising the identity of substance by exchanging blood, or sprinkling each man with blood drawn from every other.[1] The conception of the group's social solidarity is illustrated by the treatment adopted in the Arunta and Kaitish tribes when for some special reason a member or a stranger dissociates himself from the tribal purpose. If on starting on an avenging expedition a man who belongs to the same locality as the offending tribe is present in the camp, he is seized and his mouth is forcibly pulled open ; the blood of the clansmen is then poured down his throat. After that procedure it is not considered necessary to exercise any further caution in regard to him, and he may safely be left to his own devices ; for it is quite impossible that he should be disloyal.[2] That mechanical method of inoculating loyalty may strike us as strange, but it is identical in principle with the primitive conception of the relation created between host and guest by the partaking of common food. Oriental history abounds with instances in which the animosities of mortal foes have been paralysed by the fact that they have partaken of food together. It is related that a redoubtable robber chief, named Yakub ibn al-Layth, having by long-planned strategy gained access at night to the palace of the prince of Sagistan with intent to plunder him, happened to stumble and touch some salt with his lips. He immediately withdrew empty-handed ; the fact of his having tasted salt under his roof made him his intended victim's guest.[3]

The totemic communion of food which, as equivalent to kinship by way of generation, was the conceptual form assumed by the brotherhood of the maternal brood in primitive humanity, was thus the ideal foundation of social solidarity. And as regards the social efficiency which depends upon that solidarity the primitive human group, the maternal totemic clan, was by far the most successful form that human association has assumed—it may indeed be said that it has been the only successful one. When that primitive concept decayed and disappeared, other sentiments more or less

Ethnology, p. 427 ; A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 161.

[1] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 461.

[2] Id., *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 461 ; cf. p. 598.

[3] E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. iv, p. 53 (ed. Bury). Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, pp. 129 sq.

directly derived from it, other loyalties, took its place as the bonds of human society; loyalties to divine kings, loyalty to a tribal god, religious brotherhood, loyalty to the tribe, to the State, to Throne and Altar, patriotism. But those more abstract loyalties have proved, on the whole, but poor substitutes for the direct conceptions and instincts embodied in totemic society. All human associations that have subsequently arisen have been bound by loose and feeble ties compared with the primitive maternal clan. Political organisations, religious theocracies, States, nations, have endeavoured in vain to achieve real and complete social solidarity. They are artificial structures; social humanity has never succeeded in adequately replacing the primitive bond to which it owes its existence. Even those loyalties which took its place have now to a large extent lost their reality, and individualistic interests rule supreme. Human society finds itself in the precarious position of being no longer held together by those bonds of sentiment which constitute the distinction between a social group and an aggregate of individuals.

The solidarity of the primitive group did not rest on principles; hence those strange limitations of social clan-morality which we have noted. It is applicable to the clan-brotherhood only; beyond the group it has no meaning. Thus it is that in tribal society, not only in its primitive, but also in its advanced stages, we come upon what appear strange contrasts of extreme devotion, self-sacrifice, sympathy, and utter ferocity and callousness. Dr. Maudsley was impressed with the similar narrow feeling that may occasionally be seen amongst ourselves in family groups—Mr. Galsworthy's Forsytes. "Moral feeling," he says, "is based upon sympathy; to have it one must have imagination enough to realise the relations of others and to enter into their feelings; whereas these persons (in whom the family-feeling alone is developed) have not the least capacity of going in feeling beyond the range of their family and are governed by an intense and narrow family selfishness. They are capable sometimes of extraordinary self-sacrifice for one another within that small circle, but they are completely shut up within it. There is the most intense family-feeling; the members constitute, as it were, one self, feel with one another in a close and narrow sympathy, measure all their doings and other persons' doings by the standard of family feeling. So entirely exaggerated is family-feeling that they do not perceive the family oddities and failings of character, but perhaps look up to and even foster them as something higher than the virtues of other families. They are capable of the most extraordinary self-sacrifice for one another."[1] What Maudsley

[1] H. Maudsley, *The Pathology of Mind*, pp. 102, 806.

here noted is not, as he supposed, "self-feeling widened to embrace the family without going a step farther in expansion," but the original and primitive form of "self-feeling," in which the individual mind, not as yet differentiated, is identical with the social group-mind which gave rise to it.

The totem clan was family, brotherhood, nation, State, religion in one; it was apprehended single-eyed as the sole human relationship, founded on the fact of common flesh. The interests of one member were the interests of all; injury to one was injury to all. In Australia all members of the totem "owe one another aid and vengeance." [1] "Each clan," says Mr. Taplin, "has its own symbol, and every member of it regards all the other men, women, and children belonging to it as blood relations. It is that clan-life which is the cause of the peculiar national character of the Australian tribes. In the clan there can be no personal property—all implements, weapons, etc., belong to the members collectively; every individual regards them as possessions of his clan, and to be employed for its welfare and defence as occasion may require. If he has a weapon, or net, or canoe which is in some sense his own, he knows that his property in it is subject to the superior rights of the clan. Every man is interested in his neighbour's property and cares for it because it is part of the wealth of the family collectively. The writer has often remarked with what solemnity a fisherman will call his friends to a consultation over the repairs of a canoe or a fishing-net; with a similar gravity will he get them to deliberate ever his family affairs, the marriage of his son, or the betrothal of his daughter. He is surprised that you should expect him to act on his own individual judgment; to him that would be dishonestly ignoring the rights of others. Every one of the clan feels interest in that which is used by his neighbour, because he has a share in it. Only let sufficient occasion arise, and he has a right to use it himself. One effect of this state of things is a lack of the grace of gratitude. If a man be in danger or injured, anyone of the same clan who succours him is supposed to do it more for the sake of the clan than from personal regard. Indeed, it is often the case that a man will give all the help he can to one whom he dislikes. His personal feelings are sunk for the common good; and if any kindness is shown to one of the clan, it is felt to be shown to the whole. Whatever injury there befalls a single individual is a general damage that befalls the whole." [2] An individual has no personal rights to the game, fish, or vegetable food which he may obtain. "Division of game takes place according to old-established rule in which they

[1] F. W. Fison and A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 232.

[2] G. Taplin, *The Folklore, Manners, Customs, and Languages of the South Australian Aborigines*, pp. ii sq.

practise considerable self-denial, the hunter often going short himself that others might have the recognised share. When a kangaroo is killed, the hind leg is given to the hunter's father, with the backbone; the other leg to his father's brother; the tail to his sister; the shoulder to his brother; the liver he eats himself. Sometimes his own gin will be left without any, but in that case it seems to be the rule that her brother gives her of his hunting, or someone else on her side. A blackfellow would rather go short himself and pretend he was not hungry than incur the odium of having been greedy in camp, or of neglecting the duties of hospitality."[1] Among the North-Central tribes, according to Mr. R. H. Mathews, "the hunter himself takes only the inner parts and blood. He then waits till he receives a share from some of the other hunters who are related to him."[2] There are rules for dividing a single fish;[3] and even a snake is cut in pieces and handed round.[4] "Communism," says the Rev. W. Ridley, "is another law of the aborigines. They hold the doctrine of M. Proudhon, 'La propriété c'est le vol.' Real and personal property in individuals is rendered impossible by their systematic communism. So when blackfellows whose traditional ideas of law are not dispelled come to the stations and receive presents or rewards, these are divided among their companions; and it was not from mere thoughtlessness or ignorance of the value of what they possessed, nor yet from benevolence, that when a suit of clothes was given one, the company to which he belonged were seen accoutred, one with nothing but a coat, another with a hat, another with trousers. A venerable law handed down from many generations imposed the division upon them."[5] The same surprising ignorance of the rights of private property has been noted among the Fuegians, who actually deal honestly by one another, and have no notion of cheating. "The perfect equality among individuals composing Fuegian tribes" is, Darwin thought, fatal to any hope of their becoming civilised. "Even a piece of cloth given to one is torn in shreds and distributed, no one individual becomes richer than another."[6] The wild Veddahs of Ceylon have

[1] E. Palmer, "Notes on some Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, p. 285.

[2] R. H. Mathews, "Notes on some Native Tribes of Australia," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xi, p. 104. Cf. B. H. Purcell, "The Aborigines of Australia (Queensland North Territory)," *Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia* (*Victoria Branch*), xi, p. 19; A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 756 sqq.; J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 22.

[3] E. Fison and A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.*, p. 263. [4] E. Palmer, *loc. cit.*

[5] W. Ridley, *The Aborigines of Australia*, p. 7.

[6] C. Darwin, *A Naturalist's Voyage round the World*, p. 242.

the same detestable principles.[1] Among the Eskimo, the hunter has no personal right to his catch; it is divided among all the inhabitants of the village. "In small things and in great, whatever is to be found in an Eskimo village in the way of provisions and tools is the common property of all. As long as there is a piece of meat in the camp it belongs to all."[2] The same division of the products of the chase takes place amongst the Aleuts.[3] In the islands of the Ellice group it was almost a misfortune for a man to make a good catch of fish, for his canoe was surrounded the moment he landed, and everyone picked out the fish he liked best.[4] In Tahiti, "it seems," says Bougainville, "that as regards the necessaries of life there is no private property, and everything belongs to everybody."[5] All food is distributed throughout the clan in New Caledonia.[6] In Torres Straits Island "the solidarity of the totem-clan was a marked feature in the social history of the people and it took precedence of all other considerations."[7] Among the Kugamma of Nigeria a hunter's bag of game is divided among the whole village.[8] Among the Ibo every man is actuated by the group-mind of the tribe; "the will of the tribe or family expressed or implied permeates his whole being, and is the deciding factor in every detail of his life. It is a sort of intangible freemasonry, the essence of the primary instinct of the people. He is under the influence of an atmosphere which emanates from the whole tribe. This subliminal consciousness by which all his movements are controlled becomes practically a sixth sense. It is inexplicable in words, but nevertheless extremely powerful in action."[9] "A Kaffir," writes Mr. Kidd, "feels that 'the frame that binds him in' extends to the clan. The sense of solidarity of the family in Europe is thin and feeble compared with the full-blooded sense of corporate union of the Kaffir clan. The claims of the clan entirely swamp the rights of the individual. The system of tribal

[1] J. Bailey, "An Account of the Wild Tribes of the Veddahs of Ceylon," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, N.S., ii, p. 242.

[2] H. W. Klutschak, *Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos*, pp. 233 sq. Cf. H. J. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, pp. 27 sqq.

[3] I. Weniaminoff, "Charakter-Züge der Aleuten von den Fuchs-Inseln," in F. Wrangell, *Statistische und ethnographische Nachrichten über die russischen Besitzungen an der Nordwestküste von Amerika*, p. 183.

[4] C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, vol. v, p. 90.

[5] L. A. de Bougainville, *Voyage autour du Monde par la frégate du Roi, La Boudeuse*, vol. ii, p. 2.

[6] Père Lambert, *Moeurs et Superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens*, p. 74.

[7] A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 161.

[8] O. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes . . . of Northern Nigeria*, p. 245.

[9] G. T. Basden, *The Ibos of Nigeria*, pp. 9 sq.

land-tenure, which has worked so well in its smoothness that it might satisfy the utmost dreams of the socialist, is a standing proof of the sense of corporate union of the clan. Fortunately for Europeans this sense of corporate union does not extend beyond the tribe, or no white man could have survived in South Africa. In olden days a man did not have any feeling of personal injury when a chief made him work for white men and then told him to give all, or nearly all, of his wages to the chief; the money was kept within the clan, and what was the good of the clan was the good of the individual and vice versa. It should be pointed out that it is not only the missionary who teaches the native the value of the individual, but it is also the trader, the mineowner, and the farmer. The striking thing about this unity of the clan is that it was not a thought-out plan imposed from without by legislation on an unwilling people, but a felt-out plan which arose spontaneously along the line of least resistance. If one member of the clan suffered, all the members suffered, not in sentimental phraseology, but in real fact. The corporate union was not a pretty religious fancy with which to please the mind, but was so truly felt that it formed an excellent basis from which the altruistic sentiments might start. Gross selfishness was curbed, the turbulent passions were restrained by an impulse which the man felt welling up within him, instinctive and unbidden." [1]

Of the North American Indians Captain Carver says: "The Indians in their common state are strangers to all distinction of property, except in the articles of domestic use, which everyone considers his own and increases as circumstances admit. They are extremely liberal to each other and supply the deficiencies of their friends with any superfluity of their own. In dangers they readily give assistance to those of their band who stand in need of it, under no expectation of return, except of the just rewards that are always conferred by the Indians on merit. In their public character, as forming part of a community, they possess an attachment for the band to which they belong unknown to the inhabitants of any other country. They combine, as it were actuated only by one soul, against the enemy of their nation, and banish from their minds every consideration opposed to this. The honour of their tribe and the welfare of the nation is the first and most predominant emotion of their hearts, and from hence proceed in great measure all their virtues and their vices. Actuated by this they brave any danger, endure the most exquisite torments, and expire triumphing in their fortitude, not as a personal qualification, but as a national characteristic." [2] "These savages," writes La Hontan, "know

[1] D. Kidd, *Savage Childhood*, pp. 74 sq.

[2] J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, pp. 247, 411 sq.

nothing of mine and thine, for it may be said that what belongs to one belongs to another. When a savage has been unsuccessful in beaver-hunting, his fellows succour him without being asked. If his gun bursts or breaks, each hastens to offer him another. If his children are captured or slain by foes, he is given as many slaves as he needs to provide for his subsistence. It is only those who are Christians and dwell at the gates of our towns who make use of money. The others will not touch it. They call it the 'Snake of the French.' They say that amongst us folks will rob, slander, betray, sell one another for money; that husbands sell their wives, and mothers their daughters, for this metal. They think it strange that someone should have more goods than others, and that those who have more should be more esteemed than those who have less. They never quarrel and fight amongst themselves, nor steal from one another, or speak ill one of another." [1] "What is extremely surprising in men whose external appearance is wholly barbarous," says Father Charlevoix, "is to see them treat one another with a gentleness and consideration which one does not find among common people in the most civilised nations. This, doubtless, arises in part from the fact that the words 'mine' and 'thine,' which St. Chrysostom says extinguish in our hearts the fire of charity and kindle that of greed, are unknown to these savages." [2] "I have seen them," says Heckewelder, "divide game, venison, bear's meat, fish, etc., among themselves, when they sometimes had many shares to make; and cannot recollect a single instance of their falling into a dispute or finding fault with the distribution as being unequal or otherwise objectionable. They would rather lie down themselves on an empty stomach than have it laid to their charge that they neglected to satisfy the needy; only dogs and beasts, they say, fight amongst themselves. They look upon themselves as but one great family who, therefore, ought at all times and on all occasions to be serviceable and kind to each other." [3] A student of the Araucanians of Chili says: "The communal sentiment was highly developed amongst them. The will and initiative of the individual were merged in the absolute power of the community; the convenience and wishes of one man were bound up with those of all others who obeyed traditional custom." [4]

Where in principle that primitive tribal organisation has

[1] A. de La Hontan, *Nouveaux voyages dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, vol. ii, pp. 105 sq.

[2] F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. vi, p. 11.

[3] J. Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, pp. 145, 101, 103, 102.

[4] T. Guevara, "Folklore Auraucano," *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, cxxvii, p. 508.

survived unchanged, as it has among the Arabs, we perceive the extraordinary force of the original social bond of the clan. "It is difficult," says Dozy, "to give an adequately vivid and distinct idea of this 'assabiyya,' as it is called, this deep, limitless, steadfast fidelity of the Arab to his fellow-clansmen, this absolute devotion to the interests, the prosperity, the honour and glory of the community. The sentiment is not paralleled by patriotism, as we understand the term, for that is an emotion which appears to the fiery Bedawin but lukewarm; it is a fierce, overpowering passion, and at the same time the first and most sacred of duties; in a word, it is the true religion of the desert. If needs be a Bedawi will slaughter his last sheep to supply food for a poverty-stricken brother who craves for aid, while he will resent an affront offered to a brother by a man of an alien tribe as a personal injury, and will not rest until he has avenged it. The Arab will make any sacrifice for his tribe; for it he will be ready to risk his life in those dangerous enterprises in which faith and enthusiasm work miracles; for it he will fight until his body is crushed out of human semblance under the feet of the foe." [1]

In setting out to give an account of that strange highland community of Sparta which, in the very midst of the splendour of Hellenic culture, retained the spirit and organisation of a more ancient social phase, and was an everlasting source of perplexity and wonder to other Greeks, who were in two minds whether to regard it as a tribe of barbaric savages or as an ideal Republic—in describing Sparta, Ottfried Müller finds himself obliged to preface his account with a warning lest we should fall into the fallacy of the Athenians and apply the assumptions of our own conceptions to a totally different order of society. "It will be necessary," he says, "to set aside all modern ideas respecting the origin, essence, and object of the State, namely, that it is an institution for protecting the persons and property of individuals contained in it. We shall approach nearer to the ancient notion if we consider the State to be that by a recognition of the same opinions and principles and the direction of actions to the same ends, the whole body becomes, as it were, one moral agent. Such unity of opinions and actions can only be produced by the ties of some natural affinity, such as a nation, a tribe, or part of one, although in process of time the meaning of the term State and nation become distinct. The more complete unity of feelings and principles is, the more vigorous will be the common exertions and the more comprehensive the notion of the State. The greatest freedom of the Spartan, as well as of Greeks in general, was only to be a living member of the living body of the State, whereas that which in modern times commonly

[1] R. Dozy, *Islam in Spain*, p. 7.

receives the name of liberty consists in having the fewest possible claims from the community, or, in other words, in dissolving the social union to the greatest possible degree as far as the individual is concerned." [1]

Primitive human nature differed considerably, and in some respects radically, from what we are prone to assume to be 'human nature' in general. Unless that fact be clearly realised and the method of imputing indiscriminately the motives which operate in our 'human nature' to primitive man is guarded against, our interpretations of his conduct and ideas must be hopelessly vitiated. One of the most fundamental and startling differences between the mentality of primitive humanity and the current conception of human nature, is the degree, almost inconceivable to us, in which the sentiment of individuality is undeveloped in the primitive mind. That is not the effect of the theories which the savage holds, it is not a product of the ideas of totemism, or of the external soul, or of the blood-bond, or of any conception which he may entertain. Those theories and ideas are, on the contrary, consequences and manifestations of his diffuse sentiment of individuality, and would be impossible but for that undeveloped condition of the notion. A savage will not only identify himself with an animal, or a tree, or even a stone; he will say that his son or his brother is 'himself,' he will tell you with no perception of inconsistency that he is here and that he is at the same time somewhere else. He quite seriously regards any detached portion of his body as a part of himself; his hair, nail-parings, spittle are accounted parts of his person, and what befalls them after they are separated from the body affects him also. His clothes and his name are part of himself, and have to be protected from injury just as he desires to be protected. In the same way an injury to a member of the group to which he belongs, to one who is of one flesh with him, is an injury suffered by himself. He resents it not by virtue of magnanimous sentiments, or elevated principles of honour, or sublime ethical faiths, but because of the hazy conceptions of individuality which permit of his complete identification with the group. He does not think in terms of his ego and its interests, but in terms of the group-individual.

The sentiment of individuality has developed out of a psychological state in which it played no part. That individualistic standpoint which is the alpha and omega of the judgments, sentiments, and motives of modern man is not a primitive character of humanity, but a product of social evolution. It has developed mainly, if not solely, in relation to social circumstances, and more especially to the growth of personal property. William James, in

[1] K. O. Müller, *History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, vol. ii, pp. 1 sq.

analysing the concept or feeling of individuality, the 'empirical ego,' justly laid stress upon that aspect. "Instinctive impulses," he says, "drive us to collect property, and the collections thus made become with different degrees of intimacy parts of our empirical selves. There are few men who would not feel personally annihilated if a lifelong construction of their hands or brains were suddenly swept away. The miser feels similarly towards his gold; and although it is true that a part of our depression at the loss of possessions is due to our feeling that we must now go without certain goods that we expected the possessions to bring in their train, yet in every case there remains, over and above this, a sense of the shrinkage of our personality, a partial conversion of ourselves into nothingness, which is a psychological phenomenon by itself." [1] James did not perceive in its full extent the significance of the fact which he noted, for he was not viewing the matter from the point of view of genetic anthropology. When the strange psychological condition of primitive man in regard to the sentiment and notion of his individuality, and the gradual stages in the development of that feeling are considered, the sense of proprietorship and the desire for it are seen to be not only incidental constituents of those feelings, but their source. The feeling of individuality does not arise from cognitive perceptions and analyses, but from the operation of interests and desires; it can exist only when those interests and desires are personal to the individual and opposed to those of other individuals about him. It is that opposition which constitutes the line of demarcation between the individual and his social environment.

The primitive ideas and customs which reveal much of the origin of our own mental constitution are everywhere passing away among the few surviving uncultured races, and what may be learnt from them will very soon be beyond the reach of scientific enquiry. After a few years of contact with Europeans primitive man becomes entirely transformed. That transformation is, no doubt, due in great part to contact with other ideas, to the deviation of his mind from the rut of traditional conceptions, to the opening up of a new world to the mind of the savage. But, important as are those cultural contacts, the chief and most powerful cause of his transformation is the acquisition of private property and the taking part in individual transactions. By his becoming for the first time a legal and individual proprietor the very foundations of the mentality of primitive man are changed. The peasant populations of Europe closely resemble the savage in their immemorial traditions, customs, theories, conceptions, 'super-

[1] W. James, *Principles of Psychology*, vol. i, p. 293. I have slightly condensed the passage.

stitions'; but in one respect the European peasant differs profoundly from the savage. He is a proprietor; and instead of those sentiments of social solidarity conspicuous in primitive man, we find in the peasant opposite sentiments of narrow selfishness and meanness. For the primitive savage there are group-interests, things which both he and the group desire, and there are strong and fierce antagonisms between those interests and those of other groups. But he and his fellows are not competitors, and he has no clear consciousness of any conflict between his personal interests and opposed interests within his group. The development of those individual interests has taken place only when the individual has held property apart from the group and has thus become separated from it both economically and psychologically. It is not the operation of innate individualistic instincts that has given rise to the acquisition of personal property; it is, rather, the acquisition of personal property which has brought about the development of individualistic feelings.

CHAPTER XIX

THE WITCH AND THE PRIESTESS

THE totem is one of the ancestors of the god. Gods have not revealed themselves all at once in their full magnitude and significance; they have grown. They have undergone many transformations, they have evolved; and in that evolution as in other processes of evolution, there is no break or sudden leap in the natural course of development. The God of a Spinoza is not the god of the savage; the God of the Hellenised Jew of the first century is not the god of the primitive Semitic tribesman. Yet in the higher forms of the divine concepts may still be traced the features of ruder and more primitive deities, and the steps of the evolution that has gradually expanded and exalted their attributes may be followed in the development of religious thought and culture. It would take us too far to attempt to follow in detail the course of that interesting development, and our background in the present and following chapters must needs be roughly outlined. We are here concerned with the bearing of that evolution upon the social organisation of the relations between the sexes, and with the share of woman in that fundamental cultural and social growth.

It has been almost universally assumed that women have had little, if any, share in the development of religious systems and ideas, that they have, indeed, often been the chief votaries and most faithful and staunch supporters of those systems, but that religions have developed almost exclusively in the minds and through the activity of men. Mere dogmatic assertions of this sort are of little value. They have so often proved erroneous that we should be on our guard against accepting them merely on the strength of some general air of plausibility which they may present. The assumption that women have had little part in the development of religious ideas may be correct, but it can no more be accepted as self-evident than the assumption that men invented pottery, or architecture, or agriculture.

Primitive Religion not Speculative, but Practical.

It is doubtless true that women have at all times had little disposition towards the construction of speculative systems; discursive and abstract ratiocination is alien to the female mind. But no error could be more profound than to suppose that religious ideas have grown out of intellectual systems and philosophical speculations. It would be much nearer the truth to say that all speculative and abstract philosophy has grown out of religious ideas. Discussions on the genesis of the gods and on the universal consent of mankind concerning gods are profoundly vitiated by the assumption that gods arose in answer to philosophical questions, and had therefore the attributes of philosophical and theological gods. Primitive man is strangely unconcerned about philosophical questions. He is not even impressed, any more than is the peasant, with the spectacles of nature, and shows very little interest in interpreting their causes.[1] When quizzed with 'great questions' an Abipone Indian is reported to have answered: "Our grandfathers and our great-grandfathers were wont to contemplate the earth alone, solicitous only to see whether the plain afforded grass and water for their horses. They never troubled themselves about what went on in the heavens, and who was the creator and governor of the stars."[2] Bates observed the same thing of the Indian of the Amazon. "There is an almost total absence of curiosity in his mental disposition," he says, "consequently he troubles himself very little concerning the causes of natural phenomena around him."[3] "No idea of metaphysics ever entered the head of the Indians," remarks an early resident amongst them in speaking of the highly intelligent Algonkins; "they believed what was told them upon these subjects, without having more than a vague impression of their meaning." Some Canadian Indians compared in all seriousness the Holy Trinity to a piece of pork, for the latter consisted, they pointed out, of rind, lean and fat, and yet was but one piece of pork.[4] That lack of aptitude for metaphysical thought adds greatly to the difficulties of missionaries. Livingstone had constant cause to lament that incapacity of the savage mind. "I pointed out," he says, "in, as usual, the simplest words I could employ, the remedy which God has presented to men in the inexpressibly precious

[1] Cf. below, pp. 582 sq.

[2] M. Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones*, vol. ii, p. 59.

[3] H. W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons*, vol. ii, p. 133.

[4] Pouchot, *Memoir upon the Late War in North America between the French and the English*, vol. i, p. 233.

gift of His own Son, on whom the Lord 'laid the iniquity of us all.' The great difficulty in dealing with these people is to make the subject plain." [1] "It is commonly said by anthropologists that savages imagine everything in nature to be alive," writes Mr. Kidd. "No doubt the remark is correct in a certain sense, but we are in great danger of reading too much into that fact. It would be equally true to say that savages very rarely think of the matter at all. It is difficult to read the works of those European anthropologists who have gathered their information second hand, and who are burning with an admirable, if overstrained, zeal, to construct a theory to account for the beginnings of religion, without putting down the book with the idea that the savages are consumed with anxious thought on the problems which interest twentieth-century Europeans. If the writers could spend six months in a single savage tribe they would see how grotesque their previous sense of proportion had been. As a matter of fact, there is nothing savages —and even savages high in the scale—think less about than the topics which fill modern works on anthropology or ethnography." [2] The following questions were put to a very intelligent Zulu: "Have you any knowledge of the power by whom the world was made? When you see the sun rising and setting, and the trees growing, do you know who made them and governs them?" The Zulu, after a thoughtful pause, replied: "No, we see them, but cannot tell how they come; we suppose that they come of themselves." Again he was asked: "You admit that you cannot control the sun or the moon, or even make a hair of your head to grow. Have you any idea of any power capable of doing this?" "No," replied the Zulu, "we know of none. We know that we cannot do these things, and suppose that they come of themselves." [3]

Those and many similar statements have been cited to show that those savages have no gods. That does not necessarily follow; all that they prove is what might confidently have been presumed apart from them, namely, that the savage's conception of a god is not identical with the theologian's. Primitive man has generally his gods, or at least beings, which may with no great difficulty be interpreted and viewed as partaking of a divine nature. And the reason that they are so interpretable is that they are in fact potential gods; they are beings who, if not in every respect divine, and indeed in many features most undivine, have actually, by a process of direct evolution, grown into gods. They are apt to

[1] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, p. 259.

[2] D. Kidd, *Savage Childhood*, pp. 145 sq.

[3] A. F. Gardiner, *Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country*, pp. 283 sq.

long droughts are generally broken suddenly by a fall of two or three inches of rain followed by lighter rains, which rapidly improve the appearance of the country ; grass and herbage become abundant, and waterfowl return in large numbers to the creeks, and the aborigines gladly avail themselves of the opportunity of moving on to fresh hunting-grounds, which they can only reach when the surface water is plentiful." [1] In South Africa, remarks Father Junod, " drought is equivalent to famine, and famine to death." [2] The life-and-death importance of the rain from heaven has at one time been the supreme determinant in the history and life of humanity. Those regions of Africa, of Asia, and to a less extent of Europe and America, which are now barren and arid deserts, were once covered with vast and numerous lakes, flowing rivers, and verdant vegetation. The Sahara, the Arabian peninsula, Central Asia, Western China, Iran were fertile lands teeming with life, while the regions which are now temperate were almost uninhabitable owing to the severity of the climate. Since the last glacial period and before, that is, during the period of the most momentous development in the history of humanity, when most of the ideas which we are considering probably took shape, the climate of the earth has undergone enormous changes manifested in a continuous process of desiccation, in the course of which those regions that were most fertile and favourable to human life have gradually, but rapidly, become converted into uninhabitable deserts. The great movements of pre-history which have determined the present distribution of human races have taken place mainly, if not indeed solely, under the urge of the fatal drought which spread starvation and death among teeming populations. What is now the great African desert was one of the first regions from which countless peoples were driven by the failure of the means of subsistence, and pressed northwards to Europe, which was joined to the African continent at Gibraltar and in the Sicilian region, to people the Mediterranean shores and islands and the more northern regions of the continent. From Central Asia human hordes were driven under the same pressure eastwards towards the Yellow Sea and Manchuria, and across the Aleutian straits to America. From the Arabian peninsula, once seamed with the rivers of Paradise, wave after wave of Semitic migrants poured northwards and made history. It is literally in the wake, and in search of the Rain-god, that humanity has moved. The forces which ruled life were very stern and grim realities, amid which philosophic

[1] F. Bonney, " On some Customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling, New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, p. 123.

[2] H. A. Junod, *Les Ba-Ronga*, p. 416.

symbols and mystic similitudes would have been strangely out of place.[1]

It is not by any mere poetic fancy or metaphorical symbolism that heaven is the abode of the gods. The sky, Professor Max Müller supposed, "was, no doubt, the most exalted, it was the only unending and infinite being that had received a name, and that could lend its name to the as yet unborn idea of the infinite which disquieted the human mind."[2] The supposition pervades a good deal of our literature on primitive religion, and for most writers it is sufficient that a savage, when interrogated on his religious views, should point upwards to the sky for those views to be interpreted as sublime and exalted. But when primitive man points to the sky he is but indicating the source of his water-supply, the natural object upon which his existence depends, and his concern for the powers that have their seat in the heavens is as practical as that of the farmer or of the seaman when they inspect the signs of the weather. The supreme gods of early religions not only dwell in heaven, but are the heavens or the heavenly bodies, thought of as controllers of the seasons and of atmospheric conditions. Among the Tshi-speaking peoples the divine name, 'Nyamkum,' means 'sky,' or 'rain';[3] among the Masai 'Engai' is, 'sky,' or 'rain';[4] among the Bayanzi 'Ikuru' is the 'sky.'[5] Among the Makuas the same word means 'sky,' 'clouds,' or 'God.'[6] With the Basetos of the Upper Nile the supreme god is simply 'the Rain-maker';[7] with the Gallas 'Waka' means 'God' or 'sky.'[8] Among the Lubari God is called 'rain.'[9] Among the Dinkas the supreme god is Dengdit, that is to say, 'Great Rain.'[10] The same nomenclature

[1] For details of a subject upon which I can only touch lightly, see: P. A Kropotkin, "The Desiccation of Eur-Asia," *The Geographical Journal*, xxiii, pp. 722 sqq.; C. D. Bruce, "A Journey across Asia from Leh to Peking," *ibid.*, xxix, pp. 601 sqq.; Ellsworth Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia*, pp. 367 sqq.; Id., in *Geographical Journal*, xxix, pp. 647 sqq.; R. Pumpelly, *Exploration of Turkestan*, pp. 41 sqq., 323 sqq.; L. Caetani, *Studi di Storia Orientale*, vol. i, pp. 51 sqq.; R. L. Harger, "The Desiccation of Africa," *The Journal of the East African and Uganda Natural History Society*, vi, pp. 192 sqq.

[2] F. Max Müller, *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 272.

[3] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples*, pp. 31, 37.

[4] H. H. Johnston, "The People of Eastern Equatorial Africa," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xv, p. 12.

[5] *Ibid.* Cf. A. Le Roy, *La religion des primitifs*, pp. 500 sq.

[6] H. Salt, *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, p. 41.

[7] J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, p. 461, after J. Roscoe.

[8] R. Hartmann, *Die Völker Afrikas*, p. 209.

[9] C. Long, *L'Afrique Centrale*, p. 65.

[10] "E. de Pruyssenaere's Reisen und Forschungen im Gebiete des Weissen und Blauen Nil," *Petermann's Mittheilungen, Ergänzungsheft*, No. 50, pp. 18 sqq.; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, vol. iv, p. 30.

obtains in Asia. Among the Mongols the supreme god is Tengri, 'the sky'; in China, Ti, 'the sky'; in Vedic India Dyaeus, 'the sky'; in Persia Ahura, 'the azure sky.' In Greece he was Zeus, 'the sky,' 'the cloud-compeller.' Yahweh, the god of the ancient Hebrews, was a rain-god; "He shall come unto us as the rain," says the prophet Hosea, "as the latter and former rain unto the earth." [1] "His pavilion round about him were dark waters and thick clouds of sky." [2]

'Heaven' is with us a figurative term for the Deity, and it is only in a metaphorical sense that "God's in His heaven." But there is no metaphor, no subtle similitude, no lending of a name to an "unborn idea of the infinite," in the direct mental processes of primitive man. The Christian addresses "Our Father which art in heaven"; but the Buryat shaman shortens the formula: he prays to "Father Heaven." [3] The Russian peasant to this day addresses himself in his prayers to the sky—"Dost thou hear, O Sky?" [4]

Sir James Frazer has, among his many contributions to our better understanding of the development of human ideas, familiarised us with the fact that one of the chief, if not indeed the chief function of all primitive priest-kings was the control of the weather, and more particularly of the rainfall. A king was primarily a maker of rain, and was probably no other, originally, than the headman of the clan which was credited with the greatest power of wielding that meteorological control. Thus among the Natchez and in Peru the weather-controlling clan, or Sun-clan, became royal families. All African kings were primarily rain-makers. The functions of the king of Loango, for instance, which most impressed the first missionaries, was his obligation to make rain. "Il a assez de crédit pour faire tomber la pluie du ciel," says Father Proyart, "aussi ne manquent-ils pas, quand la continuité de la sécheresse leur fait craindre pour la récolte, de lui représenter que s'il ne prend soin de faire arroser les terres de son royaume ils moureront de faim." [5] In Somaliland a chief is known by the name of Roblai, that is to say, 'Prince of Rain.' [6] In Dahomey the ancestor of the king was a rain-god, and the chief function of the king's wives was to supply his temple with water for the rain-making rites.[7]

[1] *Hosea*, vi. 3.

[2] *Psalms*, xviii. 11. Cf. *Hosea*, ii. 21; *Leviticus*, xxvi. 3–4; *Deuteronomy*, xxviii. 24, lxxi. 10, 11; *Psalms*, cxxxv. 7; *Jeremiah*, x. 13; *Job*, xxix. 23.

[3] V. M. Mikhailovskii, "Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia," transl. by O. Wardrop, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv, pp. 70 sq.

[4] W. R. S. Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People*, p. 362.

[5] L. B. Proyart, *Histoire de Loango*, p. 120.

[6] R. F. Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa*, p. 174.

[7] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 67.

Throughout the continent, in fact, "the chief was the great rain-maker of the tribe." [1] Like all other African monarchs the kings of ancient Egypt were rain-makers, although Egypt, where it scarcely ever rains, would appear to be about the last place for a rain-maker to set up in practice. Nevertheless, the people of the hills in the South used to send to the Egyptian Pharaoh that he might cause rain to fall in the mountains.[2] His control of the waters was naturally applied more often to regulating the river; and he caused it to rise by casting into the Nile a written order to that effect.[3] The same function was exercised by the king of Siam; and the most sumptuous and important ceremony of his court took place when the state barges proceeded on the river Meinam, about the time when the waters are supposed to have reached their height, and the king, like Canute, issued through heralds a solemn order to the river to retire.[4] The Emperor of China had also a similar office. When there had been a prolonged drought, and the farmers were in need of rain, the exhausting duty devolved upon the monarch to pray at the top of his voice and without desisting until the desired result had been obtained.[5] The Hindu doctrine teaches that Indra sends no rain upon a kingdom which has lost its king.[6] Ulysses explains to Penelope that—"Under a virtuous prince the earth brings forth barley and wheat in abundance, trees are loaded with fruit, ewes yean several times in succession, and the sea is filled with fish. Of so great worth is a good leader." [7]

The control thus exercised by sacred kings over heaven for the benefit of the people is of a thoroughly practical character, and is exactly of the same kind as that exercised by members of a totem-clan over their totem. Religion in its primitive phases is not a system of metaphysics, and its object is not to furnish an answer to the 'great questions.' Its purpose is eminently and directly utilitarian. It is part and parcel of the means employed to supply and control the necessaries of life, to promote the prosperity of the tribe, and above all to provide its food; it is concerned with those very concrete objects. "The really important question," as Robertson Smith remarked, "is not what a god has power to do, but whether I can get him to do it for me." [8]

If that practical character of primitive religion be apprehended

[1] D. Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 114.
[2] A. Moret, *Mystères Égyptiens*, p. 180.
[3] L. Stern, "Die Nilstele von Gebel Silsilek," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, xi, pp. 129 sqq.
[4] J. Bowring, *The Kingdom and People of Siam*, vol. i, p. 101 sq.
[5] H. A. Giles, *Chinese Sketches*, p. 102.
[6] *Mahâbhârata*, ii. 1205; iv. 931.
[7] *Odyssey*, xix. 108.
[8] W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 83.

we shall understand what would otherwise appear to be a surprising feature. Those divinities which, estimated by the criterion of theological attributes, appear to correspond most closely to the conception of a god, and which, according to that standard, we should label 'supreme gods,' are in most primitive religions not worshipped at all. The attitude of worship is generally regarded by us as the characteristic sentiment which renders the conception of a supernatural being truly divine; and yet that essential feature is wholly absent in regard to those beings who otherwise, as creators and controllers of the universe, approximate to the nature of a metaphysical divinity. The testimonies on that point are unanimous. Thus the Bahima, who worship a tribal ancestor, have also a god, Lugaba; but "they know very little about him," "he has no priests and receives no sacrifices." [1] The Bantu tribes of Northern Rhodesia have a god Leza, but "their ideas about him are hazy," he is "outside their ordinary religion; there is no direct access to him by prayer or by sacrifices," [2] The supreme god of Dahomey is "ignored rather than worshipped." [3] The same remarks apply to all African populations. In West Africa generally "they regard the god as the creator of man, plants, animals, and the earth, and they hold that, having made them, he takes no further interest in the affair. The god, in the sense we use the word, is in essence the same thing in all Bantu tribes I have met with," says Miss Kingsley, "a non-interfering, and therefore negligible quantity." [4] The creator god, variously named Njambi, Nzambo, Ayambi, etc., of the western Congo tribes is "dim, never invoked, and has no special cult." [5] "He is regarded," says the Rev. G. Bentley, "with the most complete indifference." [6] "Personally and in practice Njambi has no interest in the Negro; he does him neither good nor harm." [7]

The same attitude is noted in America. The American Indians "nowhere adored the god they knew." [8] "They never pray to

[1] G. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, vol. v, p. 173.

[2] C. Gouldsbury and H. Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 88 sq.

[3] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 33.

[4] M. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 442.

[5] L. Cureau, *Savage Man in Central Africa*, p. 299.

[6] G. Bentley, *A Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Languages*, p. 503.

[7] M. Buchner, "Beiträge zur Ethnographie der Bantu," *Das Ausland*, 1883, p. 109. Cf. R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 38; D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches*, pp. 158 sq., 219, 605; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, pp. 72 sq.; E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, "Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Mbala," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv, p. 418; A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba*, pp. 36 sq.

[8] J. G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indians*, p. 25.

him, for they deem him too far away to hear, or as not concerned in their affairs. No sacrifices are used to him nor done in his honour." [1] The tribes of California, more primitive in culture than those of the plains, " had a hazy conception of a lofty, almost supreme being, attributing to him, however, as is usual in such a case, nothing but the vaguest and most negative functions and qualities." [2] The tribes of Guiana, though they have the notion of a supreme being, " concern themselves little about him." [3] The Dayaks of Borneo recognise a supreme being who created the world, " but they do not trouble themselves about him." [4] In Australia Baiame, in whom some enthusiasts thought they recognised a ' supreme being,' is believed by the Queensland tribes, says Mr. Thorne, " to have gone away over the ocean so long ago that our informant could give no idea of the lapse of time, and never took further heed of the country or its inhabitants." [5] Even Mrs. Parker, edited by Mr. Andrew Lang, can only say of his cult that he is ' prayed to ' (?) at the bora ceremonies, that is, on at most five occasions in a man's lifetime.[6] Of Daramulum, another Australian ' supreme being,' " there is no worship." [7]

The otherwise inconceivable incongruity presented by beings who possess the essential attributes of supreme deities, and who are nevertheless regarded with entire indifference and " form no part of their ordinary religion," becomes logical when it is borne in mind that primitive religion has no reference to exalted attributes, but to practical issues, that it is not concerned with metaphysical definitions, but with the needs and relations of daily life. Primitive supreme beings are not worshipped much as the totem itself is not worshipped; the savage is not interested in the powers of the totem, but in his own power of controlling the totem; and in more highly developed phases of religious conceptions he is not interested in the source and nature of the forces of the universe, but in the beings whom he credits with the power of controlling those forces. Those beings are not the analogues of the totem, but rather of the totem-man, the magician, the sorcerer, who wields power over the totem. The god in whom primitive man is interested is not the sky-god, but the tribal ancestor who is also the supreme

[1] J. W. Lynde, " Religion of the Dakotas," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, No. ii, p. 2.

[2] H. H. Bancroft, *Tribes of the Pacific States*, vol. iii, p. 158.

[3] W. H. Brett, *The Indian Tribes of Guiana*, p. 68.

[4] H. Sundermann, " Die Olon Maanjan und die Missionsarbeit unter denselben," *Allgemeine Missionszeitscrift*, xxvi (1899), p. 470.

[5] E. Thorne, *The Queen of the Colonies*, p. 317.

[6] K. L. Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, p. 79.

[7] A. W. Howitt, " On some Australian Ceremonies of Initiation," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, p. 459. Cf. below, pp. 697 sqq.

magician, who can use his power to control the sky-god, the—theologically speaking—'supreme being.' The latter remains passive, objective, an impersonal force in the hands of the magician; he is otiose, whatever exalted theological attributes he may possess.

Since, then, primitive religion is not a metaphysical system, and has little concern with speculations of a philosophical character, the natural inaptitude of women for such speculations, often adduced as a reason for the improbability of their having had any important share in religious development, is irrelevant. The primal object of primitive religious activities is practical, not speculative; it is still expressed in the clearest terms in the words of the Christian prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread." And in the activities which ministered to those daily needs, women have been, in primitive society, the chief agents. Only in comparatively late times has the systematic, speculative, or theological aspect of religion come to acquire importance, and have new religions made their appearance as a result of speculative thought and personal sentiments. In the earlier phases which have been the immutable foundations of all subsequent religious growth, religion was neither philosophical nor personal. It is, indeed, extremely doubtful whether any religion has to an important extent been the creation of speculative thought and of personal 'founders.' Even in their later stages religions have been essentially the natural growth of societies, and the part of individual founders has been at best subordinate. It is doubtful whether there has ever been a 'positive religion.'[1] Even the best-known historical instance of a new religion apparently instituted by a single personal founder, namely Islam, turns out, on closer examination, to bear a very different aspect. Muhammad did little more than crystallise and voice tendencies which were already making inevitably towards the reforms associated with his name, and in instituting them he was compelled to conform to those tendencies; the 'success' of his religion was the outcome of causes already at work, with which, as an individual, he had little to do.[2] The part of 'founders' of religions is a very secondary one in the process of religious growth. Women as founders or apostles of sects have, for that matter, not been by any means uncommon. Islam, shortly after its establishment, narrowly escaped being

[1] The term 'positive' is technically applied to religions regarded as having been established by a 'personal founder,' by analogy with the legal expression 'positive law,' that is, a law enacted by the sovereign who institutes and establishes it of his own initiative by royal decree.

[2] See L. Caetani, *Studi di Storia Orientale*, vol i, pp. 273 sqq. The propaganda of Muhammad cannot any longer be regarded as the personal cause, in the heroic sense of Carlyle, of the events which followed it, but is rather to be viewed as the means through which much vaster and more complex causes found their expression in facts.

supplanted by a rival religion preached by a woman, the prophetess Sajah.[1] There is in modern times a whole list of feminine founders of new religions, from Wilhelmina, the foundress of the Wilhelminians, Madame Bourgignon, and Mrs. Buchan, to Madame Blavatsky and Mrs. Eddy.

The Exclusion of Women from Religious Functions in the Western Civilisations recent in Origin.

At the present day in Christian and other pronouncedly patriarchal societies, such as those of Brahmanical India and of China, the notion of priestly functions being exercised by women runs counter to all conceptions of beseemingness and fitness. It is not long since, in accordance with the principle 'mulier taceat in ecclesia,' the Roman Church, rather than allow women to take part in the singing in the Sistine Chapel and in St. Peter's, provided by surgical means for the production of male contraltos and sopranos. The suggestion that women should administer sacraments and preach in churches is regarded as one of the boldest extravagances of femininism, and as almost sacrilegious. But the notion of female masons, potters, bootmakers is scarcely less incongruous; and, although the fact that all masons, potters, bootmakers were originally women may not be generally familiar, it is a matter of common historical knowledge that the notions of sexual fitness which obtain amongst us as regards the exercise of priestly functions are of comparatively recent origin. The ancient world was full of priestesses. Where to-day the voice of a woman must not be heard in a church, the Vestal priestesses, one of the most ancient and sacred institutions of Roman cult, held a supreme position in the hierarchy of sacred offices. An insult offered to one of them was punishable with death.[2] They were, when walking abroad, preceded by lictors bearing the insigna of supreme command; and consuls and praetors stood aside and lowered the emblems of their office before them.[3] There is every indication that both they and other priestesses, the Regina sacrorum, the Flaminicae, played in earlier times an even more important part in Italian cult. Besides the official priestesses, ancient Italy swarmed with priestly and prophetic women who exercised often an even greater influence than the official priestesses of the temples. The sibyls of classical tradition are the types of prophetic females, or shamanesses, who wielded their magic powers over the primitive Italian popu-

[1] Muhammed Abu-Jafar Al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. iii., pp. 258 sqq.
[2] Plutarch, *Vit. Numa.*, x; Dio Cassius, xlvii. 19.
[3] Plutarch, *loc. cit.*; A. Preuner, *Hestia-Vesta*, pp. 298 sqq.

lations.[1] The Greek world had its priestesses. The most sacred and ancient shrines of Greece, such as those of Delphi and of Dodona, were served by priestly and prophetic women. The priestess of Demeter, like the Vestals at Roman spectacles, occupied a special throne of honour at the Olympic games ; [2] and at Halicarnassus she was termed also the priestess of Demos, the representative of the people.[3] In the primitive cults of Greece that prominence was very much more pronounced, and there can be little doubt that in those earlier cults, which became later connected with the religion of Dionysos, priestly functions were exercised not only chiefly, but exclusively by women.[4] In Aegean and Kretan religion archaeological evidence shows us priestesses discharging all religious functions.[5]

"As in Greece so in Babylonia and Assyria," says Professor Sayce, "women were inspired prophetesses of the god. It was from the priestesses and serving women of Ishtar of Arbela that Esshar-haddon received the oracles of the goddess." Priestesses were organised in corporate colleges.[6] In Assyrian inscriptions the priestesses are called 'ummati,' that is, 'The Mothers.'[7] The code of Hammurabi lays down that whosoever shall accuse or insult a priestess unjustly shall be branded with a hot iron.[8] None but a woman was allowed to enter the Holy of Holies of Bal-Marduk.[9] In Carthage women likewise mediated between the Great Goddess and the people. Under the Roman Empire considerable trouble arose from seditions "caused by the prophecies of the women who issued from the temple of the Queen of Heaven."[10] In ancient Egypt the Queen was high-priestess of Rā, and the royal princesses were priestesses of the god, and spent most of their time in the exercise of religious functions. There were many important orders of priestesses under the Old and the Middle Kingdom ; and, "at the time of the New Empire there was scarcely a woman from the highest to the lowest who

[1] Servius, on *Aeneid*, iii. 445 : "Sibylla dicitur omnis puella cujus pectus numen recipit" ; Isidorus, *Origin.*, viii. 8 : "Sibyllae generaliter dicuntur omnes feminae vates."

[2] *Pausanias*, vi. 20.

[3] W. R. Paton and J. L. Myres, "Karian Sites and Inscriptions," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xvi, p. 217.

[4] See below, vol. iii, pp. 124 sqq.

[5] See above, vol. i, pp. 392 sq.

[6] A. H. Sayce, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, pp. 455, 466.

[7] A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, p. 286.

[8] *The Laws of Hammurabi*, par. 127.

[9] A. H. Sayce, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

[10] *Historiae Augustae Scriptores*, Capitolinus, *Pertinax*, iv. Cf. Id., *Macrinus*, iii.

was not connected with the service of the temples." [1] The goddess Neith and the jackal-god Upuant were served exclusively by priestesses.[2]

Priestesses in Uncultured Societies.

If from the lands of historical antiquity we turn to barbaric and primitive cultures, the part played by women in religious cult is found to be even more pronounced. As in ancient Egypt so in the state religion of Dahomey, at least as many women as men exercise priestly functions; according to one estimate every fourth woman is connected with the cult of the gods.[3] Priestesses undergo a three years' course of initiation in special institutions; they are called 'Mothers,' and are regarded with awe and reverence. Their person is invoilable; they enjoy the utmost privileges and freedom; even the daughter of a sacred priestess must be treated with absolute deference by her husband, and he is not allowed to reproach her whatever excesses she may commit.[4] In most African kingdoms, such as Ashanti, Urua, Uganda, the temples of deceased kings are served by colleges of priestesses and maiden vestals.[5] The most dreaded deity of Matabeleland was served by a college of priestesses who were regarded as his daughters; and King Lobengula had much trouble with the rival power of that priesthood, to which he had at times to yield, and from which he was compelled to accept a wife.[6] In Unyoro, in East Africa, the god Muzimu was served by priestesses whose office was hereditary.[7] The numerous female fetiches, or 'Mother fetiches,' are throughout Africa served exclusively by women; there is usually one supreme priestess and several secondary priestesses.[8] A large number of women may be specially consecrated to a given fetich.[9] On the Guinea Coast, when the natives meet such a fetich-woman, they stand aside in a reverential attitude. If a European

[1] A. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 295.

[2] M. A. Murray, "Priesthoods of Women in Egypt," *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* (Oxford, 1908), vol. ii, p. 224.

[3] P. Bouche, *Sept ans en Afrique occidentale. La Côte des Esclaves et le Dahomey*, p. 126; A. W. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples*, pp. 139 sq.

[4] P. Bouche, *op. cit.*, p. 128; A. B. Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

[5] J. Cameron, *Across Africa*, p. 334; J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 283.

[6] H. Depelchin and C. Croonenberghs, *Trois ans dans l'Afrique Australe : Le Pays des Matabeles*, p. 305.

[7] H. M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, vol. i, p. 429.

[8] A. W. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 147; P. Barret, *L'Afrique occidentale*, vol. ii, p. 165; G. C. Claridge, *Wild Bush Tribes of Tropical Africa*, p. 9; A. Bastian, *Allerlei aus Volk- und Menschenkunde*, vol. i, p. 138.

[9] A. Bastian, *Afrikanische Reisen. Ein Besuch in San Salvador*, p. 86.

is with them, says an old Danish trader, " they request him to stand somewhat out of the way also, that the fetich-woman may not be angry ; for it were easier in Europe for a man to be cured of the bite of a mad dog than in Guinea to save him from the effects of the curses of such a woman, should she cast them upon him. Such a man would be deemed to be indeed unlucky, for they believe that all the evil that the inspired woman had wished him would certainly befall him." [1] Some of the fetich-women rise to positions of enormous power and influence. The prophetess Mkasa, for instance, who was regarded as the incarnation of the spirit of Lake Victoria, was worshipped after her death as a goddess.[2] In Loango the priestess of Atida was called " The Mother of God," and was recently supreme in religious prestige and influence throughout the neighbouring country, all male fetichers recognising her hegemony and seeking her advice.[3] At Mpororo two priestesses became by virtue of their influence queens of the country, and ruled the people for many years.[4] Among the Awemba, women who are regarded as inspired by a spirit, and who are known as " possessed women," exercise a perfect despotism over the population, and the male witch-doctors hang on their words.[5] Among the Kosa Kaffirs there are as many female as male magicians.[6] Throughout the Congo there is no sex distinction in regard to the exercise of magic and priestly functions. Bentley refers to " a witch-doctor who was retiring from the business. She was that morning completing the initiation of a young man who had bought the fetich and the good will. She sat behind him and from time to time told him what to do." [7]

Some features of the performance of a Congo witch-doctor are vividly described in the following account of the official investigation into the cause of an attack of malaria with which a chief was afflicted. The performer was " a woman, a little, wrinkled, shrivelled old hag with nothing on but a narrow belt of rag round her loins which failed to meet on the right hip, the place where a Congo woman's dress should fasten. She was painted and feathered after the most approved style of the profession. She had literally rings on her fingers and bells on her toes like the fairy of our nursery rhyme.

[1] L. F. Römer, *Nachrichten van der Küste Guinea*, p. 61.

[2] *Die katholischen Missionen*, 1881, p. 187.

[3] J. H. Dribers, " Rain-making among the Loango," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlix, pp. 70 sq.

[4] M. Weiss, " Land und Leute von Mpororo (Nord-west von Deutschen Ostafrika)," *Globus*, xci, pp. 168 sq.

[5] J. H. West Sheane, " Some Aspects of the Awemba Religion and Superstitious Observances," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi, p. 152.

[6] A. Kropf, *Das Volk der Kosakaffern*, p. 197.

[7] G. Bentley, *Pioneering in the Congo*, vol. i, pp. 270 sq.

She carried a staff or rod of wood with which she executed fantastic movements which harmonised with those which she performed with her feet. The drumming and the intonation of the professional magician drive the passions of the Africans stark staring mad in less than fifteen minutes. She was now hard on the track of the demons she was hunting for. Here was a wonderful sight; an aged, infirm, bent, grey-haired, decayed, stiff old woman, skipping, leaping, dancing like the proverbial jack-a-lantern. She was devil-possessed we veritably believed, for nothing but a demon could make old legs to go at that rate and in that fashion, or hips set with old age apparently gyrate like a top. At the end of her gyratory feats she fell like a log on the ground. The thud of her fall was perfectly timed with the clap of every hand and a yell from every throat. Then the uproar subsided as if by magic. An eerie silence supervened which made the skin of the scalp feel tight and sent a tingling down the spine. It ran through the throng like a shock of electricity. Big black eyes set in white, blood-shot, stood well out of many heads. Someone touched the nose of the prostrate witch-doctress with a feather. She was on her feet with a bound, rushing wildly about the circle, evidently in search for something or someone. She grabbed an old flint-lock from the hand of a warrior, peered into the barrel, and, after a moment's pause, shouted something in a high-pitched voice which set the crowd agog with frenzy. . . . She dismissed the multitude with a promise to declare the witch after we had gone. She then retired to a hut, where she sat in solitude, babbling the mysteries of her occult science." [1]

Among the Eskimo the shamans, or, as they are called, 'angakut,' may be either men or women. But Dr. Rink was strongly of the opinion that formerly all practitioners of the magical arts were women, and that male 'angakut' are of later origin, and usurped the functions of the female sorceresses.[2] The principal of those functions is to combat disease, which is thought to be invariably due to evil spirits; and the actual knowledge of herbs and of the treatment of disease is entirely in the hands of the women. At the present day, in east Greenland, there are two classes of sorcerers, the 'angakut' proper and the 'gilalik,' who are regarded as an inferior order of magicians. The latter are nearly all women; [3] and it is, of course, quite possible that they

[1] C. G. Claridge, *Wild Bush Tribes of Tropical Africa*, pp. 135 sqq. Further illustrations of the exercise of religious functions by women in Africa will be mentioned below, vol. iii, pp. 13 sqq., 16.

[2] H. J. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimos*, pp. 42, 53, 58.

[3] W. Thalbitzer, "The Heathen Priests of East Greenland (Angakut)," *Verhandlungen des XVI internationales Amerikanisten-Kongresses*, Wien, 1908, vol. ii, p. 448.

have, as Dr. Rink believes, been ousted from their former position by the male 'angakut.'

Among the North American Indians 'medicine women' were as famous as medicine men.[1] The influence of the women, so conspicuous among all the tribes, assumed its highest importance in regard to religious matters. "On some occasions," says Hunter, "as for instance that of the Corn Feast, they exercise almost unlimited authority. The oldest and most respectable mother prepares for and conducts the ceremony, she also claims the privilege of informing her children, as she calls the tribe, when they may commence eating the green corn; nor do the younger ones ever anticipate her permission." [2] The influence of women exercising magical functions appears to have been more pronounced among the primitive tribes of the prairies and of the west than among the more advanced eastern nations. "They have great reverence for those old witches," writes Father Hennepin, "and although these only talk nonsense, the people nevertheless follow their sentiments, and those women are the mistresses of the village." [3] Among the tribes of California medicine women are reported to have been particularly numerous, and, as in most other parts of the world, the male shamans dressed as women.[4] Among the Yurok tribes of the Klamath River district the shamans "were almost all women." [5] The good Padres of the Mission of St. Francis, on the site of the present city of San Francisco, were compelled to burn alive many scores of those shamans and shamanesses before they could stamp out heathenism from among the Indians and gain their ear for the message of the Gospel.[6]

Among the Pueblo tribes religious ceremonies have attained an extraordinary degree of elaboration; they include miracle-plays performed with a great wealth of costumes and properties, and scarcely a month goes by without the performance of one of those spectacular ceremonies or dances. Among the Zuñi the management of the ceremonies connected with the rain-making cult is at the present day in the hands of fourteen priests; though

[1] D. G. Brinton, *The Religion of Primitive Peoples*, p. 221; Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. i, p. 373; D. Gookin, "Historical Collections of the Indians in New England," *Collections of the Massachusetts, Historical Society*, i, p. 154; G. H. Pond, "Dakota Superstitions," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, No. vii, 1867, p. 49.

[2] J. Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, p. 273.

[3] L. Hennepin, *Voyage à un très-grand pays*, etc., p. 595.

[4] S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, pp. 152, 270; T. F. Cronise, *The Natural Wealth of California*, p. 24.

[5] A. L. Kroeber, "Religion of the Indians of California," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, iv, p. 347.

[6] T. F. Cronise, *loc. cit.*

the women's parts at the festivals, such as those of the Corn-maidens are, of course, taken by women. But although the priestly college consists of men, at their head is a woman, the Shiwanakia, or Priestess of Fertility. The sacred objects of the cult are in her keeping, and they are, with the office, transmitted from mother to daughter, or from sister to sister. When a meeting of the priesthood is called to prepare for a festival, it is at her house that the meeting takes place. She has the power to dismiss any of the priests at a moment's notice and without offering a reason or permitting of an appeal.[1] There are a considerable number of ' secret societies,' to which both men and women belong ; two of them are exclusively women's societies ; but " there is only one person among the Zuñi who is a member of all the sacred societies and thus knows the secrets of all, and that person is a woman." [2] Among the Tusayan there are similar elaborate cults, the festivities of which extend over many weeks ; they are presided over by colleges of priestesses whose office is hereditary, and at the head of those colleges stands a venerable high-priestess. Men are not wholly forbidden from being present, but they act as attendants and messengers under the orders of the priestesses.[3]

The power derived from the exercise of magical and religious functions has, we shall presently see, often given rise to a contest and competition between the sexes for the possession of that power ; and those functions are accordingly frequently reserved to one or the other sex, the opposite sex being rigorously excluded. But such a monopoly is not characteristic of those societies which have reached a considerable degree of development under undisturbed matriarchal rule. In those instances men are seldom strictly excluded from religious ceremonies. Thus, the priestesses among the Khasis of Assam perform all the rites and sacrifices, but, as among the Pueblo Indians, the men are not excluded, although " the male officiants are only the deputies " of the priestesses.[4] Where there is no rivalry and competition for power there is no protective exclusion and monopoly. Men may take part in the conduct of the rites and often the executive functions are left entirely to them. But the original source of the cult is shown by the fact that the ultimate authority rests with the priestess, who is also invariably the keeper of the sacred magical objects upon which the efficiency of the ceremonies depends.

[1] M. C. Stevenson, " The Zuñi," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 163, 180 sq.

[2] D. G. Brinton, *The Religion of Primitive Peoples*, p. 221.

[3] J. W. Fewkes and J. G. Owen, " The La-la-kon-ta : a Tusayan Dance," *The American Anthropologist*, v, pp. 105 sqq.

[4] Sir C. Lyall, in Gurdon, *The Khasis*, p. xxiv.

Further light is thrown upon the relation of the female practitioners of sacred magic to the male priests and medicine men in native America and elsewhere by the condition of things among the tribes of Central America in the earlier days of European conquest. From a cursory perusal of the most accessible accounts of that region one would gather the impression that, although as elsewhere a considerable sprinkling of shamanistic women is to be found, the wizard, or ' paje,' who wields enormous power among Central American tribes, is in most cases a man. But when the subject is examined more closely, and the scattered evidence gathered together, as has been done by the indefatigable Americanist, Dr. Brinton, a very different state of things is revealed. The notion common in other parts of the world, such as West Africa and Indonesia, that the shaman has the power to transform himself into an animal, and that his power is somehow indissolubly bound up with a spiritual double, or bush-soul, as it is called in Africa, dwelling in the animal, is particularly prominent in Central America. The animal spirit is commonly known as a ' nagual.' The ' pajes ' were not, as might seem to a superficial observer, isolated practitioners individually and independently exercising their magical arts, but were, just as much as the priesthoods of the Pueblos, members of a closely organised association which has been termed Nagualism, the net-work of which was widespread, and whose powerful influence made itself evident in the days of the Spanish conquest. " Among the ruling and priestly classes of America," says Mr. Squier, " there has always existed a mysterious bond, or secret organisation, which all the disasters to which they have been subjected have not destroyed." [1] " A remarkable feature of this mysterious organisation," says Dr. Brinton, " was the exalted position it assigned to women. Not only were they admitted to the most esoteric degrees, but in repeated instances they occupied the very highest posts in the organisation. According to the tradition of the Tzentals and Pipils of Chiapas, when their noted hero, Votan, constructed by the breath of his nostrils his darkened shrine at Tlazcaloyan in Socorusco, he deposited in it the sacred books and holy relics, and constituted a college of venerable sages to be its guardian, but he placed them all in subjection to a high priestess whose power was absolute." [2] Those priestesses, as the Spaniards found to their cost, were the soul of the religious organisation and of the opposition which it offered to the invader. " The veracious Pascual de Andagoya asserts from his own knowledge that some of the female adepts had attained the rare and

[1] E. G. Squier, *Adventure on the Mosquito Shore*, p. 258.

[2] D. G. Brinton, *Nagualism*, p. 33. Cf. E. C. Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique*, vol. i, p. 74.

peculiar power of being in two places at once, as much as a league and a half apart; and the repeated references to them in the Spanish writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries confirm the dread in which they were held and the extreme influence they were known to control. In the sacraments of Nagualism woman was the primate and hierophant." [1] In Guatemala the supreme ministrant of the gods was a priestess, and it was to her that the warriors applied to insure victory.[2] Such priestesses or magic women retained their power until recent times; one, a young sorceress of twenty, dwelt in the ruins of an old Maya temple "loved and feared, holding death and life in her hands." [3] The Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, the well-known authority on Mexican antiquities, appears to have himself fallen under the influence of a prophetess whom he met on the isthmus of Tehuantepec, and whose commanding personality he describes in the most glowing terms. "Never in my life," he says, "have I seen a more striking figure." At times when a cloud passed over the flashing brightness of her eyes, she would remain motionless as if unconscious of her surroundings; and at such times the natives whispered that her spirit was away in her 'nagual.' [4] According to tradition the power of passing into the body of an animal was first taught to Central American 'pajes' by a woman, a mighty enchantress.[5] "In many native American legends, as in others from the old world, some powerful enchantress is remembered as the founder of the State, mistress of men through the potency of her magic power. Such among the Aztecs was the sorceress who built the city of Mallinalco on the road from Mexico to Michoacas, famed even after the conquest for the skill of its magicians, who claimed descent from her. Such in Honduras was Coamizagual, Queen of Cerqui, versed in occult science, who died not, but at the close of her earthly career rose to heaven." [6] When King Nezahuapilli of Mexico oppressed the tribes of the coast and sent his army against them, they were met not by the warriors of the invaded peoples, but by their witches, who struck terror into them and caused the king to die a miserable death.[7]

[1] D. G. Brinton, *loc. cit.* Cf. M. P. de Andagoya, *Relación de los sucesos de Pedrarias Davila*, in M. F. de Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y discubimientos*, vol. iii, p. 400.

[2] D. G. Brinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 sq.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[4] E. C. Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Voyage à l'Isthme de Tehuantepec*, p. 164.

[5] D. G. Brinton, *op. cit.*, p. 34, after Jacinto de la Serra, *Manual de Ministros*, p. 138.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] J. de Torquemada, *Veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia indiana*, vol. i, p. 185.

The cult and organisation of Nagualism in Central America was maintained secretly after the forcible conversion of the Indians to Christianity. Seventy years after that event the whole population rose under the leadership of an inspired prophetess, the famous Maria Candelaria, a girl of twenty, who, like a true Joan of Arc, fired the people to a frenzy of enthusiasm, bidding them drive the invader from the land and restore the ancient worship of their gods. She organised a vast army and proved as skilful as a leader and organiser as she was inspiring as a prophetess, and for a time Spanish power was seriously menaced. When at last the rising was quelled, the Spaniards never succeeded in capturing her, though both her faithful lieutenants, two young women like herself, fell into their hands, meeting with the fate that may be imagined.[1]

The position of sorceresses and magic women in South America and their relation to the male practitioners of the magic art would appear to have been similar to that described in Central America ; all goes to indicate that the power of the female magicians was held in greater honour and that they were regarded by the male sorcerers as their superiors. Among the Abipones "female jugglers abound to such a degree," says Father Dobrizhoffer, "that they almost outnumber the gnats in Egypt. Their chief endeavour is to inspire their countrymen with veneration for their Grandfather, the evil spirit." The religious ceremonies of the Abipones are conducted by these 'female jugglers,' who dance at intervals, rattling gourds filled with hard seeds. "This foolish, crazy dance is interrupted every now and then by the horrid clanging of military trumpets. . . . The priestess of these ridiculous ceremonies, as a mark of special favour, rubs the thighs of some of the men with her gourd, and in the name of their Grandfather promises them swiftness in pursuing enemies and wild beasts." On occasions of public danger, or when preparations are made for a warlike expedition, "a company of old women assemble in a huge tent. The mistress of the band, an old woman remarkable for wrinkles and grey hair, strikes every now and then two large discordant drums at intervals of four sounds, and whilst the instruments return horrible bellowing, she, with a harsh voice, mutters kinds of songs, like a person mourning. The surrounding women, with their hair dishevelled and their breasts bare, rattle gourds and loudly chant funeral verses, which are accompanied by a continual motion of the feet and tossing about of the arms. But this infernal music is rendered insupportable by other performers who keep constantly beating pans which are covered with deer

[1] D. G. Brinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 sq. ; Id., *The Religion of Primitive Peoples*, pp. 221 sq. ; Vicente Pineda, *Historia de las sublevationes indigenas habidas en el Estado de Chiapas*, pp. 38 sqq.

skin and sound very acutely, with a stick." It may be noted that the sacred drum which plays so important a part in religious and magic ceremonies in every part of the world, being originally a pan or pot covered with a hide, and pots being manufactured exclusively by women, is necessarily of female origin. "In this manner," continues Father Dobrizhoffer, "the night passed. At day-break all flock to the old woman's hut as to a Delphic oracle. The singers receive presents, and are anxiously asked what their Grandfather has said. The replies of the old women are generally of such doubtful import that whatever happens they may seem to have predicted the truth. Sometimes the devil is consulted by different women in different tents in the same night." [1]

An early account speaks of an old witch among the Tupis who was surrounded with much mystery. "The savages hold her in great account, and she is only called in for maladies which have proved incurable. When all the medicine-men have come to the end of their skill, she is invited and secretly brought. One day, according to what some Frenchmen have told me," says Father d'Evreux, "she came to Usap to effect a desperate cure; and before undertaking anything she shut herself up in a separate lodge in the middle of the village and there performed her diabolical invocations and enchantments over the body of the patient, causing the devil to appear visibly. The Frenchmen who told me this had the curiosity to go and look through some cracks at what the witch was doing, but the savages prevented them as much as possible, telling them that the familiar spirits of the woman were very dangerous and evil, so much so that if any of them went to spy upon it the spirit would infallibly wring his neck on the following night. The Frenchmen laughed at all this and went to the lodge, to the great astonishment of the savages who saw them, and thought them over-bold and presumptuous; and, making an opening in the palm-leaf wall, they watched the gestures of the woman and perceived I know not what monstrous form by her side without being able to distinguish its shape. When I was sick several spoke of the miserable creature with much praise and esteem as of one who never failed to restore to health anyone who sought her aid." [2]

Among all the tribes of the Amazon "old women are the interpreters of the gods." [3] In Patagonia "the old women, witches, prophetesses, or divineresses are the chief ministers of their cult. It is they who invoke Acherkenot while the family is seated in a

[1] M. Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones*, vol. ii, pp. 86 sq., 65 sq., 72 sqq.

[2] Yves d'Evreux, *Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil*, pp. 301 sq.

[3] A. d'Orbigny, *L'homme Américain*, vol. i, p. 234.

circle around them, and they apply to him to avert his anger or thank him for benefits conferred. The words which escape from their lips, when at the end of the ceremony they have reached the highest stage of exaltation, are eagerly gathered by those present, and are regarded as infallible oracles." [1] When men exercise shamanistic functions they "are obliged, as it were, to leave their sex and to dress themselves in female apparel." [2]

Throughout the Indonesian archipelago the primitive aboriginal cults, where they have not been supplanted by Islam and other foreign religions, are predominantly and often exclusively served by women. So pronounced is that prominence of women in religious functions as to suggest very strongly that priestly offices were formerly entirely in their hands. Speaking of the remains of shamanistic cults in Madura, an island now connected with the mainland of Java, which is the most completely Islamised part of the Malay archipelago, a writer says: "As is the case in Java, the shamans in Madura are mostly women, although there are a few male shamans"; the writer knew of one, and he was an Arab.[3] Among the Bataks of Sumatra the shamans may be either men or women; but female shamans are far more common, and in several districts, notably those to the north of Lake Toba, there are none but female shamans, every village having its priestess.[4] In Nias there are both shamanesses who are regarded as belonging to a lower rank of the priestly hierarchy and regular priestesses who belong to an organised priesthood.[5] In the southern Moluccas the shaman "is usually an old woman." [6] But besides the popular shamanesses there is in the island of Timor a regular cult of the supreme Moon-deity which is served in a temple where the sacred talismans are guarded and a perpetual fire maintained by a college of aged vestals, who are the only priestesses.[7] In Leti, Moa, and Lakor shamanistic functions are mostly exercised by women, who perform on the magic drum and assume the cataleptic state preceded by spasms and trepidations. In this condition they prophesy and reveal the causes of diseases. They ascribe their power to union with a spirit, and they are held in the utmost

[1] F. Lacroix, *Patagonie, Terre-du-feu et îles Malouines*, p. 30.

[2] T. Falkner, *A Description of Patagonia*, p. 117.

[3] C. Lekkerkerker, "Enkele opmerkingen over sporen van shamanisme bij Modoerezen en Javanen," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xlv, p. 282.

[4] B. Hagen, "Beitrage zur Kenntniss der Battareligion," *ibid.*, xxviii, p. 538.

[5] F. Kramer, "Der Götzendienst der Niasser," *ibid.*, xxxiii, p. 475.

[6] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, pp. 314 sq.

[7] F. Junghuhn, *Die Battaländer auf Sumatra*, vol. iii, p. 316.

reverence.[1] In Halmaheira, the largest of the northern Moluccas, "the greater part of the shamans are women."[2] The same statement is repeated in reference to the Alfurs of northern Celebes,[3] and the native tribes of middle Celebes.[4] Among the Buginese of southern Celebes, besides the popular shamanesses, there is a highly organised order of priestesses. At their head is a high-priestess; they are clad in white robes, and their dedication to the sacred office is attended with much ceremonial and pomp. There is also a corresponding college of male priests, but they wear female attire, and they are known as 'tjalabai,' that is, 'imitation women.'[5]

Among the Dayak tribes of Borneo religious functions are almost exclusively exercised by women; the shamans "are for the most part women, seldom men."[6] When the latter engage in shamanistic functions they assume female dress, but they are regarded as less powerful with the spirits than women.[7] Formerly all men who practised magic were required to assume female dress; at the present day the rule is strictly observed in the more isolated districts only which have been less subjected to outside influences.[8] "One of the things that strike an observer on seeing Dusun religious ceremonies," writes a recent traveller in North Borneo, "is the great part played by the women. They are the chief performers in all the most important religious rites, the men only undertaking the office of musicians to accompany the women's chants."[9] They are said to use a special language which is unknown to the men.[10] All the deities or spirits from whom sorcerers, whether male or

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 337 sq. Cf. F. Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indië*, vol. iii, p. 38.

[2] A. C. Kruijt, *Het Animisme in dem Indischen Archipel*, p. 454.

[3] N. Graafland, *De Minahassa*, vol. i, p. 131.

[4] A. C. Kruijt, *op. cit.*, p. 454.

[5] B. F. Matthes, "Over de Bissoes of heidensche priesters en priesteressen der Boeginezen," *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koniklijk Akademie van Wetenschappen*, vii, pp. 2 sqq.

[6] F. Grabowsky, "Der District Dusson-Timor in Südost-Borneo und seine Bewohners," *Das Ausland*, 1884, p. 470.

[7] C. A. L. M. Schwaner, *Borneo*, vol. i, p. 186; M. T. H. Perelaer, *Ethnographische beschrijving der Dayaks*, p. 34; H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, vol. i, p. 282; C. Hose and W. McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, vol. ii, p. 116; E. H. Gomes, *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks*, p. 179; A. Hardeland, *Dajacksch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, s.v. 'basir.'

[8] J. Perham, "Manangism in Borneo," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 19, p. 102.

[9] I. H. N. Evans, *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, p. 153. Cf. Id., "Notes on the Religion, etc., of the Dusun," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlii, p. 383.

[10] C. Lumholtz, *Through Central Borneo*, vol. i, p. 123.

female, derive their power are spoken of as their 'grandmother.'[1] According to the tradition of the Land Dayaks, the magic art was first imparted by Tuppa, the women's deity, to a woman, and was taught by her to her successors.[2] "It seems to me more than likely," says Miss M. Morris, "that manangism (shamanism) was originally a profession of women, and that men were gradually admitted into it, at first only by becoming as much like women as possible."[3] "In some districts half the female population are included under the denomination of priestesses."[4] As elsewhere in Indonesia women exercising religious or magic functions belong to two classes, shamanesses proper and priestesses belonging to established organisations serving a regular cult. While women of all classes may belong to the former, the official priestesses generally belong to noble families and are the daughters or wives of chiefs.[5] Even such martial rites as the sword dances which are intended to drive away evil spirits are performed by women, and sacrifices are offered on the most solemn occasions by priestesses.[6]

We may here take occasion to note that any attempt to draw a sharp line of demarcation between the magical practices of the shamaness and the more dignified office of the priestess, between the private exercise of the magic art and the stately rituals of public cult, between the witch and the official ministrant, proves futile in practice. It is easy enough to formulate definitions and to lay down theoretical distinctions, but when the actual facts are considered those distinctions and definitions break down. In Indonesia we have the two kinds of officiating persons endowed with magical powers side by side in the same populations, and the people themselves draw a definite distinction between the independent shamanesses and the priestesses of official cults. Both Dr. Wilken and Dr. Kruijt, the highest authorities on the subject of the religious usages of that region, attempt to translate those distinctions into psychological terms; but both are compelled to admit that the distinctions do not hold in practice. The priestesses officiating in temples to the accompaniment of an established ritual, and the shamanesses, are in exactly the same condition of spiritual possession,

[1] M. Morris, "The Influence of War and of Agriculture upon the Religion of the Kayan and Sea-Dayaks of Borneo," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xxv, p. 242.

[2] H. Ling Roth, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 309.

[3] M. Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

[4] S. St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, vol. i, p. 199. Cf. H. Ling Roth, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 260.

[5] H. Ling Roth, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, Appendix, p. cc; C. A. L. M. Schwaner, *Borneo*, vol. i, p. 186, vol. ii, p. 76; M. T. H. Perelaer, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[6] A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, vol. ii, pp. 133, 86.

and the magical procedure ritually observed in the public cult does not differ in any respect from the practice of the individual witch or shamaness. The distinction between the two is not religious or psychological, but social and official; it rests upon the nature of the social institution, not upon the nature of the religious attitude or of the magical powers called into operation. Every endeavour to separate the individual practice of magic by a clear line of demarcation from organised ritual is as hopeless and artificial as the task of drawing such a line between primitive magic and primitive religion.

The monopoly of religious functions by women appears to have been at least as marked among the natives of the Philippine Islands as in Borneo. In writings dating from the time of the Spanish conquest male priests are not mentioned. "In regard to their religion," states one of the fullest accounts, "they had neither idols nor temples, but offered sacrifices in shady bowers which they had for that purpose. There were priestesses whom they called 'babailanes' or 'catalonas.' They attended to the sacrifices and took a lance in their hand, and, foaming at the mouth with ridiculous and extravagant gestures, they prophesied on the point for which the sacrifice was offered, and killed a hog with the lance. They then immediately divided the hog among those present, and the function was concluded with dances and drunken revelry." [1] Another account states that "it was the usual practice to sacrifice a hog, which the 'catalona,' or priestess, ordered the most graceful girl to stab with the knife amid certain dances." [2] Father Loarca tells us that "the priestesses dress very gaily with garlands on their heads and are resplendent with gold. They bring to the place of sacrifice some earthenware jars full of rice-wine, besides a living hog and a quantity of prepared food. Then the priestess chants her songs and invokes the demon, who appears to her all glittering with gold. Then he enters her body and hurls her to the ground foaming at the mouth as one possessed." [3] We have similar accounts with reference to the Tinguianes and the Igorots, the Tagales and the Bisayas, of sacrifices performed by priestesses who also prophesied after the manner of sibyls.[4]

[1] Martinez de Zuniga, *Historia de las Islas Filippinas*, in E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1803*, vol. xliii, p. 125.

[2] J. F. de San Antonio, *Cronicas*, *ibid.*, vol. xl, p. 335.

[3] M. de Loarca, *Relación de las Yslas Filipinas*, *ibid.*, vol. v, p. 132.

[4] F. Blumentritt, "Der Ahnencultus und die religiosen Anschauungen der Malaien des Philippinen-Archipels," *Mittheilungen der kaiserlich und königlich geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, xxv, pp. 23, 25, 27; *Ibid.*, xxx, part 3, pp. 138 sq.

Among the Polynesian races, who originally came from the Indonesian region, special conditions of social development have led to the concentration of power in the hands of chiefs and the aristocratic classes. To that character of Polynesian society are due both the decay of popular religious cult, the priestly offices being for the most part under the jurisdiction of the chiefs and ruling classes and subservient to their interests, and the masculine exclusiveness, if not the patriarchal character, of Polynesian institutions. Women were as a rule excluded in Polynesia from the sacred rites of the men. In those circumstances it is all the more remarkable that, apart from prophetesses, who sometimes exercised great influence, official priestesses occupied a high position in many of the Polynesian islands. Thus, for instance, in Rotuma the chief deity, who was represented in the form of a shark, was served conjointly by a priest and a priestess.[1] In New Zealand, although male priests, or ' tohungas,' exercised most religious functions, and women were not admitted to the ' marae,' or sacred places, some of the most important of the rites connected with the harvest of sweet potatoes had to be carried out by priestesses, " whose duty it was to perform all the sacred rites and ceremonies of the ' marae.' "[2] There were priestesses in Tahiti.[3] The high-priestess enjoyed great consideration in every part of the country ; she was, according to Bougainville, " vowed to perpetual virginity,"[4] which probably means that she remained unmarried. The king never went to war without consulting a certain priestess.[5] There were likewise priestesses in Tonga,[6] in Samoa,[7] in Paumotu,[8] Uvea,[9] and Savage Island.[10] It cannot be supposed that the exercise of religious functions by women in Polynesia had originated in the

[1] J. S. Gardiner, " The Natives of Rotuma," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii, p. 468.

[2] L. White, *Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. i, p. 16.

[3] J. Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, p. 187 ; J. Wilson, *A Missionary Voyage to the South Pacific Ocean*, p. 338 ; J. Cook, *The Voyages of Captain J. C . . . round the World*, vol. vi, p. 119.

[4] L. de Bougainville, *A Voyage round the World*, p. 474.

[5] J. Cook, *op. cit.*, vol. vi, p. 152.

[6] B. H. Thomson, *The Diversions of a Prime Minister*, pp. 346 sqq. ; G. S. Rowe, *A Pioneer. A Memoir of the Rev. John Thomas, Missionary to the Friendly Islands*, pp. 77, 79 ; T. West, *Ten Years in South-central Polynesia*, p. 364.

[7] S. Ella, " Samoa," *Proceedings of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science*, iv, p. 638.

[8] Père Laval, in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, xiv, pp. 336 sq.

[9] *Ibid.*, xiii, p. 13.

[10] B. H. Thomson, " Note upon the Natives of Savage Island, or Niué," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi, p. 142.

social conditions which obtained there at the time of the arrival of Europeans, for the whole tendency of those conditions was to reserve all important offices for the men. Those priestesses must therefore be regarded as having exercised their functions before the rise of masculine exclusiveness which brought about the institution of male priesthoods. And we are in fact told that, in spite of their general exclusion from the more important religious functions, women in Tonga were " consulted in religious matters." [1]

" Nearly all writers on Siberia agree that the position of the female shaman in modern days is sometimes even more important than that occupied by the male. . . . Among the Palaeo-Siberians, women receive the gift of shamanising more often than men." [2] According to the traditions of the Yakuts there were formerly no male shamans, or priests, but all magic functions were exercised by women.[3] This was still the case until recent times among the Kamchadals and the neighbouring populations.[4] All old women were regarded as possessing magical powers ; and the various methods of sorcery and vaticination, such as the use of the magic drum and of divination by means of the shoulder-blade of a reindeer, which are characteristic of Siberian shamanism, were employed by women only.[5] The familiar spirit from whom every practitioner of the magic arts is supposed to derive his or her power is spoken of among the Yakuts as his ' Mother.' [6] In the languages of the Yakuts, Altains, Torgut, Kidan, Mongols, Kirghis, Buryat, the term for shamaness is the same, while quite different words are used in those various idioms to denote male shamans. From that fact Troshchanski infers that before the separation of those races all practitioners of shamanism were women and that male shamans only appeared subsequently.[7] Male shamans among the Yakuts wear long hair and dress as women, whether they are wearing their ordinary dress or their ceremonial costume, and two iron circles represent on their apparel a woman's breasts.[8]

[1] W. Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, vol. i, p. 437.

[2] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 243.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 199, 247.

[4] S. P. Krasheninnikoff, *The History of Kamschatka and the Kurilski Islands*, p. 206.

[5] J. Kopec, *Dziennik podrozy po Syberyi*, cited in M. Lipinska, *Histoire des Femmes Médecins*, pp. 27 sq.

[6] W. Sieroszewski, " Du Chamanisme d'après les croyances des Yakoutes," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xlvi, p. 314.

[7] M. A. Czaplicka, *op. cit.*, pp. 197 sq.

[8] *Ibid.*

Male Priests dressed as and impersonating Women.

The adoption of female dress by male shamans, medicine-men and priests is, as we have already had occasion to judge, a phenomenon of world-wide prevalence. An early missionary noted that in West Africa the chief priest dressed as a woman.[1] When Zulu chiefs perform rain-making ceremonies they put on a woman's petticoat.[2] In Madagascar the priests dressed as women.[3] In Tahiti and the Marquesas the priests of the Areois stained their skin a light colour so that it might resemble a woman's, and affected the ways and manners of women.[4] The usage was prevalent among the North American Indians.[5] Among the tribes of New Mexico the priests dressed as women.[6] The rule is invariable throughout Indonesia. In the Pelew Islands, where the priestly functions are mostly exercised by women, any man taking part in them dresses as a woman.[7] Among the ancient Germans male priests dressed as women.[8] In Babylon the priests of Ishtar wore female attire,[9] and so did those of the Syrian Goddess,[10] and those of Pessiones.[11] So likewise did the Korybantes, the Dactyloi, the Kouretes, and the priests of Artemis at Ephesos.[12] The priests of Herakles at Kos dressed as women when they offered sacrifice,[13] the same was also done in ancient Rome.[14] Women's dress was also worn by male officiants in the festivals of Dionysos.[15] The male assistants in cult scenes from Minoan Krete are represented wearing women's clothes.[16] All

[1] J. B. Labat, *Relation de l'Éthiopie occidentale*, vol. ii, pp. 195, 199.

[2] H. Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu*, p. 93.

[3] O. Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique*, p. 467.

[4] C. A. Vincendon-Dumoulin and C. Desgraz, *Îles Marquises ou Nouka-Hiva*, p. 231; C. S. Stewart, *A Visit to the South Seas in the United States ship 'Vincennes,'* vol. i, p. 233.

[5] J. F. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. i, pp. 52 sqq.; F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. vi, pp. 4 sq.; G. Catlin, *Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians*, vol. ii, pp. 214 sq.; J. G. Müller, *Geschichte der amerikanische Urreligion*, pp. 44 sq.

[6] P. de Castañeda de Novara, *Relación de la jornada de Cibola*, p. 513.

[7] J. Kubary, "Die Religion der Pelauer," in A. Bastian, *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde*, vol. i, p. 35.

[8] Tacitus, *Germania*, 43.

[9] *Keilinschriften Bibliothek*, vol. vi, 62, 10.

[10] Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 50–53.

[11] Strabo, xii. 5. 3.

[12] L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. ii, p. 481.

[13] Athenaeus, xii. 11; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 31; Apollodorus, xxx. ii. 6. 2.

[14] Joannes Lydus, *De Mensibus*, iv. 46.

[15] Lucian, *Calumniae non temere*, 16; Photius, *Bibliotheka*, p. 322; Plutarch, *Thesaeus*, 23. Cf. below, vol. iii, pp. 129 sq.

[16] R. Paribeni, "Il sarcofago dipinto di Haghia Triada," *Monumenti Antichi, Accademia dei Lincei*, xix, p. 79.

priestly robes, skirts, aprons, sottanas are, indeed, everywhere of an essentially feminine character. It is the general custom of the Roman clergy to be clean-shaven, and they are commonly referred to on the continent as ' the third sex.'

On the other hand, instances of a woman dressing as a man when exercising priestly functions are altogether exceptional, although women dress as men when exercising any prescriptively male occupation, such as soldiering or hunting. The women of the Mawungu secret society among the Pangwe dress as men at their festivals.[1] The ' medium ' of the god Mukasa in Uganda adjusts her clothes in male fashion when she is acting as the mouthpiece of the god ; but at other times she remains purely feminine, and is, indeed, regarded as the wife of the god.[2]

Clothes are regarded in primitive societies as part of the wearer's person, and " wearing the clothes that have been used by another transfers to another wearer the qualities of the former one." [3] The ancient Arabs, when they performed their devotions at their holy places, used to remove all their clothes and borrow from the priest of the sanctuary some of his garments. Muhammad was requested to give one of his shirts in order that a friend of his, who had just died, might be buried in it.[4] The Yezidis, a Manichean sect of Mesopotamia and Armenia, invariably ask their priests to be good enough to wear for a couple of months any new clothes which their parishioners may acquire, so that the odour of sanctity may be imparted to the garments. These holy men have thus an unlimited wardrobe of brand-new apparel constantly at their disposal, and are relieved of any anxiety as to tailors' bills.[5]

It is a universal principle in primitive society that the distinctive dress of each sex implies that the person wearing it is engaged in those occupations which are peculiar to that sex. Thus, for instance, among the tribes of California every warrior, when he becomes too old to take part in active warfare, assumes female attire ; and from that time he is employed in helping the women with their household duties and agricultural labours.[6] In New Granada, among the Lache, if there was a numerous family consisting solely of boys, the fifth boy was brought up as a girl, no doubt in order to supply female labour for the needs of the household, and he was dressed

[1] G. Tessmann, *Die Pangwe*, vol. ii, p. 94.

[2] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 297.

[3] J. Jetté, " On the Superstitions on the Ten'a Indians (Middle part of the Yukon Valley, Alaska)," *Anthropos*, vi, p. 259.

[4] J. Wellhausen, *Reste des arabischen Heidentums*, pp. 196, 55 sq.

[5] W. B. Head, " Notes on the Yezīdis," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xli, p. 209.

[6] S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 160.

as a girl.[1] The practice may be compared with the belief which obtains in some parts of France, as also in Italy, in the district of Ferrara, that the seventh in a family consisting exclusively of boys is a born magician.[2] Similarly, among the European population of central Brazil the seventh daughter in a family of girls is regarded as possessing innate powers of witchcraft.[3] It has been frequently stated when reporting that among a given people certain men dressed in women's clothes and followed women's occupations, that those men served for the indulgence of unnatural vices, and the existence of sexual perversion among a primitive people has often been inferred solely from the presence amongst them of men in female garb. But it may be said positively, so far at least as regards the North American tribes, that there does not exist any ground for that inference. The first-hand reports, on the contrary, appear to place the matter in a very different light. "Through what superstition I know not," says Father Marquette, "some Illinois as well as some Nodowessi, while yet young, assume female dress and keep it all their lives. There is some mystery about it, for they never marry, and glory in debasing themselves to do all that is done by women; yet they go to war, though allowed to use only a club, and not the bow and arrow, the peculiar arm of the men. They are present at all juggleries and solemn dances in honour of the 'calumet'; they are permitted to sing, but not to dance. They attend councils, and nothing can be decided without their advice. Finally, by the profession of an extraordinary life, they pass for 'manitus' and persons of consequence."[4] This would clearly seem to indicate that these men were regarded as partaking of the prophetic and magical character of women. The assimilation of men exercising priestly functions to women goes much farther, in primitive society, than the assumption of feminine apparel. In the Pelew Islands, for instance, "it often happens that a female deity chooses for her priest a young man, who is thenceforth regarded and treated in every respect as a woman. He assumes female dress, and wears a piece of gold round his neck, and he also frequently takes up the cultivation of a patch of taro."[5]

[1] L. F. de Piedrahita, *Historia general de las conquistas del nuevo Reyno de Grenada*, p. 14.

[2] Laisnel de la Salle, *Croyances de la France Centrale*, vol. ii, p. 5; G. Ferraro, *Superstizioni, usi e proverbi monferrini*, p. 10.

[3] K. von den Steinen, *Unter Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, p. 557.

[4] *Récit des voyages et découvertes du Père Marquette* (B. F. French, *Historical Collection of Louisiana*, 1846), p. 34. Cf. J. B. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. i, p. 52.

[5] J. Kubary, "Die Religion der Pelauer," in A. Bastian, *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde*, vol. i, p. 35.

In Cyprus, at the festival of Ariadne, the imitation was carried even farther ; for one of the officiating priests lay in bed and imitated the groans of a woman in labour.[1] Among the Yakut it was actually believed that male shamans were capable of bearing children.[2]

We are expressly told that among the tribes of California the practice of assuming female attire is adopted by male shamans because it is regarded as imparting greater power to the magician,[3] and the same statement is made concerning male shamans among the Chukchi.[4] It does not appear that the universal practice is susceptible of any other interpretation than that magical power was originally associated with women, and was regarded as essentially a woman's function. No other plausible interpretation of so widespread a practice has been put forward,[5] although several writers are content to refer to it as obscure, mysterious, or due to a variety of different causes, and are apparently reluctant to draw from it the direct inference that in primitive society the chief religious and magic powers were originally exercised by women. But such caution appears excessive in interpretating the circumstance that in Indonesia, in eastern Siberia, in Patagonia, where those functions are only very exceptionally exercised by men, the latter should, when they assume them, also adopt the attire of the sex to which,

[1] Plutarch, *Thesaeus*, 20.

[2] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 252.

[3] T. F. Cronise, *The Natural Wealth of California*, p. 24.

[4] W. Bogoras, *The Chuckchee*, pp. 453, 448.

[5] It has been suggested that female disguise may be assumed by priests in order in some way to deceive evil spirits, and the usage observed by two tribes in India, the Bharia and the Khangars, of the bride and bridegroom exchanging clothes after the wedding ceremony, has been mentioned in the same connection as the female attire of priests (*Central Provinces Ethnographical Survey*, vol. i, p. 48 ; vol. iii, p. 31). There does not appear to be any similarity between the two practices. The notion of lovers exchanging articles of clothing is common and spontaneous the world over, and the supposed mystic rite may be witnessed by anyone on Hampstead Heath on a Bank Holiday. The Ekoi of Nigeria in like manner change hats at a wedding (P. A. Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, p. 119). Among the Ainu of Yezzo, when a boy and girl are betrothed in infancy their clothes are exchanged, the boy wearing the girl's clothes and the girl the boy's (J. Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore*, pp. 227 sq.). In the Sudan it is the custom for the bride, on the wedding-day and for some days previously, to wear a pair of drawers belonging to the bridegroom (J. W. Crowfoot, " Wedding Customs in the Northern Sudan," *Sudan Notes and Records*, v, p. 8). The idea of closer intimacy and union by the exchange of clothes is fairly obvious. The parallel to those practices is, it appears to me, scarcely to be sought in the assumption of feminine attire by priests, but rather in those usages where, at feasts of promiscuity, an article of clothing belonging to a woman is taken by a man and redeemed by the woman, as in the festivals of the Ali-Ullahs (see below, vol. iii, p. 221) or in the ' hat-choosing festivals ' of the Tibetans (W. W. Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, pp. 80 sq.).

even at the present day, those occupations almost invariably belong.

The traditions of the Yakuts connect the first appearance of male shamans amongst them with a definite historical event of comparatively late date, namely, the introduction of iron. The first male shamans, according to them, were smiths.[1] The profession of smith is hereditary among Siberian tribes, and the Yakuts consider that at the ninth generation a smith becomes a wizard, and that the inherited power goes on increasing with the number of ancestors who have exercised the profession.[2] Among the Buryat the spirits from whom magical powers are derived by men are called 'smiths,' and it is thought that those spirits first taught the men both the ironworker's art and those of the magician.[3] A proverb of the Kolyma district affirms that "the blacksmith and the shaman are of one nest."[4] Among the Mongols the same word is used to denote a male shaman and a smith.[5] The term 'faber,' smith, had also among the Romans the connotation of 'magician.' In Russian popular tales smiths act as the assistants of witches.[6]

In Borneo, among the Kayan Dayaks, smiths are thought to be possessed by supernatural spirits, and their skill in handicraft is regarded as due to the magical powers derived from the indwelling demon.[7] Similar estimates are general in Africa. Thus among the Fans the village blacksmith is likewise the priest and sacred headman of the community. Those tribes who are ignorant of the art of metallurgy regard smiths with such awe and reverence that if they obtain possession of a smith's bellows they place it in their fetich-house, and address their prayers and worship to it, looking upon the apparatus as the vessel of the holy spirit.[8] The curse of a smith is regarded in East Africa, among the Akikuyu and the Akamba, as inevitably fatal.[9] By some of the Hamitic

[1] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, pp. 199, 247.

[2] W. Sieroszewski, "Du Chamanisme d'après les croyances des Yakoutes," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xlvi, p. 319.

[3] M. A. Czaplicka, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 211.

[5] W. Sieroszewski, *loc. cit.*

[6] W. R. S. Ralston, *Russian Folk-tales*, p. 166.

[7] A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, vol. ii, p. 198.

[8] O. Lenz, *Skizzen aus West-Afrika*, pp. 85, 184. Cf. J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, p. 776; A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, vol. ii, p. 217; G. McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol. vii, p. 447; E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Nigeria*, vol. i, p. 203.

[9] G. Lindblom, *The Akamba*, pp. 529 sq. Cf. A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 36 sq.

populations of East Africa and Somaliland, as also by the Arabs and the Berbers, smiths are regarded with so much horror and dread that they are completely banned from society.[1] Dr. Schneider is probably right in supposing that such hostile treatment "indicates that the art of the smith is regarded as a branch of witchcraft, and those who practise it as the possessors of magical powers."[2] In Abyssinia, in fact, blacksmiths "are believed to be all sorcerers. They are supposed to have the power of turning themselves into hyaenas and similar other animals. Few people will venture to molest or offend a blacksmith."[3] In ancient Egypt the priests of Horus were known as 'mesniu,' or 'smiths.'[4] Those views and the Asiatic tradition that smiths were the first male wizards are in entire accordance with the belief which is widespread in Europe that smiths are the only men who naturally partake of the magical powers peculiar to women.[5] In France St. Eloi was the patron of smiths and was also the great wizard among saints, as in Asia wizards were the particular disciples of Tubal-khan, the smith.[6] In Ireland St. Patrick pronounced powerful exorcisms against "the spells of women, of smiths, and magicians."[7]

Priestesses among the Peoples of northern Europe.

Among the arts practised by the druids, and of which they held the secret and monopoly, were those of the smith. Workers in copper, bronze, and iron were among the most honoured guests at the great triennial banquets which were held in Ireland in the

[1] A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*, pp. 330 sq.; M. Merker, *Die Masai*, pp. 110 sq.; P. Paulischke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, vol. i, p. 202, vol. ii, p. 30; R. F. Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa*, p. 240; Id., *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Meccah and Al-Medinah*, vol. i, p. 117; G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, vol. i, pp. 443 sq.; vol. ii, pp. 145, 178, 371; vol. iii, pp. 189, 234 sq.; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, pp. 40 sqq.; L. Tauxier, *Études Soudanaises. Le Noir du Yatenga*, p. 219.

[2] W. Schneider, *Die Religion der afrikanischen Naturvölker*, p. 81.

[3] M. Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, pp. 300 sq. Cf. J. T. Bent, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians: Travel in Abyssinia*, pp. 300 sq.

[4] G. Maspéro, "Les forgerons d'Horus et la légende d'Horus d'Edfou," *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, vol. ii, pp. 313 sqq.; A. E. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i, pp. 85, 476, 478, 485.

[5] J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore, Manx and Welsh*, vol. ii, p. 295; O. Henne-Am Rhyn, *Die deutsche Volksage*, p. 468. It appears not unlikely that the widespread prevalence of the name 'Smith,' or 'Schmidt,' among Teutonic peoples has its origin in a sort of honorific epithet by which a sacred and magical character was courteously ascribed to persons.

[6] O. Henne-Am Rhyn, *op. cit.*, p. 469.

[7] J. Rhys, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 295.

halls of Tara, and they ranked little below kings and grand druids.[1] The Celtic smiths had a special god of their own, called Goibnu by the Irish, Gofan by the British, that is, 'the Smith,' who was also noted as a wizard.[2] St. Patrick's reference to the spells of smiths who participated in the magic powers of women thus probably had reference to no others than druid magicians, for the word 'drui' is equivalent in Celtic speech to 'magician,' or 'sorcerer.'[3]

Opinions concerning the origin of the druids are perplexingly divided. Some authorities on the subject of Celtic antiquities hold that the druids were, and had always been, the priests of the Celtic races, understanding by that term the inhabitants of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland. Others consider that the institution of druidism is even more ancient than the establishment of those races in Western Europe; while others, equally authoritative, take the exactly opposite view, and hold that the druids and their organisation are of quite late origin, that the priesthood was almost as much a novelty introduced into, and superimposed upon, the original religious institutions of the Celts as, a few years later, was the Christian hierarchy. So far as regards Gaul, Caesar, who had the advantage of the companionship and friendship of the druid Divitiacus, tells us explicitly in his brief military fashion that "the discipline (of druidism) is held to have had its origin in Britain, and to have been transported thence into Gaul; and at the present day most of those who desire to become proficient in it proceed thither for instruction."[4] It would require very substantial evidence to set aside that testimony, and I have not been able to discover that such evidence has been produced. The facts appear, on the contrary, strongly to confirm it. The druids were certainly much more firmly established in Ireland and western Britain than in Gaul. They are said to have "tamed the people as wild beasts are tamed,"[5] and it is difficult to understand how they should set about doing so had they been from the beginning their spiritual rulers. They constituted a highly organised corporation which wielded both religious and political power amounting to theocratic tyranny. "Kings," says Dion Chrysostom, "could decide nothing without them. It was, properly speaking, they who exercised supreme authority, and the kings on their guilded thrones and in their splendid habitations are their ministers, the slaves of their will."[6] Although the statement may be perhaps

[1] A. Bertrand, *Religion des Gaulois*, p. 251.

[2] J. A. McCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, p. 76; A. C. L. Brown, "Welsh Traditions in Layamon's 'Brut,'" *Modern Philology*, i. pp. 100 sqq.

[3] J. A. McCulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

[4] Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, vi. 13.

[5] J. A. McCulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

[6] Dion Chrysostom, *Orat.*, xlix.

coloured by Christian eloquence moved to righteous indignation when referring to the arrogance of a heathen priesthood, it is amply borne out by what we know. Kings were forbidden to speak in assemblies before druids.[1] The druids simply claimed that they were the creators of heaven and earth.[2] They were exempt from taxes; "those great prerogatives," says Caesar, "caused many disciples to flock to them."[3] Apart from the intrinsic improbability of so highly organised and powerful a religious corporation having existed from the first in all Celtic countries, there are many facts which render such a view difficult to entertain. Thus when Hannibal passed through Gaul delicate negotiations had to be entered into to obtain from the natives permission for the transit of his huge armaments, and it was agreed that all damages which might be caused by the troops should be assessed by a council of women, whose decision should be accepted as final.[4] The women in whom such confidence was placed were in all probability priestesses; in any case it is scarcely conceivable that, had there been a powerful theocracy of druids at the time—and we hear nothing of them in this connection—they would have kept out of the whole business and left so important a matter to a council of women. Caesar, on the other hand, does not mention any priestesses among the Gauls, though he states that the troops of Ariovistus were forbidden by their wise women to fight before the new moon;[5] and Gallic women attached to the armies offered sacrifices and prophesied.[6] Some have spoken of 'druidesses,' but this seems to be a misnomer; there appears to be no evidence of any women being connected with the organisation of the druids, either as associates or in any function.

On the other hand, there is abundant evidence of the existence of priestesses, who appear to have been thrust aside by the invasion of druidical theocracy in Gaul. Thus Pomponius Mela, in his brief reference to Gaul, has the following notable passage: "Sena in the British Sea," he says, "is famous for its oracle of a Gaulish god, whose priestesses, living in the holiness of perpetual virginity, are said to be nine in number. They call them Gallizenae, and they believe them to be endowed with extraordinary powers, so that they are able to rouse the sea

[1] J. Rhys, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom*, p. 673; J. A. McCulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

[2] J. Rhys, *loc. cit.*

[3] Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, vi. 14.

[4] Plutarch, *De Mulier. virtut.*, 246. Cf. Strabo, iv. 4. 4: "All contestations, public and private, were submitted to them."

[5] Caesar, *op. cit.*, i. 50.

[6] Plutarch, *Vita Crassi*, xi; Sallust, *Fragm.*, 4. 12.

and the wind by their incantations, and to turn themselves into whatsoever animal form they choose; they can cure diseases which are incurable to anyone else; they know the future and vaticinate." [1] Even more interest attaches to the account than appears on the surface, for it enables us to catch a glimpse of certain curious phenomena in the growth of tradition, one might almost say in the manner in which history is made, which should put us on our guard in estimating the value of evidence. Sena is undoubtedly the island of Sein off the Bec du Raz on the coast of Armorica, which is far-famed in Celtic legend as the site of the grave of Merlin, the mighty enchanter of Arthurian legends sung by druidical bards. Now in those legends the great Merlin left the court of King Arthur accompanied by 'nine bards'; they proceeded towards the sea, and thereafter Merlin and the 'nine bards' were seen no more. In other versions of the old druidical tales Merlin fell into the toils of the 'Lady of the Lake,' who induced him to instruct her in his magical arts. She became so proficient under his instruction that one day, when he fell asleep in her lap, she cast a spell over him whereby he became enchanted for ever, becoming a perpetual prisoner in a castle, or, according to other accounts, an oak-tree, on the island of Sein, where from his living grave he delivered oracles.[2] It thus appears that in the versions of the druidical bards the oracular divinity of the priestesses of Sein becomes a druid; the powers of the enchantress by whom he was bewitched are due to his tuition; and the nine priestesses become transformed into nine druidical bards. But the priestesses of Sein and their oracle, which from its mention by Mela as the most notable religious institution of the Gauls and the prominent part which 'Merlin' plays in the cycle of Celtic legends, would seem to have been one of the most sacred shrines of Gaul, comparable to Delphi or Dodona in ancient Greece, do not appear to have had any connection with druidical institutions, and no priest is mentioned in relation to the cult. This was not the only institution of the kind. A little farther south, on an island at the mouth of the Loire, near the site of the present city of Nantes, there was, according to Strabo, another great shrine served by a college of priestesses. They were said to celebrate "the mysteries of Dionysos," and their cult is described as orgiastic; which would seem to point to an agricultural cult connected with the fertility of the land. Human sacrifices formed part of it. So little had the cult to do with druidism that no man was permitted to approach

[1] Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia*, iii. 6. 'Gallizenae' is obviously a MS. error for 'Gallae Senae,' or some such expression.

[2] J. Rhys, *op. cit.*, pp. 155 sqq.

the shrine. The priestesses were not vowed to celibacy, but went ashore when they pleased and had intercourse with men.[1] Dionysius Periegetes tells us that in some of the Channel Islands the rites of Bacchus were performed by women crowned with leaves, who danced and made an even greater shouting than the Thracian bacchantes.[2] Inscriptions in various parts of France show the existence of priestesses attached to native cults in other parts of Gaul,[3] although no priestess is anywhere mentioned in connection with druidical cults or the organisation of the druids.

Similar evidence meets us in Ireland. In county Kildare is a monastery of nuns dedicated to the service of St. Brigit. It was held in the highest regard in the Middle Ages, and the holy nuns were credited with all sorts of miraculous powers; one of their chief duties was to tend, like the Roman Vestals, a perpetual fire. As Canon McCulloch remarks, "the nuns who guarded the sacred fire of Kildare had evidently succeeded the virgin guardians of a sacred fire, the priestesses of a cult which was tabu to men."[4] This we know to be a fact, for Brigit, or as her name appears in ancient Irish literature, Brigentis, or variants of that form, was no other than the chief goddess of the Celtic pantheon, and her cult was one of the first importance, not only in Ireland, but in Britain and throughout Gaul.[5] If, then, the cult of the great goddess Brigentis was served in Kildare by priestesses and had no connection with the druidical priesthood and religion, it appears improbable that her cult elsewhere, in Britain and in Gaul, was originally constituted on different lines, and was served by male druids. There are records of other shrines in Ireland, besides that of Kildare, where vestal fires were maintained.[6] Again, one of the most popular of Irish cults was that of Crom Cruach, on the plain called Magh Slecht. "But it is remarkable," observed O'Curry, "that we find no mention of any connection between the idol and the druids,"[7] notwithstanding the fact that we are told that "no sacrifice was complete without the intervention of a druid."[8] If cults existed in Ireland, the stronghold of druidism, in which druids took no part, it can cause little surprise

[1] Strabo, iv. 4. 6.

[2] Dionysius Periegetes, *Orbis descriptio*, 1120–5.

[3] C. Jullian, *Recherches sur la religion des Gaulois*, p. 100.

[4] J. A. McCulloch, in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. v, p. 87.

[5] See below, vol. iii, pp. 69 sq.

[6] G. Keating, *History of Ireland*, vol. ii, pp. 247, 249.

[7] E. O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, vol. ii, p. 227.

[8] Diodorus Siculus, v. 31. 4.

that in other Celtic regions, such as western Britain, druids are scarcely heard of at all. The famous queen of the Iceni, Boadicea or Boudicca, was herself the high-priestess of the cult of the goddess Andaste.[1] Pliny, again, refers to the rites of the British women who, probably in some ceremonies of agricultural magic, danced naked, painted with woad.[2] Tacitus tells us of the fury of the British prophetesses who predicted the end of the world.[3]

It would thus appear that the exclusively masculine magical organisation or 'secret society' of the druids, which has become indissolubly associated in history with the religious cults of the Celts, was superimposed at a comparatively late date upon other cults and religious institutions in which the priestly functions were exercised chiefly, and perhaps exclusively, by women. "There is evidence," Canon McCulloch writes, "that they (the druids) had ousted women as the earlier magic-wielding persons. The rites of agriculture and the possession of much primitive lore having been first of all in the hands of women, and the rites being largely magical, they were 'par excellence,' magicians. With the gradual encroachment of man on woman's domain, with the growing supremacy of gods over goddesses, men became also great magicians. But women still professed magic, and their claims were not forgotten. The so-called druidesses of the late empire, the priestesses of Sena and the virgin guardians of Brigit's fire were magic-wielders. In Irish texts women as magicians performing all the magical rites ascribed to druids are much in evidence. But their magic was, so to speak, not official. Women as the earliest remained also the latest magicians, though in time they were proscribed and persecuted." [4]

Among the Teutonic and Nordic barbarians, on the other hand, no male priesthood ever became established, as among the Celts, and priestly women retained their unchallenged supremacy and monopoly of religious functions. References to priests are extremely rare; not one is mentioned by name, and, as among so many other peoples, we hear among the Germans of male priests assuming female attire.[5] In nearly every instance where a priestly personage is mentioned it is a woman. The influence and power exercised by sacred women and prophetesses are frequently referred to, and several were actually worshipped as divine beings during

[1] Dio Cassius, lxii. 6.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxii. 1.

[3] Tacitus, *Annales*, xiv. 32.

[4] J. A. McCulloch, in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. v, p. 87.

[5] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 95; C. von Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*, vol. iv, pp. 230 sq.

their lifetime.[1] Strabo gives us a realistic and weird picture of the priestesses of the Cimbri. "They say that the Cimbri had the following custom," he tells us: "Their women, who travelled with them, were accompanied by sacred priestesses, grey-haired, white-robed, with a linen scarf buckled over their shoulder and a girdle of brass, and walking bare-footed. These priestesses, with a sword in their hand, met the prisoners of war when they were brought to the camp; and, having crowned them, they led them to a brass basin as large as thirty amphorae. They had a ladder, which the priestess mounted, and, standing over the basin, she cut the throat of each prisoner as he was handed up to her. With the blood that gushed into the basin they made a prophecy." [2]

The basin over which that gruesome sacrifice was performed was thus a regular witches' cauldron. One such cauldron has actually been discovered at Gundestrup, in Jutland, and may be seen in the museum of Copenhagen. It is wrought entirely of silver, a metal which was extremely rare in northern Europe and more valuable than gold; it measures 69 cm. in diameter and 21 cm. in depth. It is covered, both inside and outside, with embossed figures representing troops of warriors on foot and on horseback, and several deities, chief among whom is a moon-goddess. That we may not be left in doubt as to the purpose for which the precious cauldron was used, the very scene described by Strabo is represented on it: a victim is being held over, or tossed head foremost into, a similar basin, while the soldiers blow huge animal-headed trumpets to drown the cries of the sacrificed man.[3] The custom of sacrificing prisoners of war was universal both among the Germans and the Celts. It was not an act of wanton cruelty, but a solemn religious ceremony; for when the barbarians resolved to give battle they consecrated to their god all the spoils of war they might obtain if he vouchsafed them the victory; not only were the lives of the prisoners offered to him, but also those of animals captured, and the booty was thrown in a heap and left untouched.[4] The sacrifice of the prisoners' lives was regarded by the warriors as a substitute for their own which had been spared, and was thus a kind of sacrament which, by means of a scapegoat, or redeemer, imparted new life to the worshipper. Cauldrons similar to that of Jutland played, as

[1] Tacitus, *Germania*, viii; *Hist.*, iv. 61. 65, v. 22. 25; Dio Cassius, lxvii. 5; Gregory of Tours, *Historia ecclesiastica Francorum*, v. 14. Cf. Plutarch, *Vita Caesaris*, xix; Clement Alexandrinus, *Stromat.*, i. p. 360. The emperor Vitellius maintained a German prophetess with his troops and "listened to her as to an oracle" (Suetonius, *Vitellius*, xiv.).

[2] Strabo, vii. 2.

[3] S. Müller, "Det store solukar fra Gundestrup i Jylland," *Nordiske Fortidsminder*, 1892, Hft. 2; A. Bertrand, *La Religion des Gaulois*, pp. 363 sqq.

[4] Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, vi. 16. 17; Diodorus Siculus, v. 32. 6.

we shall see, a very important part in Celtic religious ideas, and a number of epic myths relate the adventures of heroes who undertook to obtain the priceless gift of a sacred cauldron, or ' cauldron of regeneration,' as they were sometimes called, from some divine woman.[1] Those ' cauldrons of regeneration,' which barbaric heroes coveted, were transformed in Christian times into the vessel of the Holy Grail ; and thus the gruesome rites of the Cimbrian priestesses and the unholy mysteries of Celtic witches are intimately connected with the sublimest heights of mediaeval Christian mysticism.

Among all the Nordic races the practice of the magic art had not, when Christianity changed the course of their religious evolution, been taken over by men. " Our earliest antiquities," says Jacob Grimm, " impute it preeminently to women." [2] In Scandinavia the women retained the monopoly of magic ; the Eddas are full of the deeds of the prophetesses and priestesses of the Norsemen, and in all their religion the evidence " proves above all things that the leading part in it was taken by women, not by men." [3]

Thus among our own ancestors in western and northern Europe, as among many uncultured races which we have already noticed in other parts of the world, it would appear that formerly religious and priestly functions, far from appertaining prescriptively to the sphere of masculine occupations, belonged, on the contrary, to that of the women, and that those functions have only been transferred subsequently to male priests.

Traditions concerning the Transference of Religious Functions from Women to Men.

The exclusion of women from priestly offices, which at the present day is the rule in civilised societies, and which appears natural according to existing ideas, is also found in some of the rudest and most uncultured societies that we know. But among those backward races we come upon even more definite indications and traditions that a change similar to that which has taken place in European countries has been effected in this respect. Thus, as we have already seen, the women in Australia formerly played a much more important part in religious functions than they do now. They are at the present day excluded under severe penalties from all religious ceremonies.

[1] See below, vol. iii, pp. 450 sqq.

[2] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 1038.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 1042. Cf. E. Mogk, " Mythologie," in H. Paul, *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*, vol. iii, p. 405 : " Magic was practised first and foremost by the women."

Indeed, one of the purposes which is kept in view in the performance of those ceremonies is avowedly to frighten the women and to keep them in subjection. Anong the Central tribes the noise produced by the bull-roarer, or 'churinga,' a flat piece of wood tied to a string, which when swung round rapidly makes a loud buzzing sound, is given out to be the voice of the dreaded spirit Daramulum, and no woman is ever allowed to see a bull-roarer. At the time of his initiation a young man is taught the use of the bull-roarer for the first time, and he then learns "that the spirit creature whom up to that time, as a boy, he has regarded as all-powerful is merely a myth, and that such a being does not really exist, and is only an invention of the men to frighten the women and children."[1] "At the 'jeraeil' I am describing," says Dr. Howitt, "the novices thoroughly entered into the fun of frightening the women; and, having got over their awe of the bull-roarers, they made an outrageous noise with them. The moment the roaring and screeching sounds were heard there was a terrible clamour of cries and screams from the women and children, to the delight of the novices, who now in their turn aided in mystifying the uninitiated. Such tales are, I doubt not, everywhere told to the women. In the Meo, Mawro, and coast tribes Daramulum is said to come down and himself knock out the boys' teeth."[2] Yet there is definite evidence that no longer ago than the time of the first discovery of Australia by Europeans the tooth-knocking ceremony, which is the mark of initiation, was among some tribes performed on the women as well as on the men.[3] And further, "in tradition after tradition we have accounts set out in great detail of how particular women of the Alcheringa carried sacred Nurtunja just as the men did, and how they had churingas just as the men had, and further, of how they performed sacred ceremonies exactly as the men did."[4] In the kangaroo clan of the Arunta the sacred poles used in the intichiuma ceremony were formerly kept by a woman.[5] The traditions of the Australian natives, in fact, assume that formerly no such exclusion of women from religious functions existed as is now enforced, and they ascribe to women the magic powers and religious activities which are at the present day exercised exclusively by the men. "According

[1] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 492.

[2] A. W. Howitt, "The Jeraeil, or Initiation Ceremonies, of the Kurnai Tribe, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv, p. 315.

[3] *Early Voyages to Terra Australis*, p. 111.

[4] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 457.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

to traditions common to all these Central tribes," say Sir W. B. Spencer and Mr. Gillen, "the women took a much greater share in the performance of ceremonies which are now regarded as sacred and restricted to the men."[1] Far from regarding women as being unfit to carry out those functions, the natives, in Queensland, expressly state that women have a special aptitude and natural power for magic, and that this is the very reason why they are debarred from practising it.[2]

In several other parts of the uncultured world we come upon even more explicit traditions referring to the former exercise of magic and religious functions by the women, and the arrogation of those functions by the men. Thus the Fuegians use at the present day their religious ceremonies, like the Australians, as a means of frightening the women and of keeping them in subjection. The men dress up as ghosts and scare the women as an aid to maintaining their authority over them. It would be an error to suppose that in Tierra del Fuego, any more than in Australia, that terrorising function is the primary object of the rites. The 'kiva' ceremonies of the Fuegians are, like the 'katchina' of the North Americans and like most initiation and secret rites all over the world, essentially intended to establish a communion between the living and the more powerful deceased members of the tribe, and to obtain from the latter magical powers. But the ceremonies are nevertheless employed, as in Australia, to exercise over the excluded women a complete terrorism. At their initiation ceremonies the Fuegian youths learn that the supposed ghosts are no other than their male relatives dressed up in gruesome and terrible guise; but the women are genuinely terrified at the awful apparitions and believe them to be real ghosts. The secret is very strictly kept, and, should any boy reveal it, he is quietly put to death; and any woman who is suspected of knowing more than she should is likewise put away.[3] Yet we are definitely told that in former times it was not the men but the women who alone practised the arts of witchcraft and exercised that terrorism, dressing up as ghosts and frightening the men; and that the change was brought about by a violent revolution in which most of the women were massacred. So much importance is attached to that tradition that the great religious yearly festival of the Fuegians

[1] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 358.

[2] W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West Central Queensland Aborigines*, p. 152.

[3] P. Hyades and J. Deniker, in *Mission scientifique du Cap Horn*, vol. vii, p. 377; W. S. Barclay, "The Land of Magellanes, with some Account of the Onas and other Indians," *The Geographical Journal*, xxiii, pp. 74 sq.

is supposed to commemorate the event, and the arrogation by the men of the supremacy which the women once exercised by virtue of their magical powers is the great event of their traditional history.[1]

The South American tribes of the vast region of the Upper Amazon and Rio Negro basin, and in particular those dwelling in the neighbourhood of the Rio Uaupes, have ceremonies similar to those of the tribes of Tierra del Fuego, and which also bear a close resemblance to those of the Australian aborigines. Their mysteries centre round a terrific figure which represents the god called Jurupari, the chief deity of most Brazilian tribes. He is represented by a personage clad in a long mantle made of monkey-fur, with which is interwoven the hair cut from young girls at the time of their first menstruation; the head is formed by a conical mask covered with various ornaments and having appropriate openings for the eyes and mouth. Those costumes, of which there are only a few in each tribe, are known as 'macacaraua,' and are regarded as their most sacrosanct and precious possessions, so that on no consideration could they be induced to part with them. The sacred representations and relics of Jurupari must on no account be seen by a woman; should one be so unfortunate as to set her eyes on a 'macacaraua' her fate is sealed, and many women have been put to death on account of their having beheld the sacred vesture. The masks are used at festivals called 'dabucuris,' which appear to include rites of initiation for the admission of young boys to the status of manhood. As in Australia, use is made in the ceremonies of an instrument producing terrible noises which are compared to the roaring of a bull, and are supposed to be the voice of Jurupari. It is a penal offence for any woman to see one of those bull-roarers. The traditions of the Uaupes Indians, however, state that the 'dabucuris' ceremonies were formerly performed by the women; that the first 'macacaraua' were worn by women, and that women formerly used the sacred bull-roarers. The whole of the rites are, in fact, said to have been instituted by a "council of women." The traditions ascribe the transference of those functions from the women to the men to the god Jurupari himself. They state that he came down from heaven and gave chase to the women, who scattered in all directions; but that he at last caught the chief priestess, who was clad in the 'macacaraua' and bore in her hand the bull-roarer, knocked her down, ravished her, and thereafter handed the sacred objects to the men. That tradition

[1] P. Hyades and J. Deniker, *loc. cit.*; L.-F. Martial, *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 214; Beauvoir, *Los Shelknam*, p. 207; A. Cojazzi, *Los Indios del Archipelago Fueguino*, p. 24. Cf. above, vol. i, pp. 342 sq.

is represented in rough pictures engraved on rocks at Arapapa.[1] M. Coudreau suggests that the domination formerly exercised through their monopoly of magic power by the women of the Upper Amazon, who are remarkable, even at the present day, for their independence and their activity in wielding weapons as skilfully as the men, and are in many ways superior to the latter, may be the foundation of the persistent reports of tribes of Amazons, which have given their name to the great South American river.[2]

Again, among the Pomo and Tatu Indians of California the same means are employed by the men as among the Fuegians and the Uaupes to frighten the women and enforce their own authority. They dress up as ghosts, and, uttering horrible noises, approach in the middle of the night the hut where the women are gathered, and force an entrance into it, so that the women nearly die of fright. But Mr. Powers is of opinion that the social condition of those peoples was in former times one approaching to a state of feminine domination.[3]

We come upon exactly similar traditions in Africa; but those traditions are, on that continent, illustrated in existing conditions. In East Africa, among the Wanika, there is a terrorising cult identical in the social uses to which it is put with those of Australia and America which we have just noted. The god, or spirit, Muausa, is used as a bogey to strike terror into the women, and the weird sounds which the initiates of his cult produce by various means are supposed to be the voice of the terrifying being. In one district, however, at Rabbai Mpia, the situation is reversed; there is a Muausa society which is confined to the women, who exercise the same terrorism by means of simulated ghosts as the men inflict on the women in other districts.[4] Such women's religious associations, or, as they are called somewhat inappropriately, 'secret societies,' are common in West Africa, more so probably than appears from our information, for the secret of their very existence is guarded with extreme jealousy and fidelity. There is reason to believe that almost every woman belongs to such a society.[5] One of the most famous and powerful is that which was

[1] H. Coudreau, *La France équinoxiale*, vol. ii, pp. 186 sqq.; E. Stradelli, "Leggenda di Jurupary," *Bolletino della Società Geografica Italiana*, Ser. 3, iii, p. 659. The natives are extremely secretive about the whole subject, and it was only through the accident of a missionary obtaining possession of a 'macacaraua,' which very nearly cost him his life, that the above details were first obtained from the terrified Indians.

[2] H. Coudreau, *op. cit.*, pp. 208 sq.

[3] S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 141.

[4] J. L. Krapf, *Reisen in Ost-Afrika*, vol. i, pp. 323, 390.

[5] R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 123.

described by the Rev. J. L. Wilson in the Mpongwe country, and is known as the Njembe. Although its power has, like that of all other secret societies, been combated and sapped by European missionaries and officials, it is still very great, and the men are kept in awe by their fear and respect for the cult. In its original form it was not by any means regarded as a mere women's defence association, for the Njembe "protect women during pregnancy and in other ways claim to be useful." Every Mpongwe woman is expected to belong to Njembe, and initiation was formerly regarded as a sort of religious duty and as a solemn and sanctifying act. At the present day girls, even if recalcitrant, are compelled to join. There are various degrees of initiation: there is a supreme head, or Mother, but so faithfully are the secrets of the society kept that no one knows who she is. Even women converted to Christianity, and who have married Europeans and left the society, will on no account impart any information concerning it. Europeans who have endeavoured to obtain a glimpse of the rites have barely escaped with their lives, and have been compelled to pay heavy fines as compensation in order that the curse pronounced upon them, the effects of which rendered their lives unbearable, should be withdrawn. Little, accordingly, is known of those rites except that, as is the case with most women's religious societies in Africa, the meetings are held in secluded glades in the forest; a sacred fire, which must be tended day and night for a fortnight while the meeting lasts, is a feature of the cult. The women strip naked and dance, and must continue to dance until they are exhausted; phallic symbols and fescennine songs are a part of the ritual; "yet those women, when their Njembe adjourned, resumed in their individual capacities their usual apparent modesty which, as a collective body, they had cast aside." The cult is also associated with serpents, and each woman must catch and carry one of the small snakes which live in holes in the mangrove roots. There are, besides the secret sessions of the sisterhood, public ceremonies at which the men may be present, and at one of those ceremonies a man is even employed to perform on the drum.[1]

The above description appears to apply in its essential features to most of the women's societies in Africa. In Liberia the women's society is called 'The Women's Devil Bush.' Should a man maltreat one of his wives and a complaint be lodged by her, the delinquent invariably dies poisoned. "If the tribe decides to go to war, the

[1] R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, pp. 249 sqq. Cf. J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa, its History, Condition and Prospects*, pp. 396 sq.; R. Burton, *Two Trips to Gorilla Land*, pp. 81 sq.

declaration of war is not complete until it has been referred to the women and they have approved of it." [1] In Sierra Leone the Bunda women's society to which all the women belong is viewed with extreme reverence by both men and women. Their rites, as in other instances, are held in the forest.[2] In the Cameroons the cult of Mboandem is exclusively served by women, who enjoy thereby great influence and power.[3] Among the Pangwe also there is a women's secret society, known as Mawungu.[4] In the Congo the cult of the Nkamba fetich " is the province of the native women, from which the men are rigorously excluded." [5] The Kabwir society is another exclusive women's association of the Congo which wields enormous power. The high-priestess, called Wakioma, is supreme in religious influence throughout the Luba country.[6] Among the Ekoi of southern Nigeria the great goddess Nimm is the special object of the women's devotion. " Her cult, founded according to tradition by a divine woman who came down to earth for the purpose, seems to provide satisfactory expression for the religious feelings of her human sisters. When one priestess gives a dance the townspeople are supposed to bring offerings of roasted corn cobs, palm oil, and pieces of dried nsum flesh. In the old days a Nimm woman never appeared outside her compound without a Juju knife in her left hand and the symbolic white Ebokk feather in the right. These are now obligatory only on occasions of ceremony." [7] In this instance, as in several others, the men participate, though only as uninitiated outsiders, in the public cult of the women. That is also the case in the Bulindu society of the Congo ; great religious dances are performed in which the men take part, but none may be present at the secret celebrations and ceremonies of the cult.[8]

The rules of the Attonga sisterhood of Sierra Leone are remarkable as regards the participation of the men. This is a women's society whose chief festival is held in connection with the

[1] C. C. Penick, " The Devil Bush of West Africa," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, ix, p. 221.

[2] T. J. Alldridge, *A Transformed Colony, Sierra Leone*, pp. 209, 220 sqq. ; Id., *The Sherbro and its Hinterland*, pp. 136 ; J. M. Harris, " Some Remarks on the Origin, Manners, Customs and Superstitions of the Gallinias People of Sierra Leone," *Memoirs Read before the Anthropological Society of London*, vol. ii, pp. 32 sq.

[3] A. Mansfeld, *Urwald Dokumente, vier Jahre unter den Crossflutnegern Kameruns*, p. 70.

[4] G. Tessmann, *Die Pangwe*, vol. ii, p. 94.

[5] G. C. Claridge, *Wild Tribes of Tropical Africa*, p. 9.

[6] R. P. Colle, *Les Baluba*, vol. ii, pp. 618 sq.

[7] P. Amaury Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, pp. 94 sqq.

[8] R. P. Colle, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 617.

rice harvest; the cult of the dead members of the society is also an object of special devotion. They have a graveyard attached to the temple where the high-priestess resides. This is a large building found in every town where an Attonga centre exists. The graves are marked with standing stones at which sacrifices are offered and rice presented; when a member of the Attonga dies all the Attonga women of the neighbourhood repair to the temple and reside there for three months. No men are admitted to the rites of the society; but "if a man happens, through ignorance or inadvertency, to enter an Attonga house, he is made one of the society, though contrary to his inclination." The male initiate 'malgré lui' is henceforth regarded as a woman, and when he dies he cannot be buried in the men's graveyard, but his bones must repose under a standing stone in an Attonga cemetery.[1]

Special interest attaches to those societies of which both men and women may be members One of the most powerful and widespread religious associations in the southern Sudan and the Niam-Niam country, the Bir society, is open to both men and women; but the women perform the essential ritual function of maintaining, like the Roman Vestals, the sacred fire.[2] Among the Batwa, a timid and conservative tribe of fisherfolk which dwells in the swamps around Lake Bangwenlu, there is a secret society called Butwa, which consists of both men and women. It is governed by five officials of each sex. But the women play the chief part in the organisation. The female hierophants are called "the mothers of the Butwa mysteries." They administer the initiation oath to the neophytes. Batwa women compel their husbands to join the society.[3] In the Purrah society of Sierra Leone, whenever a man is admitted, he is obliged to be introduced and accompanied by some female relative, such as his sister, who is initiated at the same time; unaccompanied gentlemen are not admitted. The head of the society is a woman.[4] The Romena society is likewise open to men and women,[5] as are also the Deh-Boi and Poro societies of Nigeria.[6] In the Idiong society of Old Calabar,[7] and in

[1] T. Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans of the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone*, vol. i, pp. 241 sq.

[2] "Secret Societies of the South Sudan," *Sudan Notes and Records*, iv, pp. 206 sq.

[3] D. Campbell, "A Few Notes on Butwa: an African Secret Society," *Man*, xiv, pp. 76 sqq.

[4] T. J. Alldridge, *A Transformed Colony, Sierra Leone*, pp. 276 sqq.; Id., *The Shebro and its Hinterland*, pp. 132 sq.

[5] N. W. Thomas, *Anthropological Notes on Sierra Leone*, Part i, p. 151.

[6] R. E. Dennett, *Nigerian Studies*, p. 56.

[7] H. P. F. Marriott, "The Secret Societies of West Africa," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxix, p. 23.

the Sumbo society of Loango,[1] both men and women are likewise admitted. The Elung society of the Cameroons is an exclusive men's society, but the wife of the head of the association is 'ex officio' a member.[2] Many such societies open to both sexes are known to exist in the Upper Congo region, but great secrecy is observed in regard to them, and information is difficult to obtain.[3] The Lubuku of the tribes of the Lubua river consists of men and women,[4] and the Ndembo of the Upper Congo closely resembles it.[5] Another is found in the Luba district, and is known as the Bulungu society. In the ceremonial meals which form part of its observances the women are waited on by the men. There are both male and female hierophants or chiefs of the society; but the women Bulungu chiefs hold the supreme authority, and are regarded with great dread as powerful witches. At his initiation the neophyte swears allegiance to the high-priestess, saying, "You are my mother; I cannot betray you." A detailed tradition relates that the society was formerly an exclusive women's society, and that the women consented to communicate the secret of their rites to the men and to admit them to their cult.[6]

What is more, some of the most influential religious societies of West Africa, from which women are at the present day excluded on pain of death, were, we are told, originally instituted by women and were exclusively women's societies. One of the best-known and most influential secret societies of West Africa is the Egbo, which flourished among the Efik and Ekoi people. On the death of a chief, the Egbo, or spirit of the society, is supposed to flee from the village, and the other members of the association run after him, catch him, and bring him back. Sometimes, however, they fail to find him. In that case "they are forced to enlist the services of an old woman, who must belong to the ruling family. At her call the spirit returns, although he has refused to pay attention to the summons of any man. This need to ask the help of a woman seemed strange in a society from which women are excluded on penalty of death from witnessing the rites." On enquiring into the cause, Mr. Amaury Talbot was told that the Egbo society was originally a women's society, and that the men had learned their secrets and their rites,

[1] A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, vol. ii, p. 183.

[2] M. Buchner, *Kamerun*, p. 26.

[3] *Annales de Musée du Congo Belge*, Série iii, tome i, fascicule 2; "Religions," pp. 204, 206.

[4] C. S. L. Bateman, *The First Ascent of the Kasaï*, pp. 183 sq.

[5] G. Bentley, *Pioneering in the Congo*, vol. i, p. 284.

[6] R. P. Colle, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 572 sqq.

and then forbidden the women to participate in them. The original discoverers of the Egbo were some women in the Cameroons who found the first 'Egbo' by the waterside where it had been deposited by a divine woman who had come to earth to instruct her sisters in the secrets of the cult.[1] At the time of the new year yam festival, the members of another men's society assemble and perform rites, which include songs by a member chosen for his sweet voice. He is dressed in women's clothes, and is called 'The Mother of Ekong.' Unless he is present no blessing can be expected on the coming year. This society is also declared to have been formerly an exclusive women's society.[2] The most terrible and influential society of the Cross-River country of Western Africa is that known as Ekkpo Njawhaw, or 'The Ghosts.' Women are rigorously excluded, and many have been known to be killed for unwittingly trespassing on the mysteries. Yet it is expressly stated that this society was originally a women's society, and its spiritual head, or 'juju,' is still called 'The Mother of Ekkpo Njawhaw.' In the old days, say the natives, "Ibibio women were more powerful than the men, for to them alone the mysteries of the gods and of secret things were known." [3] The Bechuana state that their tribal initiation ceremonies were instituted by a woman. She first initiated her husband, and then the men asked to be also initiated. When they had learned the initiation rites they killed the woman. Since then the women have not been allowed to become acquainted with the initiation, and the rite "came to belong to the men, whereas it used to belong to the women." [4]

Those statements, for which, if they were groundless inventions, it would be difficult to imagine a motive, coming as they do from close male associations from which women are at the present day severely excluded, are in entire accordance with the facts which we have already come upon; for it would be difficult to conceive how, in religious societies composed of both sexes, the women should come to occupy the dominant position if the institutions had originally been established by men. And anyone who is disposed to shrink from the conclusion to which, taken as a whole, those facts appear to point, namely, that religious societies in Africa were in their origin exclusively or chiefly established by the women, and that the men's associations have been formed in imitation, or by subversion of the women's magical societies, should endeavour

[1] P. A. Talbot, *The Women's Mysteries of a Primitive People*, pp. 193 sq.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 203.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 195 sq.
[4] W. C. Willoughby, "Notes on the Initiation Ceremonies of the Becwana," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix, p. 229.

to formulate and work out the opposite hypothesis, namely, that the existing women's societies have arisen as secondary imitations of religious institutions founded by the men. The difficulties that confront such an hypothesis would, I think, prove even more insuperable than the inversion of the traditional assumption as to what is the natural sphere of the activities of each sex in such matters.[1]

Associations in every respect similar to the so-called 'secret societies' of Africa are found in most parts of Melanesia. Although the religious aspects of those associations have lost a great deal of their importance, and many of them are run "on purely business lines,"[2] their original character, as primitive religious associations for the practice of magical arts, is sufficiently evident. In some the candidate "was taught how to curse his enemies in the most telling manner; in another how to prepare love-philters for his own use, or for the use of those who paid him for them; in another he was shown the secrets of Agagara or witchcraft, and taught how easy it was to make a man sicken and die as he pleased."[3] Once more we come upon the bogey function of frightening women by means of pretended ghosts, weird sounds produced by special devices, bull-roarers, etc., which

[1] Dr. Hutton Webster, in his admirable work on *Primitive Secret Societies*, scarcely takes any account of women's societies, and proceeds on the view that "the admission of women is characteristic of the disintegration of secret societies" (p. 121), and that "in some instances the African women are powerful enough to form secret societies of their own, obviously modelled on those of the men" (p. 120 n.). It is extremely difficult to perceive on what evidence Dr. Webster arrives at such conclusions. So far as regards the 'disintegration' of secret organisations it would seem that secret societies to which women are admitted are more generally prevalent in the remoter and more inaccessible districts of the interior and the Upper Congo, while exclusive men's societies flourish among the more sophisticated and less primitive coast tribes. Nor can it be easily imagined in what manner Dr. Webster would reconcile his view with the circumstances above noted concerning the societies about which information is available. He speaks of women being 'admitted' to men's societies, but how, on his view, is the fact to be explained that men are admitted into many societies which are predominantly women's societies and are governed by female officials? Apart from such definite and direct evidence the fact that the secret societies of West Africa, and also those of Melanesia and other parts of the world, should have been originally women's societies or societies in which women took the leading part, follows, as we shall see, almost as an inevitable consequence when the essential nature of those religious associations is understood.

[2] E. G. von Pfeil, "Duk Duk and other Customs as forms of Experience of the Melanesian Intellectual Life," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii, pp. 190 sq.

[3] G. Brown, "Life History of a Savage," *Report of the Seventh Meeting of Australian Association for the Advancement of Science* (Sydney, 1898), p. 781.

we have met with in other parts of the world. At the present day, however, those methods have, in Melanesia, lost much of their terror, and the women, while they keep up the pretence of being greatly frightened by the strangely masked figures and uncouth noises, know all about the supposed bogeys, and are ready to laugh heartily over the matter. As elsewhere, again, we come upon the same traditions as to the origin of those practices and associations. In the Banks Islands and the Torres Group, which, according to Dr. Codrington, is " undoubtedly the chief seat of these societies," they are known as ' tamate,' that is, The Ghosts. Concerning them the natives say that " a woman received from a ghost whom she saw in a tree an image with the hat and cloak of a ' tamate,' and that she kept this hidden behind a partition in her house. It became known that she had something wonderful concealed, and she admitted the men on payment to a private view. When those who had partaken of the secret were numerous enough, they took it out of the woman's hands, made a lodge for themselves, were taught by the image, which was all the while itself a ghost, how to make the dress, and thus set up the first ' tamate ' association, with the strictest exclusion of all women ever afterwards." [1] In Vanua Lava the instruments by means of which the ghostly noises are produced are said in local tradition to have been stolen from a woman.[2] In Duke of York Island the most important secret society is the Dukduk, to which nearly all the men belong, and into which the youths are initiated ; the women are rigidly excluded, and must on no account even approach the sacred grounds where the rites are celebrated. Yet we are told that " the first ' dukduk ' was found by a woman at Birara, New Britain, floating on four cocoanuts. She dressed it, and soon exhibited it, and got lots of money. The men, however, got jealous, and said that women were not tall enough for it, and so they bought it and forbade women to go near it ever afterwards." [3] As in the West African societies, the head of the Dukduk societies, who is called ' Tubuan,' that is to say, ' the Old Woman,' is a man who impersonates a woman, dresses in female attire, and is spoken of as ' she.' ' She ' usually changes her name for that of a woman, except in rare cases when ' she ' assumes the name of a deceased chief.[4] A similar society, the Nanga, is found in Fiji ; and, according to Dr. Codrington, " it

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 76. " From this story," Dr. Codrington thought, " nothing can be learnt concerning the origin of so widely spread an institution."

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[3] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 68.

[4] R. H. Rickard, " The Dukduk Association of New Britain," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria*, iii, p. 71.

is reasonable to suppose direct connection in origin between this and those that flourish in the islands farther west." [1] But in the Fijian society men and women are admitted on equal terms.[2]

In British New Guinea, again, the ceremonies of initiation of young men, which constitute the chief religious observances of the people, are said by the Masuigam to have been instituted by a woman.[3] So likewise, in the Island of Tumleo, off the coast of northern Papua, the Mokrakun society is conducted under the auspices of a female ghost. The local tradition relates that at one time the women possessed the secrets of magic, and that the Mokrakun ghost belonged to them. The men, however, drove the women from the village and carried away the ghost to their own clubhouse.[4]

We thus find identical traditions in such widely different parts of the uncivilised world as Australia, Tierra del Fuego, the Amazon Valley, West Africa, Melanesia, and New Guinea, to the effect that the rites from which women are at the present day excluded were once either instituted by the women, or that they took the leading part in them. Those traditions repeat the conclusion which has been reached independently in regard to Indonesia, America, Northern Asia, and Northern Europe, that magical practices and primitive priestly functions formerly belonged to the exclusive sphere of women and that they have been taken up by men at a comparatively late epoch. And when we consider the nature of those functions, that view, far from appearing extravagant, would seem, on the contrary, to be the most natural and plausible.

Powers of Witchcraft ascribed to Women.

In its primitive phases religion is indistinguishable from magic. It is needless to enter here into any discussion of the distinctions between the two, distinctions which depend to a large extent upon previous definitions. Let the fact suffice that all religion began as practical and concrete wonder-working, and that the priestly function was the function of the sorcerer. But that magical power is no other than the power of witchcraft. The distinction between magic and

[1] R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

[2] L. Fison, " The Nanga, or Sacred Stone Enclosure of Wainimala, Fiji," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv, pp. 16 sqq.

[3] B. A. Hely, in *Annual Report on British New Guinea*, 1893–94, p. 54; A. C. Haddon, " Migrations of Culture in British New Guinea," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, I, p. 257.

[4] M. J. Erdweg, " Die Bewohner der Insel Tumleo, Berlinhafen, Deutsch-Neu-Guinea," *Mittheilungen der Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien*, xxxii, p. 294.

witchcraft has reference not to the means employed or the nature of the powers used, but to the purpose to which they are put. Setting aside, for the present, that distinction, primitive religious magic and witchcraft are identical.

The power of witchcraft is, however, universally regarded as appertaining specifically to women. The witch is a woman; the wizard is but a male imitation of the original wielder of magic power. "Women are all witches," is everywhere an axiom of primitive thought; every woman, wherever magic powers are believed in, is credited with the possession of those powers because she is a woman. Thus among the Eskimo of Greenland all old women are regarded as witches.[1] Among the North American Indians "the women especially are suspected of having to do with the business (of witchcraft) which, having for its object to produce mischief, comes to be regarded with horror and obliges them to hide their iniquitous mysteries."[2] "All the South American Indians who still remain under the influence of sorcery and empiricism," says von Tschudi, "consider women in the light of impure and evil beings, and calculated to injure them."[3] The Ainu regard dangerous spirits as the ghosts of women, and look with dread upon all old women, who wield great power over the men in consequence.[4] The Chukchi declare that "woman is by nature a shaman."[5] In New Britain "the power of the women was due to their reputation as witches who might do harm."[6] In New Guinea "the people will have it that all evil spirits are female. They are all women or enter women, giving them terrible power."[7] Tradition in many different parts of the world ascribes the first practice and the teaching of magic arts to a woman.[8] In Nigeria, among the Ekiti, "wizards are by no means so powerful as witches."[9] In Sierra Leone, although, as in other parts of Africa, witches may be male or female, yet the power of witchcraft, which is considered to be inherited, can be derived only from the individual's mother.[10] In Kikuyu all old women "know how to make medicine," and "are filled with

[1] A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Den andra Dicksonska expeditionen till Grönland*, pp. 74, 467 sq.; H. Rink, *Tales of the Eskimos*, p. 53.

[2] J. F. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. i, p. 373.

[3] J. J. von Tschudi, *Travels in Peru*, p. 405.

[4] J. Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore*, p. 233.

[5] W. Bogoras, cited by M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 243.

[6] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 200.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

[8] E. Casalis, *Les Bassoutos*, p. 289; J. Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 109; D. G. Brinton, *Nagualism*, p. 34; M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 244 n.[1]

[9] O. Temple, *Notes on the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, p. 103.

[10] N. W. Thomas, *Anthropological Report on Sierra Leone*, Part i, p. 46.

intelligence." [1] They are looked upon with the utmost dread by the men ; on meeting one a man will generally turn out of the way. Some European residents once asked a chief to send away some old women who, for some reason, were troublesome and objectionable ; but the chief replied that he did not dare to do so. The native police were next ordered to remove the old dames, but it was quite impossible to get the dusky constables to take any step in the matter, for they were even afraid to speak to them.[2] Among the Arabs witches are much more numerous than male sorcerers.[3] In India, according to Molwa, every woman was suspected of being a witch, and the same test was applied, by ducking her in a pond and seeing if she would float, as in Europe.[4] In ancient Babylon, the classical land of magic, the same notions were held with regard to the special magical powers of women as in every other country and age. " The sorcerers," says Professor Jastrow, " might be male or female, but, for reasons which are hard to fathom, the preference was given to females. Accordingly, it happens that among the Babylonians, as in mediaeval Europe, the witch appears more frequently than the male sorcerer." [5]

The power of witchcraft belongs particularly to old women, for it is a common notion that such power is counteracted by childbearing, so that a mother is not so dangerous as a woman past the childbearing age, or a young unmarried woman.[6] It is, of course, not inconsistent with the character of a young and beautiful woman to be bewitching. The Arabs, indeed, are convinced that a man, when he falls in love, is invariably the victim of magical practices.[7] The notion, which is by no means peculiar to the Arabs, is explained in detail by Giovan Battista Dalla Porta, who traces the physiological basis of the accident of falling in love to the magical properties of menstrual blood. " This efflux of beams out of the eyes," he says, " being the conveyers of spirits, strike through the eyes of those they meet, and flye to the heart, their proper region, from whence they rise ; and there being condensed into blood, infect all his inward parts. This strange blood, being quite repugnant to the nature of

[1] W. S. and K. R. Routledge, *With a Primitive People, The Akikuyu*, pp. 137, 139.

[2] C. W. Hobley, *Bantu Belief and Magic*, p. 195.

[3] J. Wellhausen, *Reste des arabischen Heidentums*, p. 150.

[4] C. Coleman, *The Mythology of the Hindus*, p. 305.

[5] M. Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylon and Assyria*, p. 267.

[6] W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 415 ; H. Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu*, p. 443.

[7] J. Wellhausen, *Reste des arabischen Heidentums*, p. 160. Cf. J. Bruce, *Travels to discover the Source of the Nile*, vol. ii, p. 19.

man, infects the rest of him, and maketh him sick; and there this contagion will continue as long as he has any warm blood in his body. But that all things may be distinctly explained, you must know first that there are two kinds of fascinations mentioned by authors: one of Love, the other of Envy and Malice. If a person is ensnared with the desire of a fair and beautiful woman, although he be caught at a distance, yet he taketh the poyson in at his eyes, and the image of her beauty settleth in the heart of this lover, kindleth a flame there, which will never cease to torment him. For the soft blood of the beloved, being strayed thither, maketh continual representations of her: she is present there in her own blood. But it cannot settle or rest there, for it continually endeavoureth to flye homeward, as the blood of a wounded person spirts out on him that giveth the blow. But if it be a fascination of Envy or Malice, that hath infected any person, it is very dangerous, and is found most often in old women. And you will find more women than men witches."[1]

A learned Italian bishop, in the seventeenth century, endeavoured to fathom the reason for that peculiar fact, and devotes a whole chapter to the discussion of the question "Why witchcraft appertains to women and not to men." "Let us see," he begins, "why it is that maleficent arts or witcheries are practised more by women than by men, for, indeed, for one wizard or necromancer that one may see one finds ten thousand women." His enquiry, although systematic, scarcely gives the impression of having tracked the phenomenon to its cause. The reasons which he gives are: first, the cunning of the devil; secondly, the nature of women; thirdly, their credulity; fourthly, their vainglory; fifthly, their love and hatred; sixthly, their unbridled sinfulness.[2]

In discussing the prominent part played by women in the practice of the arts of witchcraft and primitive magic, modern anthropologists have very generally sought to account for the fact by reasons similar to those offered by Bishop Bollani, by reference, namely, to the nature of women. Women, it has been pointed out, suffer more from nervous instability than men; they are subject to hysteria and temporary delusions. Such nervous disturbances and the manifestations to which they give rise are similar to, or identical with, what is universally recognised by uncultured peoples as constituting the state of 'possession' in which primitive priestesses and shamanesses become the medium and instrument of supernatural powers, prophesy, and work miracles. That hysterical nature of shamanistic or prophetic possession may have a good deal to do with the choice of women as mouthpieces of the gods in

[1] G. B. Dalla Porta, *Natural Magick*, pp. 230 sq.
[2] Mons. D. Bollani, *De gli errori popolari d'Italia*, foll. 208 sq.

certain phases of religious development. But 'possession' is connected with particular forms of the magic or prophetic art only; it is not necessary to be in an hysterical fit in order to work witchcraft. I cannot but regard the wholesale explanation of the reputation of primitive women as witches by reference to their hysterical nature as not being adequate or fundamental. The special liability of women to hysterical manifestations appears, in point of fact, to be far less pronounced in primitive than in civilised races. Hysterical women are for the most part idle and pampered women suffering from the effects of unnatural inhibitions of their sexual functions. There are no such women in primitive societies; the hard-working, practical, realistic, and naturalistic primitive woman is not the sort of person who is liable to 'nerves.' Nervous and hysterical phenomena amongst primitive races are found almost as commonly in men as in women. The form of hysteria known as 'arctic hysteria,' which is regarded as closely connected with shamanistic powers in northern Asia, though said to be more common among women than among men,[1] appears to be quite prevalent among the latter.[2] The analogous phenomena noted in Indonesia appear from the reports to have reference almost exclusively to men.[3] The men in Australian tribes commonly have attacks of hysteria, during which they yell, foam at the mouth and dance till exhausted; nothing is said about the women.[4] In Natal, converted negroes are subject to violent fits of hysteria.[5] Primitive medicine-men, shamans, are quite as liable to extravagant exaltation as female practitioners. On the other hand, the women who are usually singled out as natural witches are the old women who are past the childbearing age; and that is not the age at which women are liable to hysterical manifestations; hysteria is a disease of youth.

It seems unnecessary to have recourse to physiological and psychological theories to explain the attribution of powers of witchcraft to women. Women, we are told, exercise power because they are regarded as witches; but it seems equally probable that they were originally regarded as witches because they exercised power. If our conclusions as to the position of women in the most primitive societies are not illusory, it was by their instincts and their will that those societies were mainly ruled. The Seri Indians are in all the activities of their tribal life ruled by their women; those women are reputed great

[1] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 319.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 309 sqq.
[3] H. Clifford, *Studies in Brown Humanity*, pp. 186 sqq.
[4] R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i, p. 466.
[5] M. Callaway, "On Divination and Analogous Phenomena among the Natives of Natal," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, i, p. 171.

witches, but there is no indication, and it appears highly improbable, that the social organisation of the Seri Indians is the outcome of their dread of the women's witchcraft. The great magical reputation of the women, to whom even the preparation of the men's weapons is entrusted, is, on the contrary, in all probability, the natural consequence of their position in Seri society. If in the primitive constitution of human groups the elder women were genealogically and socially the heads of the groups, mediation between their children and supernatural powers, and any function of a religious character would naturally fall to their lot. The primitive mother is, by virtue of natural position and function, the wielder of domestic magic. Among the Chukchi it is the mistress of the house who applies the sacred paint to all members of the family; she has charge of the sacred objects, and performs all the religious functions connected with the household. "Consequently the women are more expert than the men in the details of the ceremonial," and "the incantations and spells which are connected with household charms are better known by the women." The same is true of the Eskimo.[1] Among the Patagonians the magic or religious functions of the household are the exclusive concern of the mother of the family.[2] Among the ancient Germans, Caesar tells us, "it was the custom that the mothers of the families should declare unto them what they should do through divinations and vaticinations." [3]

The supernatural source from which magic powers are regarded as being primarily derived is, we shall see, connected in the closest manner with the functions of women; the magic faculties which it imparts to them are, according to primitive conceptions, as much a part of their natural constitution as are their reproductive functions. That same power, used in a dread-inspiring manner, was primitive woman's natural means of enforcing her authority when circumstances demanded its exercise; it was her substitute for physical force. Her power was that of pronouncing curses, of casting spells. It was by that power, if our conclusions are correct, that were originally imposed upon mankind those dreaded sexual tabus which have played so momentous a part in the history and development of the race.

The diabolic nature so generally ascribed to women, not only by Christian fathers, but by all humanity from the most primitive phases of culture, is rather the expression of the dread with which women were originally regarded than the cause of that dread. The authority which the natural constitution of primitive

[1] W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, pp. 358 sqq.
[2] F. Lacroix, *Patagonie, Terre-de-feu et Îles Malouines*, p. 30.
[3] Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, i. 50.

human groups assigned to the women, and especially to the elder women, was naturally enforced by woman's traditional weapon, her tongue; and the dread which she inspired was chiefly associated with her faculty of uttering curses or, what in primitive conceptions is the same thing, of bewitching and performing incantations. It was a dreaded power. The curse of a woman is accounted far more potent than the curse of a man. When we bear in mind the situation in which that power was exercised in primitive society it appears inevitable that revolt should have taken place against that haunting source of terror, and that self-protective measures should have been adopted. The circumstantial traditions which are found in every part of the world depict not only a probable, but an inevitable situation. It is, on the other hand, quite inconceivable that the powers ascribed to witches should have arisen as an imitation of practices invented and carried out by male magicians, and that such an alleged imitation should, nevertheless, have come to be universally regarded as a faculty appertaining to the very nature of women. The self-defensive action of the men against women's witchcraft is testified to not only by such traditions as those which we have noted, but by the universal attitude of the uncultured world. The very people who exclude women most strictly from the practice of magical and religious functions, regard them, nevertheless, as possessing in the highest degree the powers and aptitudes called for in the exercise of those functions. Thus among the Australians, where a woman is forbidden under pain of death even to touch an instrument of magic, such as a 'death bone,' the women are credited with a special faculty for witchcraft.[1] In New Zealand, where, as throughout Polynesia, religious functions are exercised almost exclusively by male sorcerers, and women are generally excluded from any part in them, they are notwithstanding feared as natural and powerful witches.[2] Everywhere women are restrained under the severest penalties from practising the arts of witchcraft. "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," is a law observed from the Arctic to the Antipodes. In Africa the practice of witchcraft is the most unpardonable sin which a woman can commit, and is punished with death. In South America "the Indian punishes evil sorcery as cruelly as he bows slavishly to what he considers legitimate magic art."[3] When a man sickens and dies it is upon his wife that

[1] W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, p. 152.

[2] G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, vol. i, p. 317.

[3] A. F. Bandelier, *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, p. 127.

the suspicion of having bewitched him first falls ;[1] and sometimes even his sister has to give assurances, or prove by ordeal, that she has not caused his death by magical arts.[2] In spite of all restraints and penalties, in spite of the counter-practice of the arts of witchcraft by male magicians, in spite of the establishment of a strict monopoly of those arts by the latter, the whole savage world lies under the terror of the magical powers of women, and Europe itself has until quite recent times been stricken with the same panic from which savage society chronically suffers. The witch-hunts and witch persecutions of Europe were but recrudescences of the primitive fear which the terrorism consciously or unconsciously exercised by primitive woman inspired.

Witchcraft and Religious Magic.

But the witches whom our near ancestors so cruelly persecuted were no other than the successors and representatives of the sacred and revered priestesses of their own forefathers, and the practices with which those unfortunate women were charged were identical with the rites of older religions. In Russia the Christian clergy have experienced the greatest difficulty in bringing the people to view the activities of witches in a proper light, and to regard them with adequate execration. Witches, on the contrary, "stood high in popular estimation," and were regarded in some respects as more sacred than the Christian priests.[3] The Russian peasant has never completely given up his faith in the old pre-Christian shamanism. When the cattle are stricken or threatened with a murrain, the following procedure is resorted to. On an appointed moonlight night all the men are confined to their houses. The women meet in the village, attired in their shifts, and with their hair dishevelled, and the oldest of them is yoked to a plough. They then go round the fields, describing a large circle, within the bounds of which, it is believed, no disease can attack the cattle.[4] The same procedure has been carried out by Russian women to allay epidemics of cholera as late as the years 1871 and 1905.[5] Even in Scotland, where witch persecution reached its height, witches were and are

[1] M. Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones*, vol. ii, p. 264; A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, vol. i, p. 46; T. Waitz, *Anthropologie*, vol. ii, p. 120.

[2] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 224.

[3] W. R. S. Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People*, p. 417.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 396.

[5] W. Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus*, p. 561; E. S. Hartland, in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. ix, p. 830, citing *The Daily Chronicle* of July 1905.

constantly appealed to for benefits and assistance. Fishermen in some districts would not put out to sea unless witches had previously performed the necessary incantations to secure fair weather and a good haul. Witches were resorted to for the cure of diseases, the protection of crops, the recovery of stolen articles.[1] In Banffshire, late in the last century, a reputed witch was held in the utmost honour by the people; she exercised her art chiefly by sprinkling them with 'holy water' from a miraculous well, and was much in demand to protect all and sundry from evil influences, and to bless and consecrate houses.[2] The witches of northern Europe were the priestesses of the more ancient cults, the lineal successors of those women in whom, the Teutons held, "there was something sacred and prophetic,"[3] and whom our Nordic ancestors deemed to be "specially experienced in the arts of prophecy."[4]

"Sorcery in a good as well as a bad sense is peculiarly a women's gift," observes Jacob Grimm, "and it may even be part of the same thing."[5] The distinction between witchcraft and the magical arts which are the primitive form of religion, between the witch and the priestess, lies exclusively in the use to which those powers and arts are put; the art and the power themselves are the same. Primitive peoples draw the distinction as definitely as did our forefathers; witchcraft is forbidden and punished, while the magical art is prized and honoured. Black shamans are distinguished from white shamans. But the distinction does not depend, as our mediaeval forefathers conceived, on the circumstance that the one kind of magic comes from supernatural powers that are good, while the other derives from supernatural powers that are bad; the one from God, the other from the devil. The distinction between 'good' and 'evil' powers, to which our theological ideas attach so much importance, is of little relevance in primitive thought, and can indeed scarcely be said to exist. "The classification of spirits into good and bad, or rather the attribution to some of qualities chiefly bad, and to others of qualities chiefly good," remarks Sieroszewski, "has only arisen very late and is not very strict."[6] To this day much confusion exists even among European peasants as to the respective characters of God and the Devil. "It is well known," observes one writer, "that the Russian peasants,

[1] W. Gregor, *Folk-lore of the North-East of Scotland*, p. 71.

[2] C. Hardwick, *Traditions, Superstitions, and Folk-lore*, pp. 274 sq.

[3] Tacitus, *Germania*, viii.

[4] Saxo Grammaticus, vii. 121. See M. A. Murray, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe*, especially pp. 19 sqq.

[5] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 397.

[6] W. Sieroszewski, "Du Chamanisme," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xlvi, p. 31.

who regard God as a stern and cruel majesty always siding with the tchinovik against the people, consider, on the other hand, Tchout (the devil) as a good, humorous, though sly, fellow, who often helps the people against their oppressors." [1]

Primitive supernatural beings are essentially such as we should classify as evil and maleficent. Power in equalitarian primitive society is intrinsically an evil thing; it is synonymous with power to harm; for benevolent action being regarded as a natural duty between members of the same group, it is not viewed as a manifestation of goodness. The Santal of Bengal "cannot understand how a being can be more powerful than himself without wishing to harm him." [2] The early missionaries were in the habit of describing all the religions of savages as devil-worship. The expression was not a mere bigoted, intolerant view of priests, branding as the work of the devil every other religion but their own. Savages, when the distinction between God and devil is made clear to them, are not in the least offended at the description, and are the first to acknowledge its accuracy. The placation of dreaded powers is the only form of 'worship' that appears natural to them, for of what use can it be to conciliate and placate a being who is by nature benevolent? They cannot comprehend that a cult or religious ceremony can have reference to any but a dangerous and maleficent being. When Livingstone took some of his negroes to the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Angola, they reported to their friends that they had seen the white men's way of exorcising devils.[3] Siberian shamans "sacrifice chiefly to the evil spirits, arguing that it is of greatest importance to disarm their ill-will." [4] The Yezidis of Armenia, at Easter-time, sacrifice a sheep to Jesus Christ and thirty sheep to the Devil, "because," they say, "he is more difficult to propitiate." [5] The natives of Kadiak, says Lisiansky, "believe in a good and a bad spirit; they worship the latter because they are afraid of his ill-will, and do not sacrifice to the former because he will cause no harm to anyone." [6] Similarly, the Patagonians take no notice whatever of the Good Spirit; their worship is addressed entirely to the Evil Spirit.[7] The rule is universal in primitive societies; the powers which are the object

[1] J. Stadling, "Shamanism," *The Contemporary Review*, 1901, vol. i, p. 92.

[2] W. W. Hunter, *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, vol. i, p. 181.

[3] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, p. 392.

[4] W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 371.

[5] J. Creagh, *Armenians, Koords, and Turks*, p. 153.

[6] U. Lisiansky, *Voyage round the World*, vol. ii, p. 75.

[7] T. Falkner, *A Description of Patagonia*, pp. 115 sq.

of primitive cult are what we should call 'evil'; 'devil' is not merely a libellous appellation applied by missionaries to savage gods, for they are truly the homologues of the Devil of Christian theology. In West Africa the spirits which are the object of religious rites are "almost all malevolent; sometimes they can be coaxed into creditable feelings of generosity and gratitude, but you can never trust them." [1] The natives of South Africa represent their gods as "mischievous, delighting to torment them in various ways." [2] The Hottentots "have a vague notion of a benevolent spirit, but have a much clearer notion about an evil spirit whom they fear, believing him to be the occasion of sickness, death, thunder, and every calamity that befalls them." [3] In Kikuyu, gods cause death, disease, and misfortune.[4] The god of the Bambala is "a malevolent being." [5] The Bongos of the Upper Nile "affirm that the only thing they know about spirits is that they do mischief." [6] Sir Richard Burton spoke to some East African Essas about God. They eagerly asked where he could be found in order that they might kill him, for "Who but he," they said, "lays waste our homes, and kills our wives and cattle?" [7] "The Eskimo religion," says Rasmussen, "does not centre round any divinity who is worshipped, but vents itself in a belief in Evil." [8] The gods of the Siouan tribes of North America "are represented as ruthless, cruel, and destructive in their disposition." [9] The deities which the Californian tribes worship "are totally bad; they have no good thing about them; they think only evil." [10] The natives of Brazil "fear rather than love a spirit who is good under compulsion only, and is maleficent without motive; he is the cause of all the misfortunes that befall them." [11] The Conichanos "are very bad Catholics; they still live in fear of the maleficent spirit Yinigama." [12] Among the tribes of the Amazon a maleficent demon "is at the bottom of all the mishaps of daily life. The idea of a spirit as a beneficent God or

[1] M. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 443.

[2] C. P. Thunberg, "An Account of the Cape of Good Hope," in Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, vol. xvi, p. 142.

[3] H. Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa*, vol. ii, p. 332.

[4] Père Caysac, "La religion des Kikuyu," *Anthropos*, v, p. 314.

[5] E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, "Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Mbala," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv, p. 418.

[6] G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 144.

[7] R. F. Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa*, p. 52.

[8] K. Rasmussen, *The People of the Polar North*, p. 126.

[9] G. H. Pond, "Dakota Superstitions," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, No. vii, p. 42.

[10] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, vol. iii, p. 158, citing S. Powers.

[11] A. d'Orbigny, *L'homme américain*, vol. i, p. 234.

[12] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 222.

Creator had not entered the mind of the Indians." [1] In Australia, concerning whose 'august supreme beings' the late Mr. Andrew Lang had a good deal to say, "the devil is a more familiar being, bearing some comparison to the Vampire of northern nations or the Ohi of the negro race, and is, like the latter, some powerful and physically developed being having power to work evil but not to do good." [2] Dr. Nixon, Bishop of Tasmania, lamented that he could find little trace amongst the natives of a belief in God, "unless, indeed, we may call by that name the dread of a malignant and destructive spirit." [3] In New Zealand "all the bad passions of life, such as fear, anger, revenge, vindictiveness, malice, remorse, sorrow, are attributed to the gods; but those sensations that render life desirable, as love, prosperity, health, etc., are supposed to exist without any divine intervention." [4] The gods of the Fijians "were malevolent, and must be appeased by propitiatory sacrifices." [5] The Kamchadals' notions of a deity were "shocking to a humanised mind. Amongst other things they reproached him with having made so many steep hills, so many small and rapid rivers, so much rain, so many stones, and in all the troubles that happen to them they upbraid and blaspheme him." [6] Of the Uriankhai tribes of the Upper Yenisei, it is said that "a look of both sadness and melancholy is stamped on their faces, as might be expected of a people who are in constant fear of the gods, dreading the evil spirits that haunt the land, and whose time is taken up with propitiating these spirits lest harm befall them." [7]

Whether those descriptions, of which many more could be be cited, are quite adequate accounts of primitive theology is not essential to our present purpose; they are accurate so far as regards practical religious operations, ritual magic, because the object of primitive religious acts is precisely to placate, to propitiate powerful, and therefore dangerous, beings who are capable of doing harm. Those beings are not always and necessarily thought of as 'evil'; but they are conceived as dangerous and irascible. They have the power to send diseases, to cause sterility in women and in animals, to bring about famine and render the earth barren; they have the power to kill. Consequently they have also the power to withhold disease and to cure, to cause fertility in women and in

[1] H. W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons*, vol. ii, pp. 404 sq.
[2] E. Thorne, *The Queen of the Colonies*, p. 318.
[3] J. Bonwick, *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*, p. 172.
[4] J. S. Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, vol. i, p. 244.
[5] B. H. Thomson, "The Kalou-Vu (Ancestor-Gods) of the Fijians," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv, p. 343.
[6] S. P. Krasheninnikoff, *The History of Kamtschatka*, p. 203.
[7] D. Carruthers, *Unknown Mongolia*, vol. i, p. 214.

the earth, to bring to life. Hence, one and the same deity is the sender of diseases and the deity of healing, the cause of sterility and the deity of motherhood and fertility, the power of death and the source of life. Interpreters of primitive religion are frequently perplexed over the apparent contradiction of good and evil attributes in primitive gods. Their difficulty arises from the circumstances that, with us, the first question as regards a strange supernatural being is whether he is benevolent or malevolent, whereas the distinction has very little importance or meaning in primitive theology. Speaking of the divine beings of the Siouan tribes of North America, Mr. Pond remarks that " evidence is wanting to show that the people divide these ' Take-Wakan ' into classes of good and evil ; they are simply ' wakan.' " [1] Among all the people of northern Asia, says Mr. Stadling, " there is in the spiritual world of shamanism no absolute contrast beween good and evil." [2] The same remarks apply generally to primitive deities ; they are not classified according to their good or bad character, but according to the sphere within which they are thought to exercise their powers, whether for good or for evil.

The priestess or priest acts, accordingly, by virtue of the inspiration derived from the same powers as those which confer their faculty upon the witch or the wizard, and they make use of the same means. The distinction lies in the use which is made of those powers in any particular instance. The priest of one tribe who, for the benefit of the tribe, bewitches and destroys its enemies is, from the point of view of the hostile tribe, a maleficent wizard. Shamans in northern Asia are, like all magical practitioners, divided into ' white ' and ' black ' shamans : but the ' white ' shaman addresses himself to the same maleficent spirits and deities as the ' black ' shaman, and will volunteer the information that he is praying to the devil.[3] The only difference between him and the black shaman depends upon what he requests the devil to do. The Samoyeds and the Lapps make no distinction between ' white ' and ' black ' shamans, but every shaman may " serve both for good and bad ends as occasion arises." [4] The distinctions between ' black ' and ' white ' magic, ' witchcraft,' and religious magic are later subsidiary differentiations, and have no application to the origin of magic arts. It is among the more highly developed Neo-Siberian races who have been " undoubtedly influenced by contact with the higher Asiatic religions," that the

[1] G. H. Pond, " Dakota Superstitions," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, No. vii, p. 33.

[2] J. Stadling, " Shamanism," *The Contemporary Review*, 1901, vol. i, p. 83.

[3] W. L. Prilonski, " Ueber der Schamanisten bei den Jakuti," in A. Bastian, *Allerlei aus Volk- und Menschenkunde*, vol. i, pp. 197 sqq.

[4] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 201.

dualistic distinction appears more distinctly; among the Palaeo-Siberians it is scarcely drawn.[1] All shamanism in northern Asia is generally called 'the Black Faith,' but that is only a name given to it by the Chinese in opposition to their own official 'Yellow Faith.'[2] Similarly among the Tlinkit of Alaska the great divine personage, Jeld, the Great Raven, who is the benefactor of men, also taught them witchcraft.[3] Among the Eskimo, as among every other uncultured people, the practice of witchcraft is forbidden and abominated; but the magic arts which constitute the ritual of actual religion and which are practised by the angakut are in every respect identical with the procedures of magic resorted to for private and maleficent purposes, or witchcraft. And, as Dr. Rink remarks, "the fact that witches were punished as transgressors of human laws and were persecuted by the angakut makes it possible that they represent the last remains of a still more primitive faith, which prevailed before the angakut sprang up and made themselves acknowledged as the only mediators between mankind and the invisible rulers of the universe."[4]

The same distinctions hold good in Africa. Thus "among the Matabele it is well understood that there were two kinds of witchcraft. One was practised by the witch-doctors and the king, such as, for instance, the 'making of medicine' to bring rain, or the ceremonies carried out by the witch-doctors to appease the spirits of ancestors. The other witchcraft was supposed to consist of evil practices pursued to cause sickness and death."[5] In West Africa "the term 'witchcraft,'" says Dr. Nassau, "which attaches itself to all fetichism, localises itself in the black art practice, which is thus preeminently witchcraft. Its practitioners are all 'wizards' and 'witches.' The user of the 'white' is not so designated. He or she does not deny the use; it is open and without any sense of criminality in the eyes of the community. But a practitioner of the black art denies it, and carries on his practice secretly." But "the same 'medicines,' the same dances, the same enchantments used in the black art are used in the professedly innocent white art; the chief difference being in the mission that the utilised spirit is entrusted to perform."[6] Witch-hunts are far more prevalent and fierce in Africa, and in all other parts of the savage world, than they were in the worst periods of European persecution and superstition. A whole class of sorcerers are specially employed in Africa to detect witches; and it has

[1] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 194.
[2] J. Stadling, *loc. cit.*
[3] A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit Indianer*, p. 292.
[4] H. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimos*, p. 53; cf. p. 42.
[5] L. Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 152.
[6] R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, pp. 116, 119.

been noted that among the Kosa Kaffir, while there are at least as many female as male sorcerers, witch-finders are mostly men.[1] But the African witch-persecutors know nothing of the distinction drawn by their European brethren between worshippers of the powers of good and traffickers with the powers of evil. They do not persecute on moral grounds, but on grounds of self-defence. Witchcraft is a civil, not a religious, offence; and witches are pursued as murderers, not as heretics. "The very men who would execute them have themselves used, or will some day use, these same black arts for the same murderous purpose."[2] Priests, that is, 'white' magicians, are constantly called upon to oblige people by performing deeds of 'black' magic. On the Gold Coast "members of the priesthood are frequently applied to to procure the death of persons who have injured or offended the applicants." The god who is thus "induced to gratify a personal enmity must be the god which the applicant generally worships; and it is imagined to be an extension of the protection granted by the god to his worshipper"; which notion does not differ fundamentally from that of the ancient Hebrew beseeching his god to destroy his enemies. The priest may direct the faithful as to the means to be employed to put the detested person out of the way, such as procuring a lock of his hair and performing the necessary incantations; and he may even assist him to the extent of causing poison to be administered to the victim, as an adjuvant to those incantations. If a charge of witchcraft or murder results from those proceedings, the client of the priest will probably be put to death, and also the whole of his family, as probable accessories to the crime. But the priest himself is held guiltless; for he "is regarded simply as the mouthpiece of the god and irresponsible; and it is the person who, through the priest, seeks the assistance of a god for lethal purposes that is adjudged guilty of the crime." "The crime of procuring, or endeavouring to procure, death through a god, has been termed by the English on the Gold Coast 'witchcraft,' a word which does not by any means convey a correct idea of the nature of the offence."[3] Among the Patagonians, magic and religious functions were, as we have seen, almost exclusively in the hands of the women, and the priestesses were regarded with the utmost reverence; but such was the dread that the powers which they were believed to possess should be used for evil purposes that fierce outbursts of witch-persecution took place, as fanatical as any in European records.[4] It is thus a mere chance that among the

[1] A. Kropf, *Das Volk der Xosa-Kaffern*, pp. 201 sq.

[2] R. H. Nassau, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[3] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, pp. 142 sqq.

[4] G. C. Spegazzini, "Costumbres de los Patagones," *Anales de la Sociedad científica Argentina*, xviii, p. 237.

Patagonians the men have not, as among the Fuegians, arrogated to themselves the use of magic and excluded the women from its exercise.

Witches are thus, in every part of the world as in seventeenth-century Europe, dreaded and pursued; but neither in Europe nor among uncivilised races are witches thought of as possessing a power that is exclusively and necessarily evil in itself. That power does not differ from other forms of magical power, and can as effectively be applied to good as to evil purposes. The primitive witch was dreaded not because she was necessarily maleficent, but because she was possessed of magical power; and all magical power is dreaded and regarded as dangerous, not because it is habitually employed to do harm, but because it is susceptible of being so used, even if commonly exercised for objects beneficial to all.

Such a power, when wielded by one sex alone, must inevitably be regarded with dread and terror by the other sex. It is little wonder that men have endeavoured to restrain women from using it, to deprive them of the monopoly of magic, and to acquire the secrets of the art. That desire has not arisen solely from the paramount value and importance attached to magical power, but also from the need of protecting themselves against the arts of the witch by means of similar measures. Men have, apart from all other considerations, been compelled to adopt the magical practices of women in self-protection. When religious magic comes to be exercised by organised male priesthoods the illicit practice of the art by women is necessarily regarded as presumably malignant in intention, and the dread attaching to such private use of magic by women overshadows the sentiment of the beneficial uses which such feminine powers might serve; the magic woman who is no longer a priestess must of necessity be a witch.

The power to which natural death is invariably ascribed in primitive conceptions, the memory of the curses which imposed the primal prohibitions and tabus, have survived in the dread with which the supernatural powers ascribed to women are regarded, and are embodied in the universal doctrine that evil and death, 'sin' and the curse attaching to it, were first introduced into the world by woman. Woman is in the sentiment of advanced societies looked upon as 'impure,' as evil, nay, as the prime source of evil and of the impurity of sin. But the notions of impurity and of evil do not exist in that form in the most primitive thought, and there is originally no clear demarcation between such 'evil' and 'holiness.' Both are 'sacred' qualities, in the primitive sense of the conception, that is, fraught with unknown danger. Woman, in the Christian tradition, brought death and the

first curse, and sin into the world. That view is not peculiar to Christian tradition; it is universal. In the myths of the North American Indians the first woman was the cause of all evil and brought death into the world. Father Lafitau compares her to Eve.[1] The northern Déné hold the same doctrine. "They have not forgotten," observes Father Petitot, "the ancient tradition which modern superior persons affect to disbelieve."[2] The Eskimo also believe that death was brought into the world by a woman.[3] The ancient Mexicans ascribed all the miseries of the world to the first woman, whom Father Sahagun and Don Pedro Ponce identify with Eve.[4] The first woman is regarded as having brought death into the world by the Baila of Rhodesia,[5] by the natives of Calabar,[6] by the Baluka, the Kosai, and the natives of Equator Station,[7] and by the Balola of the Congo.[8] The tribes round Lake Tanganyika relate how a woman brought about the destruction of mankind;[9] and the Wanyamwezi believe that men would have been immortal but for the first woman who introduced death into the world.[10] Among the Baganda the first woman was the sister of Death and the cause of human mortality.[11] The Kabyls of the Sahara ascribe the origin of death to the first woman.[12] Woman is likewise held responsible for the origin of death in Melanesia.[13] The Igorots of Luzon have a legend to the effect that the first woman instigated men to fight; previously they had lived in peace with one another.[14] Woman is, in fact, universally regarded as having brought death into the world and all our woe.

[1] J. F. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. i, p. 245. Cf. *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. iii, p. 118; L. Hennepin, *Voyage à un très-grand pays*, pp. 88, 90.

[2] E. Petitot, *Dictionnaire de la langue Déné-Dindjié*, p. xxiii.

[3] H. Egede, *A Description of Greenland*, p. 199.

[4] B. de Sahagun, *Historia de las cosas de la Nueva España*, vol. i, pp. 5 sq.; P. Ponce, "Breve relación de los dioses y ritos de la gentilidad," *Anales del Museo Nacional*, vi, p. 5.

[5] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, p. 102.

[6] A. Bastian, *Geographische und ethnologische Bilder*, pp. 191 sq.; R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 40.

[7] H. H. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, pp. 814 sq.

[8] J. H. Weeks, *Among Congo Cannibals*, p. 218.

[9] H. H. Johnston, *loc. cit.*

[10] F. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha im Herz von Afrika*, p. 98.

[11] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, pp. 460 sq.; H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii, pp. 700 sq.

[12] L. Frobenius, *Volksmärchen der Kabylen*, vol. i, p. 89.

[13] See below, pp. 643 sq.

[14] A. E. Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, pp. 221 sq.

CHAPTER XX

THE LORD OF THE WOMEN

Dangerous Character of the Moon.

THE maleficent or, more properly speaking, the dangerous and dreaded character which is ascribed to women extends, in the conceptions of uncultured peoples, to that celestial body which is everywhere intimately associated with women, namely, the moon. The tabu with which the menstruating woman is invested attaches to the cause of menstruation also. In several of the myths to which reference has just been made, and which describe how the first woman introduced death and woe into the world, that First Woman and the Moon are one and the same person. Thus the First Woman of the traditions of the North American Indians, or Aataentsic, whom Father Lafitau compares to Eve, is no other than the moon. She is the cause of death and of all evil.[1] The Iroquois warriors, in their dances preparatory to an expedition, consecrated themselves to the moon as to the spirit of hatred and relentless vengeance ;[2] a practice which was also observed by ancient Greek warriors.[3] A Wyandot tradition relates how Aataentsic had planted on the shores of Lake Erie fever-breeding plants and trees intended to compass the destruction of

[1] J. B. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. i, pp. 244 sq. Cf. Le Jeune, in *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. viii, pp. 118, 134 ; D. Brinton, *American Hero Myths*, pp. 53 sqq. ; J. G. Müller, *Geschichte der amerikanischen Urreligionen*, pp. 150, 272, 275. Mr. Hewitt argues that Aataentsic, or, as he spells the name, E-ya-ta-hen-tsik, is not the moon but the mother of the moon (J. N. B. Hewitt, " The Cosmogonic Gods of the Iroquois," *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science for the 44th Meeting*, p. 245). But it is a commonplace of mythological literature that it is scarcely possible to draw a distinction between mother and daughter. Primitive mythopoetic fancy is not to be bound down to such exactitude and precision. According to Mr. Hewitt's interpretation Aataentsic is the ' Dark Woman ' ; but the dark moon, or new moon, is everywhere the mother of the bright moon, or full moon.

[2] F. R. de Chateaubriand, *Voyages en Amérique*, vol. i, p. 152.

[3] L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. iii, p. 152.

men.[1] The myth forcibly calls up the picture of the witch gathering magic herbs by moonlight—

> In such a night
> Medea gather'd the enchanted herbs
> That did renew old Aeson.[2]

The Mexican 'Eve' of Father Sahagun is likewise the great moon-goddess of the Mexicans.[3] A similar myth was current in New Granada. The natives related how they received their first instructions from Zuhe, their tribal god, who dwelt amongst them. Then came a woman of surpassing beauty, called Chia, that is to say, the moon, who taught doctrines exactly opposed to those which had been given out by Zuhe. She eventually caused a flood, which almost destroyed the human race. In order to save them from the evil influence of Chia, the god Zuhe exiled her to heaven and changed her into the moon.[4] The myth has parallels in most parts of the world. Thus in ancient Egypt also mankind was supposed to have been almost destroyed by fire and flood produced by the moon-goddess Hathor or Isis.[5] The prominent place which the story of the flood occupies in most mythologies is in all probability due not so much to any particular dread of the damage caused by inundations as to the direct association of those events with the moon, which is universally held to control all waters,[6] floods being, therefore, a characteristic manifestation of her destructive and maleficent character. It appears probable that the woman who destroyed

[1] F. R. de Chateaubriand, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 516.

[2] Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, act v, sc. 1.

[3] B. de Sahagun, *Historia de las cosas de la Nueva España*, vol. i, pp. 5 sq.

[4] F. de Piedrahita, *Historia general de la conquista del Reyno de Nueva Granada*, pp. 17 sq.

[5] E. A. W. Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 388; A. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 267; G. Maspéro, *The Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 164.

[6] See below, pp. 632 sqq. For an account of the widespread myths of the Great Flood see J. G. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, vol. i, pp. 146 sqq. Stories of the destruction of mankind by a great flood may, of course, be in many instances reminiscent of calamities and devastation caused by overflowing rivers. Those myths are particularly plentiful in South America, where the populations, obliged to dwell near the banks of the great rivers, constantly suffer severely from the effects of floods. But we are expressly told that with all South American peoples all floods are believed to be caused by the moon (see p. 576). Among the Macusi of British Guiana the great flood is said to have been caused by the god Makunaima, that is, 'He who wanders in the night' (R. Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, vol. ii, pp. 319 sq.). In the New Hebrides the great flood is associated with the moon-god Qat (R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 166 sq.). In the Pelew Islands the great flood appears to have been produced by the full moon (K. Semper, *Die Palau-Inseln*, pp. 195 sq.).

mankind by flooding the Tanganyika country [1] was also no other than the moon-goddess. The First Woman of the Déné Indians, who was the source of all evil and brought sin and death into the world, was 'The Woman of the Night,' that is to say, the moon.[2] In many other instances, although we are not expressly told so—mythologies leave interpretations to the listener or reader—there can be little doubt that the First Woman who is credited with introducing death into the world is the moon-goddess. The origin of death is, in fact, ascribed indifferently to a woman or to the moon, or a representative of the moon. And, on the other hand, the moon is commonly regarded as the First Woman, or the mother of mankind. It has even been suspected, probably with good reason, that Eve herself, whose name, 'Chawwa,' means the 'round one,' was originally no other than the moon.[3] Rabbinical tradition represented the mother of mankind as having at first consisted, like several other lunar deities, of only a face.[4] A missionary was once explaining to a Syrian woman's children that Adam and Eve were our first parents, but the woman's views on the subject were of a more primitive type, and she protested against her children being taught such new-fangled notions. Our first parents, she insisted, were the moon and the sun.[5]

The dangerous or maleficent influence ascribed to the moon is a principle of primitive theology which enjoys the authority of universal consent. With many uncultured peoples certain phases of the moon are, as we saw, regarded as fraught with such dangerous and inauspicious influences that it is considered inadvisable to undertake any work or enterprise at such a time. The new moon is very generally, among the more primitive peoples, regarded as the most dangerous phase. This may be because the moon is thought to be 'sick' at such a time, and naturally out of temper. Or, as some peoples explain, the suitable protective exorcisms and conciliatory rites designed to counteract the innate evil influence of the moon have not yet had time to take effect. After a few days the moon, though still fraught with danger, ceases to be quite so perilous as when she was new and unexorcised.[6]

[1] See above, p. 571.

[2] E. Petitot, "Les Déné-Dindjiés," *Congrès international des Américanistes*, 1ère Session (Nancy, 1875), vol. ii, p. 31.

[3] I. Goldziher, *Mythology among the Hebrews*, p. 210.

[4] *Berakot*, 61A, transl. A. Cohen, pp. 402 sqq.

[5] S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, p. 104.

[6] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking People of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, p. 219. In many popular beliefs, on the other hand, the waxing moon is auspicious by sympathetic association with its growing power. That view appears, however, to belong in general to more advanced phases of culture.

The Bushmen throw sand in the air and shout loudly when they see the new moon, which is their usual procedure when they wish to drive away evil spirits.[1] The Masai, when they see the new moon, throw stones at it with their left hand.[2] The Zulus, like many other peoples, beat drums, a proceeding which is thought to frighten the luminary or any evil spirits which she may have let loose upon mankind.[3] One of the most familiar lunar superstitions still current amongst ourselves is that it is unlucky to behold the new moon for the first time through glass. The primitive form of the notion, which could obviously not have reference to so recent a luxury as glass window-panes, was that it is most dangerous that the new moon should enter a dwelling-house, or, what is the same thing, that it should be seen from within the house. Hence all savages come out of their dwellings to see the new moon. The Bushmen are careful to build their huts in such a way that the moon may not shine through the door.[4] In Nigeria, among the Jukon, should the light of the moon happen to fall within the house, a sacrifice is at once offered.[5] Precautions against such a misfortune are still, or were until recently, very thoroughly carried out in Louisiana; for at the new moon the window-shutters in every house are closed and securely bolted, so as to exclude the possibility of the new moon entering.[6]

The time of the full moon, when she enjoys her fullest degree of power, may, of course, also be logically regarded as her most dangerous phase. That, as we saw, appears to have been the view taken by the ancient Babylonians and by the Hebrews. In the Trobriand Islands, off the coast of New Guinea, the ghosts of the departed are supposed to visit the living at the time of an appointed festival and provision is made for their proper entertainment during that time; but after the yearly visit steps are taken to get rid of the dangerous visitors. This has to be done at the full moon, and the people raise shouts and make a great noise to drive the spirits back to Tuma, which, no doubt, is thought to be the moon.[7]

The maleficent character of the moon is not, however, peculiar

[1] J. M. Orpen, "A Glimpse into the Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Folk-lore*, xxx, p. 145.

[2] A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 274.

[3] D. Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 110.

[4] S. S. Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen and their Language," *Journal of he Royal Anthropological Institute*, lvii, p. 80.

[5] O. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes of Northern Nigeria*, p. 177.

[6] C. Rubbens, "Préjugés en Louisiane," *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, v, p. 708.

[7] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 237.

to any of her periodical phases, to her waxing or to her waning, but is an ineradicable trait of her natural disposition. Thus, for example, the aborigines of Australia regard the moon as "very wicked," and as going up and down the world endeavouring to do all the harm it can.[1] The natives of the Solomon Islands also believe that the moon is always on the look-out to kill men.[2] The Eskimo regard the moon as the cause of all plagues and epidemics.[3] The Déné live in constant dread of the moon.[4] The Shuswap of British Columbia regard the moon as being a cannibal.[5] Among the Tartars of Central Asia the moon is also regarded as being inhabited by a giant who used to eat men;[6] and the peasants of modern Greece still regard the moon as being anthropophagous.[7] Among the Pawnees the moon is a witch who is constantly killing people, and her home is surrounded with the skulls of her victims.[8] Among the Tupi tribes of Brazil "all baneful influences, thunder and floods, proceed from the moon";[9] and the same thing is believed by the Botocudos.[10] Among the Fuegians the moon is looked upon as a sort of vampire which eats children and secretly sucks their blood.[11] The moon, say the negroes of Central Africa, "looks down over our country and seeks whom she may devour, and we poor black men are very much afraid of her on that account, and we hide from her sight."[12] In the Island of Babar, all deaths from disease are set down to the moon.[13] Among the Maori the moon was called the "man-eater," and was

[1] R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i, pp. 431 sq.; E. M. Clerke, "On the Aborigines of Western Australia," *Report of the 61st Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, p. 717.

[2] R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, p. 327.

[3] E. W. Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 431.

[4] E. Petitot, *Dictionnaire de la langue Déné-Dindjié*, p. xxxiii.

[5] J. A. Teit, "The Shuswap," *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. i, p. 735.

[6] N. M. Jadzinzew, "Ueber die Bewohner des Altai und die Tschernschen Tartaren," *Russische Revue*, xxi, p. 520.

[7] N. G. Politis, in W. H. Roscher, *Selene und Verwandtes*, p. 173.

[8] G. A. Dorsey, *The Pawnee Mythology*, Part i, p. 233.

[9] L. Spence, article "Brazil," in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. ii, p. 837.

[10] A. H. Keane, "On the Botocudos," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, p. 208.

[11] A. Cojazzi, *Los Indios del Archipelago Fueguino*, p. 81; J. M. Beauvoir, *Los Shelknam*, p. 217; P. A. Segers, "Habitos y costumbres de los Indios Aonas," *Bolletino del Institudo Geografico Argentino*, xii, p. 65.

[12] P. B. Du Chaillu, *In African Forest and Jungle*, pp. 96 sq.

[13] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 361.

the source of death.[1] Among the Dayaks the moon is called "the Evil One."[2] In Alaska, among the Tsimshiam, the moon is called "the Pest."[3] In India one of the names of the moon is Nirrti, that is, "Perdition."[4]

Precedence of the Moon in Primitive Cosmology.

In accordance with the principles of rudimentary theology, the ascription to the moon of a power dreaded and dangerous above all others is equivalent to the recognition of that power as the most important and mightiest, and as requiring more than any other to be taken into account and conciliated. The measures taken to exorcise the malignant influence of the moon correspond in primitive ritual to what we term 'worship.' In other words, the uncanny and malignant character which the moon bears in popular thought represents the predominance and supremacy of that power in primitive religious ideas.

"Moon-worship, naturally ranking below sun-worship in importance," wrote Tylor, "ranges through nearly the same districts of culture. There are remarkable cases in which the moon is regarded as a great deity by tribes who take less account, or not at all, of the sun."[5] 'Naturally' and 'of course' are dangerous expressions to use in anthropology when they imply merely what, in accordance with our own ideas and sentiments, appears obvious; and Tylor was here betrayed for once into missing one of the most fundamental facts in the development of those ideas which he described as 'animism,' and which he has done so much to elucidate. What he supposed to be "remarkable cases" constitute as a matter of fact the general rule in all quarters of the globe, and throughout those stages of culture which have preceded the development of agriculture on a considerable scale; and moon-worship, far from ranging through nearly the same districts of culture as the worship of the sun, belongs, on the contrary, to quite different cultural districts and phases. If the moon ranks below the sun in the conceptions of the majority of those peoples with

[1] J. White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. ii, p. 90; cf. p. 87.

[2] A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, vol. i, p. 415.

[3] F. Boas, "Indische Sagen von der nord-pacifische Küste," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, xxvii, p. 201.

[4] *Mahâbhârata*, i. 87. 9; *Atharvaveda*, vi. 84; J. S. Speyer, "Eene Indische verwandte van de Germanische godin Nerthus," *Handelingen en Mededeelingen van de Maatschapij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, 1901–02, p. 160.

[5] E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, p. 271.

whom we are most familiar, it is because by far the larger number of them have attained the agricultural stage of economic development. But that development marks a comparatively late event in the long evolution of the race. In all stages that have gone before it, the moon, and not the sun, was the chief object of religious ideas and observances, in so far as those ideas assumed a cosmological form and took account of the heavenly bodies; and the subsequent development of the religious conceptions of humanity has been profoundly influenced by the character which they bore in those earlier phases. Moon-worship has long preceded any form of sun-worship.

The fact has several times thrust itself upon the notice of students. "It is not the sun that first attracted the attention of the savage," remarks one writer, "we find moon-worship among almost utterly savage tribes in Africa and in America; and it is noteworthy that the moon is with them always regarded as a male, the sun as a woman; not until later are those relations inverted. From this we may infer that lunar worship is older than solar worship." [1] "There is good reason for believing," says Professor Hutton Webster, "that among many primitive peoples the moon, rather than the sun, the planets or any constellation, first excited the imagination and aroused feelings of superstitious awe or of religious veneration." [2] "The worship of the night-sky, inclusive of the moon," says Goldziher, "precedes that of the day-sky and the sun." [3] "The cult of the moon," says Dr. Schultze, "is the first and lowermost stage of the worship of the heavenly bodies." [4] Again, Dr. Welcker writes: "The moon appears to be the most widely worshipped of all natural objects. Many peoples in Africa and in America still worship it without worshipping the sun; others honour the moon much more than the sun; while, on the other hand, no people is known that worships the sun and not the moon." [5] Reversing the statement of Tylor, Dr. Payne says: "The worship of the moon naturally precedes that of the sun." [6] "Originally," says Usener, "the moon was the only deity that was worshipped." [7] "As far as can be known, the veneration of the moon has everywhere preceded the veneration of the sun," observes Reclus.[8] We shall come upon similar conclusions with

[1] F. Spiegel, "Zur vergleichenden Religionsgeschichte," *Das Ausland*, 1872, p. 4.
[2] Hutton Webster, *Rest Days*, pp. 124 sq.
[3] I. Goldziher, *Mythology among the Hebrews*, p. 72.
[4] F. Schultze, *Der Fetichismus*, p. 242.
[5] F. G. Welcker, *Griechische Gotterlehre*, vol. i, pp. 550 sq.
[6] E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, vol. i, p. 493.
[7] H. Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 288.
[8] E. Reclus, *Primitive Folk*, p. 136.

reference to particular regions and peoples, and we shall see that they are amply borne out. As a significant surviving testimony to the more primitive character and greater antiquity of moon-worship, it has been noted that in widespread popular superstitions, which are relics of the primitive ideas and conceptions of the human mind, there are scarcely any which have reference to the sun, whereas those that have reference to the moon are innumerable and universal. The cult paid to the moon survives to this day in our countryside in the form of the bowings and courtesies which are regarded as due to the moon.[1] Indeed, everywhere in popular belief "the moon appears to enjoy greater prestige than the sun." [2]

What appears to us the obvious superiority and impressiveness of the sun as the more brilliant and potent in its effects is everywhere explained away when the need for such an explanation occurs. The Nagas of Upper Burmah, for instance, consider that the sun shines by day because, being a woman, it is afraid to venture out at night, whereas the bolder male moon is alone powerful enough to face the darkness.[3] It is repeatedly pointed out, in opposition to our conception of what is 'natural,' that the moon is manifestly much more powerful than the sun, for he commands the whole host of stars, which are his children or slaves, whereas the sun, if she is a monarch at all, is without subjects and without a realm. Thus an old traveller, speaking of some unspecified tribes in India, reports that "there was other gentiles in ye Indies which worship the moon as chiefe, and their reason is: the moone, when she riseth, goeth with thousands of starres accompanied like a king, and therefore is chief; but the sunne goeth alone, and therefore not so great." [4] According to the Guaranis the light of the stars is derived from the moon.[5] Again, although the sun is more brilliant than the moon, we are assured in almost every

[1] G. F. Jackson and C. S. Burne, *Shropshire Folk-lore*, p. 256.

[2] F. Pérot, *Folklore Bourbonnais*, p. 132.

[3] J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 410.

[4] R. Wrag, "A Description of a Voiage to Constantinople and Syria," in Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, vol. vi, p. 11. Cf. A. L. Kroeber, "Cheyenne Tales," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xiii, p. 164; W. H. Bleek, *A Brief Account of Bushman Folk-lore*, p. 9; E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, *The Bakongo*, p. 815; W. S. and K. R. Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People, The Akikuyu*, p. 284; M. Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones*, vol. ii, p. 93; J. Warneck, "Studien über die Literatur der Tobabatak," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalischen Sprachen zu Berlin*, ii, p. 124; P. Du Chaillu, *Journey to Ashango-land*, p. 238; C. Delhaise, *Les Warega*, pp. 215, 279; J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stamme*, p. 557; H. N. Ivor Evans, "Some Sakai Beliefs and Customs," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlviii, p. 91.

[5] F.-J. de Santa-Anna Nery, *Folk-Lore Brésilien*, p. 253.

primitive cosmological myth that it has not always been so, and that originally the moon was equally, or even more, brilliant. Thus the Garos of Assam say that " the moon was the brighter and more beautiful of the two, and excited the envy and resentment of her brother." [1] The Metheis say that there were once two suns, but that they quarrelled and the wounded one became pale; [2] while the Huitotos of Colombia hold that the moon was once the sun and the sun the moon, but that they changed places.[3] The traditions of the Maori state that " to the moon belong the night and the day "; it formerly stretched out its limbs over all time, but has since withdrawn into the night.[4] Those universal traditions persist in advanced religions which have long since abandoned primitive lunar worship. Thus in Brahmanical literature it is stated that the sun " took to himself the moon's shine; although the two are similar, the moon shines much less, for its shine has been taken away from it." [5] In the Old Testament the moon is " the lesser light "; but in Talmudic literature, where many ancient ideas which have been expurgated by the priestly editors of the sacred text are preserved, it is stated that, when they were created, the sun and the moon were equally brilliant.[6] The Arabs likewise believe that, when God created them, the moon and the sun were equally bright; but that

[1] A. Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 85.

[2] T. C. Hodson, *The Metheis*, p. 111.

[3] K. T. Preuss, *Religion und Mythologie der Uitoto*, vol. i, p. 52. Cf. J. Mooney, " Myths of the Cherokees," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 44; F. Boas, " The Central Eskimo," *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 597; J. Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 91; J. R. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley*, p. 357; B. de Sahagun, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, vol. ii, pp. 553, 249; R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln*, vol. i, p. 327; E. Hadfield, *Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group*, p. 232; R. Neuhaus, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, vol. iii, pp. 159, 261, 493; H. Z. Wissendorff, " Légendes mythologiques Lataviennes," *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, vii, p. 553 (Livonia); F. S. Krauss, *Volksglaube und religiöse Brauch der Südslaven*, p. 13. Practically all the myths which account for the origin of the spots on the moon ascribe the loss of brilliancy of the luminary to the same cause. In one myth the loss of light of the moon is ascribed to his neglecting to take a daily bath like the sun (J. R. Swanton, *loc. cit.*). The Livonian story by which the moon's loss of brilliancy is accounted for bears a strong resemblance to that by which the worship of Aphrodite Kallipyge was explained (Athenaeus, xii. 80). The ' kallipygious ' aspect of Aphrodite is certainly lunar. In Nias the lunar deity has no head, chest, or limbs, but is all rump (H. Sundermann, *Die Insel Nias*, pp. 61 sq.).

[4] J. White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. i, p. 37.

[5] *Satapatha-Brâhmana*, xi. 9. 4. 3 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xliv, p. 130).

[6] *Monumenta Hebraica*, vol. i, p. 207; J. A. Eisenmenger, *Endecktes Judenthum*, vol. i, pp. 39 sq.; *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, vol. viii, p. 678.

the Angel Gabriel rubbed his wings against the moon and thus deprived it of part of its brightness.[1] These are the aetiological explanations of later thought to justify the fact that the moon was the primary and original object of cosmic worship, and that the sun was either entirely ignored or occupied a subordinate position.

The various suppositions which have been put forward to account for that apparently strange precedence of the moon in primitive conceptions are extremely inadequate and, some of them, manifestly erroneous. Goldziher supposes that, as nomads in hot countries are in the habit of travelling at night, the moon is more useful to them than the sun.[2] But the remark does not apply to primitive savages, such as the Eskimo, the Fuegians, the tribes of the Amazon, who will on no account move from their camp, much less travel at night, and who yet regard the moon as the supreme cosmic power. Professor Svante Arrhenius suggests that, the difference between the seasons not being so marked in the tropics as in temperate climes, the varying effects produced by the sun have not been so noticeable to populations living near the equator.[3] It would be difficult to devise a theory which more completely misfits the facts. In America, for instance, lunar worship is most pronounced among the primitive races inhabiting the two extremes, arctic and antarctic, of the continent, while it is replaced by sun-worship among the more advanced peoples of the equatorial region. Spiegel suggests that "the night-sky, whose lights form a contrast to the darkness of the earth, is more calculated to attract the gaze of the savage" than the day-sky, in which there is no contrast to the earth's darkness.[4] Tylor was misled by the deeply rooted theory current in his day, and not yet altogether abandoned, that the religious ideas of primitive man were moulded by emotional or symbolic interpretations of natural phenomena by which he was impressed; and he accordingly supposed that the sun, being more impressive than the moon, must therefore 'naturally' have been regarded as more powerful. The method of interpretation which led so acute a student into so grave an error has been applied to account for the opposite fact. Dr. Brinton, for instance, relies upon the same deceptive method of interpretation. "The night," he says, "is the time when spirits walk abroad; when sounds strike the ear with mysterious notes; when nocturnal birds stir the senses with strange

[1] Muhammad Abu Jafar al-Tabari, *Chroniques*, vol. i, pp. 11, 24.

[2] I. Goldziher, *Mythology among the Hebrews*, p. 72.

[3] S. Arrhenius, "Ueber den Ursprung des Gestirnkultus," *Scientia*, ix, p. 422.

[4] F. Spiegel, "Zur vergleichenden Religionsgeschichte," *Das Ausland*, 1872, p. 4.

cries ; when, on the other hand, the cooling zephyrs and soft moonlight bring sweet ease " ; and he concludes an eloquent passage with a quotation from Shelley.[1]

But, once more, primitive man is no more impressed with the spectacles of nature than is the boor who gapes in utter incomprehension at the enthusiasm of the picturesque traveller for scenery in which the native's eye sees nothing but the commonplace and the practical. " Children and savages," observes Höffding, " have as a rule no sense for the beauties of nature." [2] Even the most terrifying natural spectacles and phenomena which obtrude themselves in a forcible manner upon his notice are, unless they happen to be associated with some preexistent belief, regarded by the savage with a stolid indifference which is amazing to Europeans. The Zulus say that thunder is not dreadful and does no harm ; but if they believe that a particular thunderstorm is produced by a female deity they are terrified.[3] The African natives in general take scarcely any notice of earthquakes ; the Wagogo smilingly look upon an earthquake as the token of a good harvest.[4] The Hawaiians, who live on the edge of a volcano, are callously indifferent to either the magnificence or the terror of the spectacle. An observer comments on " the insensibility of their moral system," and remarks that savages " who live in dangerous climates or among alarming phenomena manifest a surprising indifference to the surrounding dangers." [5] The Maori " laugh at lightning, storms, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions." [6] When the sudden burst into activity of Mount Tarawera changed the configuration of a portion of the North Island of New Zealand, destroying two native villages, the white people were much more perturbed than the natives, who, in comparison, remained stolid and unmoved. When a comet appeared in the sky, the Arawaks of Guiana, to the surprise of Europeans, " did not show much emotion," while the colonists were wrought with excitement and superstitious fears.[7] The Coroados of Brazil, " chained to the present, hardly ever raises his eyes to the starry firmament." [8] " The negroes of Congoland, as elsewhere in Africa, take surprisingly little notice of the heavenly

[1] D. G. Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, p. 139.

[2] H. Höffding, *Outlines of Psychology*, p. 266. Cf. T. Ribot, *La psychologie des sentiments*, p. 326.

[3] H. Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu*, p. 401.

[4] H. Cole, " Notes on the Wagogo of German East Africa," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii, p. 330 ; B. Struck, " African Ideas on the Subject of Earthquakes," *Journal of the African Society*, viii, p. 146.

[5] J. J. Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian Islands*, p. 97.

[6] W. Colenso, *On the Maori Races of New Zealand*, p. 61.

[7] W. H. Brett, *The Indian Tribes of Guiana*, p. 131.

[8] J. B. von Spix and C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Travels in Brazil*, vol. ii, p. 243.

bodies or the phenomena of the sky." [1] The mind of the Bantu, remarks the Rev. H. Junod, "is very little disposed towards mythology; it has scarcely any tendency to personify the forms of nature or natural effects." [2] It has been remarked that the Ibo of Nigeria manifest extraordinarily little interest in celestial phenomena.[3] The Bechuanas are said to look upon the sun with about as much interest as does an ox.[4]

Many more testimonies could be cited to the difficulty with which the savage is impressed by natural phenomena. The supposition that his conceptions arise from such impressions is a relic of an imaginary psychology of primitive man which was current in the eighteenth century. The ideas of the savage are not shaped as anthropomorphic personifications of impressive spectacles, as animism in that allegorical sense, or as an explanation of nature and its spectacles in the manner that was dear to the late Professor Max Müller. The mythopoetic and animistic conceptions of primitive humanity have developed not in relation to such interpretations, but in relation to the human circumstances of sublunar life. If the sun and moon have been deified it is not according as they were more or less impressive, but according as they were credited with more or less power of influencing the life and welfare of men. The moon is more important to the savage than the sun because it, and not the sun, is the marker, and therefore the cause, of time and change; and, in particular, of the changes in women's reproductive life. It is everywhere dreaded because of that indissoluble association with the sexual functions of women and with the tabus attaching to them ; and it is regarded as the source of awful and dangerous powers which are no other than the powers ascribed to the primitive witch.

The Moon regarded as the cause of Conception and Generation.

We have already noted the primary basis of that association. The moon is the regulator and, according to primitive ideas, the cause of the periodical functions of women. Menstruation is caused by the moon; it is a lunar function, and is commonly spoken of as 'the moon.' It is frequently regarded as being the result of actual sexual intercourse between the moon and women. Thus, for instance, among the Murray Islanders, "the moon was

[1] H. H. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, p. 815.
[2] H. A. Junod, *Les Ba-Ronga*, p. 424.
[3] N. W. Thomas, *Anthropological Reports on the Ibos of Nigeria*, vol. i, p. 127.
[4] C. J. Anderson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 451.
[5] See above, pp. 431 sqq.

supposed to be a young man who at certain periods defiled women and girls, causing a bloody discharge." [1] So again, among the Papuans, "the moon is considered responsible for the menses"; they believe that the moon went about the earth as a diminutive youth, following girls and women, and had connection with them, thereby causing menstruation.[2] The Uaupe Indians of the Upper Amazon have the same notions; they call the first menstruation "defloration by the moon." [3] Those ideas will, I think, appear from the facts which we will presently consider to be far more general than express statements such as the above might indicate. In accordance with primitive logic, not only menstruation, but likewise all the functions of women, are directly derived from the moon. Menstruation is, according to the ideas of many uncultured peoples, as in the latest views of physiologists, regarded as a form of pregnancy; the foetus is, it is very generally supposed, formed out of the menstrual blood, and menstruation is merely a form of abortion in which the foetus is not properly formed or developed, or is, as it is popularly called, a 'moon-calf.' Pregnancy, as well as menstruation, is in primitive belief considered to be dependent upon, or due to, the moon. Thus the Papuan natives, who ascribe menstruation to the embraces of the moon-god, go on to explain that such attentions on his part aroused the jealousies of the women's husbands, who accordingly endeavoured to kill the moon-god. Since then he appointed that "in revenge all girls and young women should bleed when he appeared, but the older and pregnant women should be excepted, since in the latter case he was responsible for their condition." [4] The Maori, as we saw, expressly affirm that "the moon is the real husband of all women," and that their mortal husband is only, as it were, a subsidiary co-husband.[5] The amulet known as 'heitiki,' which represents a foetus, was formerly worn by Maori women only, although it later became popular with the men; it was said to have been given to the women by the moon.[6] The Gilbert Islanders appear

[1] A. E. Hunt, "Ethnographical Notes on the Murray Islands, Torres Straits," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii, p. 11. Cf. C. G. Seligman, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, pp. 206 sq.

[2] C. G. Seligman, "The Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery of the Sinaugolo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii, p. 303; G. Landtman, "The Folk-tales of the Kiwai Papuans," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, xlvii, p. 289.

[3] E. Stradelli, "Leggenda di Jurupari," *Bolletino della Società Geografica Italiana*, iii, p. 665.

[4] C. G. Seligman, *loc. cit.*

[5] See above, p. 432.

[6] E. Best, "Ceremonial Performances pertaining to Birth as performed by the Maoris of New Zealand," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological*

to have similar notions, for according to them the first man and woman were forbidden to have any sexual relations with one another, but the woman was exclusively reserved for the use of the moon, who begat children by her, thus exciting the jealousy of her nominal husband.[1] The Hindus had the same conception as the New Zealanders. Soma, the moon-god, had the first claim to all women; they only "came afterwards in the possession of men." It was thought to be in reality by the moon-god that women were got with child, and the human husband could claim his wife only after she had been impregnated by the moon; in the wedding ceremony the bridegroom declares: "Soma has acquired thee as his wife."[2] The male fertilising principle was indeed, according to Hindu ideas, directly derived from the moon. "From the wise moon, who orders the seasons, consisting of fifteen parts when he is born, from the moon who is the abode of our ancestors," says the Upanishad, "the seed is derived. The seed, even myself, the gods gathered up into an active man, and through an active man they brought me to a mother."[3] Like the Vedic Hindus, the aborigines of Central Australia represent the moon as claiming that all women belong to him by right, and that it is by his consent only that they are permitted to marry mortal husbands.[4] In Western Australia women believe that they become impregnated by the moon.[5] The belief is probably widespread on that continent. In the Euahlayi tribe the moon is the real father of all babies.[6] Those explicit views represent ideas which are implicit in primitive thought in many parts of the globe. In Greenland the Eskimo believe that the moon comes down at night and has intercourse with their women; and "young maids are afraid to stare at the moon, imagining they may get a child by the bargain."[7] Among the Aleuts women claim the moon as their husband and, as in many

Institute, xliii, p. 131. The 'heitiki,' or 'tiki-tiki,' represents Maui, the son of the moon, who was supposed to have been brought forth prematurely (W. D. Westervelt, *Legends of Ma-ui, a Demi God of Polynesia, and of his mother Hina*, p. 6. Cf. below, p. 714).

[1] R. Parkinson, "Beiträge zur Ethnologie der Gilbert Insulaner," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, ii, p. 102.

[2] *Rig-Veda*, x. 85 (A, Ludwig's translation, vol. ii, p. 537); *Vasishta*, xxviii. 9. 5 (*The Sacred. Books of the East*, vol. xiv, p. 132); *Parashara-Grihya-Sutra*, i. 4. 16 (*ibid.* vol. xxix, p. 278).

[3] *Kaushîtaki-Upanishad*, i. 2 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. i, pp. 273 sq.)

[4] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 412 sq.

[5] A. R. Brown, "Beliefs concerning Childbirth in some Australian Tribes," *Man*, xii, p. 182.

[6] K. L. Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, pp. 50, 64, 98.

[7] H. Egede, *A Description of Greenland*, p. 209.

other parts of the world, he is given to kidnapping girls.[1] Among the Nutka Indians of Vancouver a chief can have connection with his wives by the light of the full moon only.[2] No doubt they have, like many other peoples, a notion that the congress of a man with a woman is merely accessory to her fecundation by the divine source of fertility. Among the Indian tribes of Texas no marriage can be fruitful unless it is consummated in the first quarter of the moon. Directly after their marriage the women, having previously stripped, stand over a bucket of water which has been exposed to the rays of the moon, so as to become thoroughly impregnated with the luminary.[3] Similarly, among the Saorias of the Rajmahal Hills the consummation of marriage, when the moon is absent from the sky, cannot result in pregnancy.[4] The Ja-Luo of eastern Uganda believe that "a woman can only become pregnant at the time of the new moon, and generally that the moon has a great deal to do with the occurrence."[5] The Makraka of the Upper Nile, like many primitive peoples, abstain from having intercourse with their wives while these are pregnant, but they think it incumbent to have connection with them if there is no moon in the sky.[6] Probably they consider, like some other peoples, that continuous impregnation is needful for the growth of the foetus,[7] but that the function of thus promoting its development is performed by the moon when that luminary is present. Among the Ekoi the women believe that if they neglected to dance in the light of the moon they could not possibly bear children.[8] Similar notions obtain among the Fans. Indeed, "among all negro races, the moon and generation are closely connected."[9]

Corresponding ideas are prevalent in Europe. In central Europe it is believed that if a girl or woman were to drink from a well or spring in which the moon is reflected, and thus 'swallow the moon,' she would certainly become pregnant in consequence.[10] In Brittany

[1] F. A. Golder, "Tales from the Kodiak Island," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xvi, pp. 28 sqq.

[2] H. H. Bancroft, *The Races of the Pacific States*, vol. iii, p. 152.

[3] E. Berdau, "Der Mond in Volksmedizin, Sitte, Gebräuche der mexicanische Grenzbewohnerschaft des südliches Texas," *Globus*, lxxviii, p. 381.

[4] R. B. Bainbridge, "Saorias of the Rajmahal Hills," *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, ii, p. 30.

[5] C. W. Hobley, "British East Africa: Anthropological Studies in Kavirondo and Nandi," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii, p. 358.

[6] Fitz R. R. Somerset, "The Lotuko," *Sudan Notes and Records*, i, p. 250.

[7] See above, p. 447.

[8] P. A. Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, p. 10.

[9] H. Trilles, *Le totémisme chez les Fân*, p. 155; cf. p. 444.

[10] O. Henne-Am Rhyn, *Die deutsche Volksage*, p. 36.

the women are extremely careful not to expose the lower part of their bodies to the rays of the moon, especially in the first and last quarters, when the moon is horned; for should they happen to do so, they would at once conceive, or, as they say, be 'mooned,' and they would give birth to a moon-calf, or lunatic.[1] In Germany a pregnant woman must on no account linger in the moonlight lest she should bear a lunatic child;[2] and in Iceland, "if a pregnant woman sit with her face towards the moon, her child will be a lunatic."[3] In the latter instances the moon is regarded as imparting the character usually attributed to its offspring to the children of women who are already pregnant, and as having a baneful effect upon their progeny. But the more primitive form of the notion is that the moon is essential to the development of the child. Among the peasants of Sicily a woman is careful during the whole period of her pregnancy to watch the phases of the moon, considering, like the Ja-Luo of East Africa, that it has "a great deal to do with the occurrence." If a child is to live and thrive her delivery must coincide with a definite phase of the moon. The waxing moon is supposed to produce male children, and the waning moon females.[4] The same belief is current in Cornwall; "when a child is born in the interval between the old moon and the first appearance of the new one it is said that it will not live to reach puberty. Hence the saying, 'No moon, no man.'"[5] An old French writer assures us that "this planet has such enormous power over living creatures that children born when there is no moon, if they live at all, are weak, delicate, and sickly, or are of little mind, or idiots."[6] The latter view is in direct opposition to the general idea that it is, on the contrary, the presence and influence of the moon that causes children to be born feeble-minded. But popular conceptions have a way of surviving after their original meaning has been forgotten in such a manner as to become at times quite inconsistent with it. The notion that the presence of the moon is indispensable to the birth of a child doubtless derives from an older belief that it is indispensable for its conception. In the Highlands of Scotland girls were wont to refuse to be married except when the moon was at its full; and

[1] F. M. Luzel, "La Lune," *Revue Celtique*, iii, p. 452.

[2] W. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, p. 376.

[3] J. Arnason, *Icelandic Legends*, vol. ii, p. 635.

[4] G. Pitré, *Usi e costumi, credenze e pregiudizzi del popolo siciliano*, vol. ii, p. 123; vol. iii, p. 23; vol. iv, p. 466; A. Zernitz, *La Luna nelle credenze popolari e nella poesia*, p. 11.

[5] T. F. Thiselton Dyer, *English Folk-Lore*, p. 41. The belief is mentioned by Thomas Hardy (*The Return of the Native*, p. 197).

[6] La Martinière, cited by T. Hartley, *Moon-Lore*, p. 197.

in the Orkneys brides immediately before their marriage invariably paid a visit to certain megalithic circles, known locally as "the temple of the moon," and prayed there to the lunar power.[1]

Moles, which are commonly known as 'moon-calves,' are stated by Pliny to be produced by women without any sexual intercourse.[2] The Romans held the same notions as are held in modern Europe concerning the regulation of the course of pregnancy by the moon; a satisfactory delivery was thought by them to depend upon the phase of the moon.[3] Not only human generation, but likewise that of animals, was thought to be dependent upon the moon, and was most productive at the time of the full moon.[4] In ancient Egypt the fertility of all women was thought to depend upon the moon, and the growth of the foetus was conditional on its influence. An inscription in the Temple of the Moon at Thebes states that "through his agency women conceived."[5] The sacred bull Apis was held to be the outcome of the impregnation of a cow by the moon.[6] In Babylon human fertility, pregnancy, and birth were held to be controlled by the moon, and the sex of the child was determined according as, at the time of conception, the moon had a halo about it or not.[7] Consecrated women were expressly looked upon as being impregnated by the moon, and their children were called "children of the moon."[8] In ancient Mexico pregnant women were greatly put about when there was an eclipse of the moon, for they believed that their child must be born incomplete, lacking a nose, a lip, or a finger.[9] Similar beliefs are held by Hindu[10] and by Malay women.[11]

The notion that the moon reveals to young girls in their dreams the presentment of their future husband is general in Europe. It

[1] J. Logan, *The Scottish Gael, or Celtic Manners*, vol. ii, pp. 332, 360.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, x. 64.

[3] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.*, 77; Cicero, *De nat. deor.*, ii. 46; Porphyry, cited by Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, p. 113 *b*.

[4] Columella, *De re rustica*, viii. 41.

[5] H. Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter*, pp. 335, 360 sq. Cf. below, p. 772.

[6] Plutarch, *Quaest. conviv.*, viii. 1. 3; *De Iside et Osiride*, 43.

[7] T. G. Pinches, "Assyro-Babylonian Astrologers and their Lore," *The Expository Times*, xxx, p. 167.

[8] C. Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéene: Le livre intitulé, Enuma Anu il Lil*, Fasc. xxv, p. 72.

[9] B. de Sahagun, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, vol. ii, p. 250.

[10] R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, vol. iv, p. 69.

[11] W. E. Maxwell, "Folklore of the Malay," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch*, No. 7, p. 19; H. Clifford, *Studies in Brown Humanity*, p. 51.

is found in England,[1] in Ireland,[2] in Brittany,[3] in Germany,[4] in France and in Belgium,[5] among the southern Slavs,[6] in Portugal,[7] in Greece.[8] In France, for instance, girls sing to the moon : " Lune, lune, belle lune, faites me voir en mon dormant le mari que j'aurai de mon vivant." [9] In some districts the formula is : " Moon, moon, I want to get married " ; while in the Loire country there is a popular game in which one person impersonates the moon and is greeted with the words : " Good morning, Mrs. Moon, have you any children to give me ? " [10] The usages and beliefs are by no means peculiar to Europe. Girls among the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco address the same request to the moon as do the French girls.[11] Among the southern Slavs the bridegroom at a wedding is sometimes spoken of as ' Mr. Moonshine.' [12]

The Vedic view that the moon is the real husband of all women passed over into Buddhism. In a Buddhist legend Buddha himself was begot by the moon from the wife of Brishpati.[13] In Persia the title of the moon was ' gaocithra,' that is, ' the keeper of the seed of the bull,' for according to the ancient myth, of far greater antiquity than the Zoroastrian religion, the primeval bull, or male principle of generation—who is originally no other than the moon itself—deposited his seed in the moon. The moon is accordingly addressed as " Rich in seed, in milk, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring." [14] In ancient Babylon the Moon-god, Sinn, is also a bull; and he is besought " to renew the seed of royalty eternally." [15] The Greeks and the Romans retained the memory of similar views. Lydus, for instance, says : " The moon is the principle of generation." [16]

[1] T. F. Thiselton Dyer, *English Folk-lore*, pp. 43 sq. ; J. Aubrey, *Remains of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, p. 36 ; T. Harley, *Moon-Lore*, p. 214 ; J. Harland and T. T. Wilkinson, *Lancashire Folk-lore*, p. 70.

[2] Lady Wilde, *Ancient Legends, Mysteries, Charms, and Superstitions of Ireland*, vol. ii, p. 73.

[3] P. Sébillot, *Traditions et superstitions de la Haute Bretagne*, vol. ii, pp. 335 sq.

[4] O. Henne-Am Rhyn, *Deutsche Volksage*, p. 36.

[5] P. Sébillot, *Le Folk-lore de la France*, vol. i, pp. 57 sqq.

[6] F. S. Krauss, *Sitten und Bräuche der Südslaven*, pp. 174, 59.

[7] T. Braga, *O Povo Portuguez*, vol. ii, p. 52.

[8] N. G. Politis, in W. H. Roscher, *Über Selene und Verwandtes*, p. 174.

[9] P. Sébillot, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 57.

[10] Mme. Vaugeois, " Rimes du pays Nantois," *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, xiii, p. 8.

[11] W. B. Grubb, *Among an Unknown People in an Unknown Land*, p. 139.

[12] F. S. Krauss, *Volksglaube und religiöser Brauch der Südslaven*, p. 4.

[13] *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xlix, p. 45.

[14] *Vendidad*, xxi. iii. b. 9 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. iv, p. 233).

[15] E. Combe, *Histoire du culte de Sinn en Babylonie et en Assyrie*, pp. 28 sq.

[16] Johannes Lydus, *De Mensibus*, iv. 53. Cf. Id., *De ostentis*, xvi ; Macrobius, *Sat.*, vii. 16 ; Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.*, iii. ii ; Origen, *Comm. in Matt.*, 113 ; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 19.

The afterbirth, as is well known, is among most primitive peoples the object of special care, the idea being that, as with other detached portions of the organism, the life and welfare of the individual is directly influenced by anything which may befall his placenta. But in addition to the importance attaching to it from this notion, the placenta is also intimately connected with the moon, being apparently viewed as a kind of egg laid by the moon, and out of which the infant is developed, or rather, as the container of the immortal and divine double of his soul. In Uganda the placentas of the kings were the object of extraordinary care, special temples being erected for their keeping. At the new moon the royal afterbirth was brought out, exposed to the rays of the luminary, and anointed with butter.[1] Among the Shilluk of the Upper Nile the sacred kings had to be buried where their placenta had been deposited at the time of their birth, so as to be reunited with that portion of their spirit.[2] Even greater significance appears to have been attached to the royal placenta in ancient Egypt. It was identified with the moon, and was, in fact, regarded as the seat of the immortal and heavenly soul, or Ka, which derived from the moon, and which was to be reunited at death with the body.[3] Dr. Elliot Smith remarks that "the moon was regarded as the controller of menstruation. The placenta, and also the child, was considered to be formed of menstrual blood. The welfare of the placenta was therefore considered to be under the control of the moon."[4]

It is a custom of world-wide distribution for mothers to hold their new-born children up to the moon. The practice is reported from several parts of Africa, from New Guinea, from Asia Minor,[5] and it is also observed in North America,[6] in the Pelew Islands,[7]

[1] J. Roscoe, "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii, pp. 45 sq., 63, 76.

[2] C. G. Seligman, "The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk," *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Research Laboratory at the Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum*, pp. 218, 229.

[3] A. M. Blackman, "The Pharaoh's Placenta and the Moon-God Khons," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, iii. Part iv, p. 235; Id., "Some Remarks on an Emblem upon the Head of an Ancient Egyptian Birth-Goddess," *ibid.*, Part iii, p. 199.

[4] G. Elliot Smith, *The Evolution of the Dragon*, p. 48. The 'Ka,' or spiritual double, of the ancient Egyptians, concerning which a great deal of speculation has taken place, appears, taking all the evidence together, to have been primarily the moon-soul. The bull Apis, which was generated by the moon and was selected for its lunar attributes, was regarded as the Ka of Osiris, that is to say, as his moon-soul (cf. below, p. 782; vol. iii, p. 192).

[5] J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, vol. vi, pp. 144 sqq.

[6] A. Zernitz, *La Luna*, p. 11.

[7] J. Kubary, "Die Religion der Pelauer," in A. Bastian, *Allerlei aus Volk- und Menschenkunde*, vol. i, p. 58.

and was customary in ancient Mexico.[1] The immemorial usage is in most places, according to the accounts given of it, vaguely stated to be in some manner beneficial to the child and to promote its growth. Sir James Frazer, accepting the interpretation, regards the custom as an act of sympathetic magic, the growth of the child being assimilated to that of the waxing moon. But that interpretation is scarcely applicable to some instances of the practice. Among the Kashubs the waxing of the moon is actually regarded as causing weakness in the child, whereas the waning of the moon imparts strength to it.[2] Among the Isubu of the Cameroons, "if a woman becomes pregnant at the time the moon is full, and later bears a child, be it a boy or girl, she shows the child the moon, and says to it: 'This is your grandfather.'"[3] In Armenia the child, on being presented to the moon, is said to be introduced to its 'uncle.'[4] By other peoples, however, the relationship between the child and the moon is expressed in a more direct manner. Among the Kaffirs of South Africa, when a mother presents a child to the moon, she says: "See, your child is growing."[5] Similarly, among the Pelew Islanders, when a mother holds up her new-born child to the moon, she says: "Here, Moon, take thy child!"[6] On very similar principles witches in Europe, who were supposed to conceive children by the devil,[7] had to promise to dedicate to him any child which might be born to them in human wedlock; and "at great assemblies, they present to him any child they have, lifting him up."[8]

It is, I think, apparent from those universal beliefs that the moon is primitively regarded as the direct cause not only of menstruation, but also of conception and pregnancy. Conception is, it is true, also ascribed to many other causes. It is set down, as I have endeavoured to show, to eating the totem animal. But the totem, or tribal spirit, whose counterpart or 'eternal paradigm' is in heaven, is frequently confounded in primitive thought with the primitive cosmic deity, or Moon-god, and in fact usually becomes identified with him. In Western Australia impregnation

[1] F. S. Clavigero, *Storia antica del Messico*, vol. ii, p. 17.

[2] J. Gulgorowski, "Sonne, Mond und Sterne in Volksglaube der Kaschuben am Weitsee," *Globus*, xciii, p. 145.

[3] I. Keller, "Knowledge and Theories of Astronomy on the part of the Isubu Natives of the western Slopes of the Cameroon Mountains in German West Africa (Kamerun)," *Journal of the African Society*, ii, p. 61.

[4] M. Abeghian, *Der armenische Volksaberglaube*, p. 49.

[5] O. Kidd, *Savage Childhood*, p. 23.

[6] J. Kubary, *loc. cit.*

[7] M. A. Murray, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe*, pp. 182, 185, 242; H. Boguet, *Discours des Sorciers*, p. 78.

[8] R. Scott, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, p. 32. Cf. J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 1074.

is ascribed to both the totem animal and to the moon.[1] There are innumerable other agencies, besides, which are credited with producing pregnancy; but a large proportion of these are in fact but forms or emanations of the moon. One of the most common modes of impregnation in the superstitions and myths of every part of the world is by water. But all waters are everywhere regarded as being under the control of, and derived from, the moon.[2] Supernatural impregnation takes place very commonly through the medium of flowers, especially the lotus, and its analogue, the lily. But the water-lily and its land analogue are simply the symbol and essence of the moon-produced waters. In India the moon is called Kummuda-poti, the Lord of the Lotus.[3] In Egypt and in Babylon the lotus was the emblem of both the waters and the moon-deity. Not only the lotus and lily, but all vegetation and fruits, are regarded as emanations of the moon.[4]

Again, the sun appears frequently as a cause of impregnation in myth and belief. The liability to conception through the agency of the sun or the sun-god is, indeed, world-wide among peoples in the agricultural phase of culture. But at that phase of cultural evolution all the attributes, and more especially the fertilising attributes, of the moon have, as we shall see, become transferred to the sun-deity, whose whole character is, indeed, inherited from the older and more primitive cosmic power. In pre-agricultural stages the sun plays scarcely any part in cosmic conceptions. The fertilising powers of the sun which are conspicuous in agricultural religions belong in earlier stages not to the sun, but to the moon, which is the source of all human and earthly fertility.

The Moon primitively regarded as a Male.

In accordance with the functions assigned to it in primitive thought, the moon is generally regarded as being a male. All spirits, personifications, or gods are, in primitive mythology, conceived as males or as females, as suits the particular occasion, and there is no incongruity in primitive thought in one and the same power being represented at one time as a male and at another as a female. That does not mean that the personified power is thought of as bi-sexual or a-sexual; the sexual character and

[1] A. R. Brown, "Beliefs concerning Childbirth in some Australian Tribes," *Man*, xiii, p. 182.

[2] See below, pp. 632 sqq.

[3] J. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Indian Mythology*, p. 303.

[4] See below, pp. 628 sqq.

functions of primitive deities are, on the contrary, strongly emphasised. But primitive mythical conceptions not being a fixed and critical system of theology, everyone is at liberty to regard a given power as male or female, as the ideas connected with it appear to demand, and primitive beliefs or logic are not shocked by the same power being represented at one time as a female and at another as a male, or as two coexistent personifications respectively, male and female. This is particularly the case with lunar deities, who are commonly represented by a male and a female form. But female lunar deities do not become prominent until relatively advanced phases of culture, and in particular until the development of agriculture as the chief source of sustenance. In earlier cultural stages the male form of the moon is by far the more prominent, or is the only form of personification of the moon, and in every instance it would seem that the conception of the moon as a male is the more ancient and primary one. Thus among the Australian aborigines the moon is exclusively regarded as a male, and there appears to be no female personification of it ; the sun, on the other hand, is a female.[1] The Tasmanians are said to have had the same conception.[2] The moon is preeminently male in New Guinea,[3] in Torres Straits,[4] in Melanesia.[5]

[1] A. W. Howitt, *The Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 427 sq. ; R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Australia*, vol. i, p. 431 ; B. W. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 564 ; G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, vol. i, p. 89 ; W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 5*, p. 7 ; B. H. Purcell, " The Aborigines of Australia," *Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society of Australia (Victoria Branch)*, xi, p. 20 ; A. Fraser, " The Moon Myth," *Science of Man*, 1899, p. 194 ; A. C. McDougall, " Manners, Customs and Legends of the Coobangree Tribe," *ibid.*, 1901, p. 63 ; E. Palmer, " Notes on some Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, p. 292 ; K. L. Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, p. 50.

[2] J. Bonwick, *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*, p. 192.

[3] J. Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea*, p. 175 ; C. G. Seligman, ' The Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery of the Sinaugolo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii, p. 300 ; R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, vol. iii, p. 489 ; G. Landtman, " The Folk-tales of the Kiwai Papuans," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, xlvii, pp. 289, 484.

[4] A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. vi, p. 4 ; Id., " Legends from Torres Straits," *Folk-lore*, i, p. 185 ; A. E. Hunt, " Ethnographical Notes on the Murray Islands, Torres Straits," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii, p. 11.

[5] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 348 ; J. B. Suas, " Mythes et légendes indigènes des Nouvelles Hébrides," *Anthropos*, vi, p. 904 ; R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, p. 331 ; T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, vol. i, p. 205 ; P. J. Meier, *Mythen und Erzählungen der Bewohner der Gazelle-Halbinsel (Neu-Pommern)*, pp. 13 sqq. ; Id., " Mythen und Sagen der Admiralitäts-Insulaner," *Anthropos*, ii, pp. 660, 663 ; C. E. Fox, " Social Organisation in San Cristoval, Solomon Islands," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlix, p. 164.

In Polynesia the moon is feminine, but in Polynesian myths it is represented as male and the sun is a female.[1] The moon is masculine and the sun feminine in the Gilbert Islands.[2] Among the agricultural populations of Indonesia the moon is feminine, but it remains masculine among the more primitive populations.[3] In Ceram-laut, where the people are Muhammadan, the moon is feminine, but the natives call it "our grandfather."[4] The moon is male among the Eskimo,[5] and among the races of the north-west of the American continent.[6] It remains male with a large number of the more advanced, even after the development of considerable agricultural activities.[7] It is still a male deity in Mexico.[8] The moon is male among the Caribbean races of Central

[1] E. Best, "Notes on Maori Mythology," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, viii, pp. 100 sq. Cf. below, pp. 713 sqq.

[2] F. Hartzer, *Les Îles Blanches de la Mer du Sud*, p. 54.

[3] A. C. Kruijt, "Eenige ethnographische aanteekeningen omtrent de Toboeengkoe en de Timori," *Medcdeelingen von wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, xliv (1900), p. 231; J. Perrhan, "Petar, or Sea-Dayak Gods," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch*, 1882, p. 138; W. W. Skeats, *Malay Magic*, p. 13.

[4] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 187.

[5] D. Crantz, *The History of Greenland*, vol. i, p. 212; H. Egede, *A Description of Greenland*, p. 207; H. J. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimos*, p. 237; F. Boas, "The Central Eskimo," *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 597; G. F. Holm, "Sagn og Fortaellinger fra Angmagsalik," *Meddelelsen om Grønland*, vol. x, p. 34.

[6] W. Duncan, in *The Church Missionary Intelligencer*, 1856, p. 116, 1858, p. 249 (Tribes of British Columbia); F. W. Chapman, "Athapascan Traditions from the Lower Yukon," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xvi, pp. 183 sq. (Athapascan tribes of the Yukon); F. Boas, "Indianische Sagen von der Nord Pacifische Küste," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, xxvii, pp. 201, 231 (Tlingit, Tsimshiam); E. Petitot, *Autour du Grand Lac des Esclaves*, p. 155 (Déné); G. Keith, in L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, vol. ii, p. 286 (Beaver Indians); J. Teit, *The Lilloet Indians*, p. 275; Id., *The Shuswap*, pp. 653, 701.

[7] J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokees," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 256; J. B. Davis, "Some Cherokee Stories," *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Liverpool*, iii, pp. 25 sq.; J. O. Dorsey, *Traditions of the Caddos*, pp. 11 sq.; D. G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 154; W. Matthews, *Navaho Legends*, p. 86; W. W. H. Davis, *El Gringo*, p. 414; H. R. Voth, "The Traditions of the Hopis," *Field Columbian Museum Publications, Anthrop. Series*, viii, p. 5; J. R. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley*, p. 357; Id., "Mythology of the Indians of Louisiana," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xx, p. 286 (Natchez); F. Boas, in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xvii, p. 3 (Arapahos); J. Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part ii, p. 1006; A. L. Kroeber, "Cheyenne Tales," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xiii, p. 164.

[8] B. de Sahagun, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, vol. ii,

America.[1] It is male among most, if not all, the tribes of South America.[2] The moon is a male in the Andaman Islands.[3] The moon is male among the Ainu;[4] and the Japanese themselves regard the moon as a male and the sun as a female.[5] With the Chinese, on the other hand, the moon-deity is a goddess; but in popular tradition the moon is represented as a man, "the Old Man of the Moon."[6] Dr. de Groot, speaking of the Chinese moon-goddess, says that "certain designations of the goddess bear witness to her male origin."[7] Among Mongolian tribes the moon is male.[8] Among the Aleuts,[9] the Chukchi,[10] the Koryak,[11] and among the Tartar populations of Central Asia,[12] the moon is a male. "In Indian mythology the moon is a god, not a goddess."[13] The moon is male among the Nagas,[14] the Todas,[15] the Khasis,[16] the

p. 250; F. S. Clavigero, *Storia antica del Messico*, vol. ii, pp. 10, 17. Cf. below, pp. 739 sq.

[1] De La Borde, *Voyage qui contient une relation exacte de l'origine, etc., des Caraïbes*, p. 526.

[2] A. d'Orbigny, *L'homme américain*, vol. ii, p. 102 (Tobas, Mbocabis); D. G. Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, p. 140 (Ipurinas); T. Guevara, *Historia del Paraguay*, vol. i, p. 15; K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, pp. 365, 379, 436 (Northern Arawak, Bakairi, Paressi); P. Ehrenreich, "Die Mythen und Legenden der Südamerikanen Völker," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 1905, Supplement, pp. 34, 36 (Purus, Morosi); Couto de Magalhães, *O Selvagem*, p. 138; K. T. Preuss, *Religion und Mythologie der Uitoto*, vol. i, pp. 51 sq.; F.-J. de Santa-Anna Nery, *Folk-Lore Brésilien*, p. 252; W. C. Farabee, *Indian Tribes of Eastern Peru*, p. 124 (Jivaros); R. Lista, *Viage al pais de los Tehuelches*, p. 77; A. Cojazzi, *Los Indios del archipelago Fueguino*, pp. 24 sq.

[3] E. H. Man, "On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii, p. 152; A. R. Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, p. 141.

[4] J. Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folklore*, pp. 273 sq.

[5] B. H. Chamberlain, "Ko-Ji-Ki," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, x, Supplement, p. xlvi.

[6] J. J. M. de Groot, *Les fêtes annuellement célébrées à Émoui*, vol. ii, pp. 476 sq.; N. B. Dennys, *The Folklore of China*, p. 117.

[7] J. J. M. de Groot, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 186.

[8] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 287.

[9] F. A. Golder, "Tales from the Kadiak Island," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xvi, p. 28; A. Pinart, "Les Aléoutes, leur origine et leur légendes," *Actes de la Société d'Ethnographie*, vii, p. 89.

[10] W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 305.

[11] W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 31.

[12] N. M. Jadrinzew, "Ueber die Bewohner des Altai und die Tschernschen Tartaren," *Russische Revue*, xxxi, p. 520.

[13] W. Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. v, p. 76.

[14] J. H. Hunter, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 410.

[15] W. E. Marshall, *A Phrenologist among the Todas*, p. 123.

[16] H. Yule, "Notes on the Khasia Hills and People," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xiii, p. 628; P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, p. 172.

Shans,[1] the Siamese.[2] It was male among the ancient Persians.[3] It is male among the Armenians.[4] In all Semitic languages the moon is masculine and the sun feminine. The moon is male among the Bushmen and Hottentots,[5] the Kaffirs,[6] in the Congo, and with most of the non-agricultural and more primitive tribes throughout Africa.[7] It is male with the Berbers.[8] The moon is male among the Slavs,[9] the Finns,[10] in Scandinavia,[11] in Iceland.[12] The moon is masculine and the sun feminine among all Teutonic races. The moon was male among our own Anglo-Saxon ancestors;[13] the name of the moon remained masculine in English up to the time when arbitrary genders disappeared from the language.[14] The moon still remains male in English folklore, which knows only the man in the moon. Our habit of regarding the moon as a female is solely due to the influence of our training in the classical mythology of Greece and Rome; but even in Greece and in Rome the moon was originally, as everywhere else, masculine, and the moon-goddess took the place of more ancient moon-gods.[15] The moon was universally masculine among the Celts.[16] In France, where the influence of the classical tradition has been even deeper and more prolonged than in England, the moon is

[1] L. Milne, *Shans at Home*, pp. 200 sq.

[2] J. B. Pallegroix, *Description du royaume de Thaï ou Siam*, vol. i, p. 446.

[3] A. Hovelacque, *L'Avesta, Zoroastre et le Mazdéisme*, p. 238.

[4] M. Abeghian, *Der armenische Volksaberglaube*, p. 49.

[5] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, pp. 39, 44; P. Kolbe, *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, vol. i, p. 95.

[6] D. Kidd, *Savage Childhood*, p. 149.

[7] H. H. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, p. 815; S. M. Molema, *The Bantu Past and Present*, p. 143; R. P. Colle, *Les Ba-Luba*, vol. ii, p. 715; C. Delhaise, *Les Warega*, p. 279; R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 103; R. A. Treman, *Travels in Ashanti and Yaman*, p. 289; R. E. Dennett, *Notes on the Folklore of the Fjort (French Congo)*, p. 6; I. Keller, "Knowledge and Theories of Astronomy on the part of the Isubu," *Journal of the African Society*, ii, p. 60; N. W. Thomas, *Anthropological Report on Sierra Leone*, Part i, p. 179; O. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, p. 117.

[8] R. Basset, art. "Berbers," in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. ii, p. 509.

[9] I. J. Hanusch, *Die Wissenschaft des Slavischen Mythus*, p. 219; W. R. S. Ralston, *Russian Folklore*, p. 176; G. Cox, *The Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, p. 372.

[10] J. Abercromby, *The Pre- and Proto-historic Finns*, vol. i, p. 167.

[11] B. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, vol. i, p. 6.

[12] C. von Maurer, *Islandische Volksagen der Gegenwart*, p. 185.

[13] F. T. Palgrave, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, p. 42.

[14] J. A. H. Murray, *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, s.v. 'moon.'

[15] See below, vol. iii, p. 120.

[16] A. B. Cook, "The European Sky God," *Folk-lore*, xviii, p. 49.

feminine; but in Breton tales the original sex reappears, and the moon is a man.[1] Among the Basques the moon is a male.[2]

The Moon as Source of Magical Power.

The moon, which is believed to produce menstruation and pregnancy by intercourse with women, is thus naturally conceived as a male, while the sun is, by opposition, very generally regarded as a female. The sexes of the luminaries are thus not related in primitive ideas to their respective apparent power or strength, but to their functions, or rather to the functions of the moon, in relation to human life. But, while the moon, as "the real husband of all women," is thought of as a male, it is at the same time associated with the functions not of men, but of women. The moon is not only thought of as the source whence are derived the peculiar reproductive powers of women, but likewise all their other powers and functions, and those magical powers in particular which are peculiarly associated in primitive thought with women, and were, as the facts which we have considered indicate, originally exercised exclusively or mainly by women. And that dreaded, dangerous, and maleficent power which is ascribed to both women and the moon is no other than the power of the witch.

The moon is everywhere regarded as the source of magic; the 'Lord of the Women' is also the Lord of witches and magicians. Thus among the North American Indians the moon was "the chief of manitus," or wizards.[3] Among the Caddos the moon teaches medicine-men the secrets of their art, and the leader of the ghost-dance is called 'Moon-head.'[4] Among the Eskimo, likewise, the power of the 'angakut' derives from the moon, and his spirit, when in a state of trance, is supposed to be transferred to the moon.[5] Among the Chukchi the moon is the chief of the 'keles' or spirits which inspire shamans. A shaman, "when he desires to make especially powerful incantations, must strip himself naked, and go out of his house at night when the moon is shining." He invokes the moon, and his power of casting spells and performing incantations depends upon the moon.[6] Among the Lapps the moon was likewise specially connected with the shamans, and

[1] P. Sébillot, *Le folk-lore de France*, vol. i, p. 36; cf. p. 38.

[2] J. Vinson, *Le Folklore du Pays Basque*, pp. 65 sq.

[3] F. R. de Chateaubriand, *Voyages en Amérique*, vol. ii, p. 37.

[4] J. Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 905, 903 sq.

[5] W. Thalbitzer, "The Heathen Priests of East Greenland (Angakut)," *Verhandlungen des XVI internationales Amerikanisten-Kongress*, Wien, 1908, vol. ii, p. 450.

[6] W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, pp. 305, 448.

the lunar crescent was represented on their magic drums.[1] The Tartars of Central Asia consider that women can practise witchcraft once a month only, namely, at the time of the new moon.[2] In India the incantations of witchcraft must be performed by the light of the moon.[3]

On the Gold Coast the same word means both 'moon' and 'witchcraft.'[4] In Ashango the moon brings witchcraft.[5] Among the Fan the moon is the special patron of wizards.[6] Among the Thonga of South Africa medicine-men are made by ceremonies in which a sacrifice is offered, and the candidate to magic power drinks the blood of the sacrificial victim. He is then said to have become 'thwaza.' "This word is the same that is employed for the renewal of the moon. Like the moon he is born again; he has entered a new life." The assimilation with the moon is renewed every month at the new moon by partaking of a drink. "The relation between the possessed and the moon, which was established by the fact that he had 'thwaza,' as well as the moon, is maintained and accentuated by this rite."[7] Similarly, among the native tribes of Brazil the magical gifts of the 'paje' are acquired by chewing the bark of a particular palm which is believed to have fallen from the moon.[8] In Western Australia the magical operations intended to secure the multiplication of the food-animals must be carried out at the new moon. If advantage has not been taken of that occasion, the 'intichiumas' cannot be performed until the next new moon.[9] In ancient Greece all witchcraft was held to derive from the moon, and the moon-goddess Hekate was the special patroness of witches.[10] It is still held by the Greek peasants that no witch can work without the aid of the moon.[11] In the Shetland Islands a witch, in order to strengthen and cultivate her powers, lay for hours in the moonlight so as to become thoroughly saturated with the influence of

[1] L. Passarge, "Die Weltanschaung der Lappen," *Das Ausland*, 1881, p. 563.

[2] P. S. Pallas, *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs*, vol. iii, p. 70.

[3] V. Henry, *La Magie dans l'Inde antique*, p. 160.

[4] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 19.

[5] P. Du Chaillu, *Journey to Ashango-land*, p. 238.

[6] H. Trilles, *Le totémisme chez les Fân*, p. 444.

[7] H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South-African Tribe*, vol. ii, pp. 451, 453.

[8] F.-J. de Santa Anna Nery, *Folklore brésilien*, pp. 246 sq.

[9] E. Clements, "Ethnological Notes on the Western-Australian Aborigines," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xvi, p. 7.

[10] Homeric Hymn to Demeter, i. 52; Sophokles, *Fragm.*, 490; Plutarch, *De defaect. orac.*, 416; Scholiast to Euripides, *Medea*, 396; Servius on *Aeneid*, iv. 511; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, iii. 11. 32.

[11] W. H. Roscher, *Selene und Verwandtes*, p. 174.

the luminary.[1] Among the survivals of paganism which are specially condemned in the capitularies of the Carolingian period is the belief that women can exercise witchcraft by means of the moon.[2] The moon was in Germany regarded as responsible for all witchcraft; a witch's power to change her form was best exercised by dancing in the light of the moon; and deeds of witchcraft are particularly to be looked for on Mondays.[3] An old German student of the magic arts sets forth the universal principle with Teutonic thoroughness. "The wonder-working potency of all objects or instruments employed in witchcraft," he says, "depends upon the stars, and the particular state and course of the heavens. The reason is as follows: heaven and the stars, by their power, influence all things, but they themselves are in turn subject to the moon, from which they derive their power."[4] The famous Cornelius Agrippa accounted in a somewhat different manner for the supremacy of the moon's magical power. Although magical power, he says, comes from all heavenly bodies, yet the powers of those bodies and even that of the sun cannot be transmitted to the earth and its inhabitants except through the intermediary of the moon.[5] Thus mediaeval practitioners of the magic arts and of astrology devised various theories to account for the fact that the moon is traditionally the source of all magical powers.

Primitive woman derives her powers as a witch, like her powers of reproduction, from the moon. The fascination which she exercises, her beauty, which the Arabs, in common with most uncultured peoples who are sufficiently advanced to appreciate it, regard as a form of witchcraft,[6] is also thought to be bestowed upon them by the moon. It is laid down in the Vedic treatise on magic, the 'Atharva-Veda,' that women's beauty is derived from the moon.[7]

[1] *County Folklore*, iii, *Orkney and Shetland Islands*, p. 52.

[2] "Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum," in *Capitularia Regum Francorum* (Pertz, *Monumenta Historica Germaniae*, "Legum," Sect. I), vol. i, p. 223.

[3] O. Henne-Am Rhyn, *Deutsche Volksage*, p. 454. Cf. A. de Nore, *Coutumes, mythes et traditions des provinces de la France*, pp. 99, 157; J. L. M. Noguès, *Les moeurs d'autrefois en Saintonge et en Aunis*, p. 141.

[4] M. G. Nigrinum, *Von Zauberern, Hexen, und Unholen*, pp. 114 sq. The explanation, which lies at the root of the conceptions of astrology which originated with the Chaldaeans, should be compared with the latter's cosmic system (see below, vol. iii, pp. 81 sq.). The supreme heavenly power was, in their religious ideas, the moon; the importance attached to the various stars, and therefore to the study of astrology, lay in the means it afforded of tracing through her movements in her various 'Houses' the condition and mood of the moon.

[5] H. Cornelius Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*, p. ccxxv.

[6] See above, p. 557.

[7] *Atharva-Veda*, iv, p. 94.

It is promoted by eating the flesh of the moon-hare, or by applying preparations obtained from the animal.[1] The beauty of women is expressed in all Oriental languages, as well as in southern Europe and also in Polynesia, by assimilating them to the moon. Moon-goddesses are also, in one of their many aspects, the goddesses of beauty and of love.

Not only the powers of magic and witchcraft, but likewise the allied faculties of prophecy and vaticination, are regarded as being derived from the moon. "The ancients," says Lydus, "regarded the moon as the leader in all divination."[2] Prophetesses were known in primitive Greece as 'sibyls'; but the term was also used as a proper name, and 'the Sibyl' was, we are told, another name for the moon-goddess Artemis.[3] The name appears to be connected with the Babylonian word 'subultu,' which was used as the appellation of the constellation of Virgo; the Heavenly Virgin being, like most of the constellations of the Babylonian Zodiac, or 'Houses of the Moon,' the Queen of Heaven, that is to say, the moon.[4] In primitive Greece and among the Semites all oracles originally derived their inspiration from lunar deities.[5]

The Moon as Cause of Time and as Destiny.

The association of the moon with the powers of prophecy rests, however, not only upon the prophetic disposition ascribed to women, but also upon a character of the moon in primitive thought which is no less fundamental, and has had a momentous and far-reaching bearing upon the development of all human conceptions. The moon is throughout primitive culture the only measure of time. The solar year is a relatively late discovery which has been made possible only by somewhat ingenious and elaborate methods of astronomical observation, and is unknown throughout primitive stages of culture. The cycle of seasonal changes is, of course, observable to all peoples living in temperate climes; but their periodical recurrence is merely a rough and undetermined succession of changes, and without exact methods of observation affords no fixed point that can serve to measure duration. Primitive cultures know no other calendar than the moon. The Bawenda of the northern Transvaal, who are extensively employed as labourers by Europeans, cannot be convinced

[1] See below, p. 614.
[2] Johannes Lydus, *Diaricum tonitruale*, 27.
[3] Pausanias, x. 12. 6; Vergil, *Aen.*, v. 735.
[4] A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischer Geisteskultur*, p. 112.
[5] See below, vol. iii, pp. 81, 148 sqq., 153 sq.

to this day that a month can have 30 or 31 days, and firmly believe that this is merely a crafty device to cheat them out of wages.[1] The moon, whose name in our languages is from the root 'mas,' measure, 'mensura,' has been throughout by far the greater part of the development of humanity the sole measure or marker of time. Even in cultures so advanced as that of Islam the sun is never thought of as affording a measure of time ; that function belongs exclusively to the moon. "God created the moon and appointed its 'houses,'" it is laid down in the Koran, "in order that men might know the number of the years and the measure of time."[2]

That relation between the moon and duration cannot be, and is not, assimilated in the primitive mind to that between a magnitude and a convenient instrument wherewith to measure it. The name of the moon is not derived from that of a measure, but, on the contrary, the terms for a measure and the operation of measuring are derived from the name of the moon. As with the periodicity of female reproductive functions, the relation between the moon and duration is that of cause and effect ; the moon is the cause of time. The conception is that of Fate, of Destiny, which pervades the thought of uncultured humanity.

The moon, as we shall have occasion to see in greater detail, stands in all primitive thought for perpetual renewal, immortality, eternity. The Siouan tribes of America, for example, called her "the Old Woman that never dies."[3] Her name, Aataensic, among the Iroquois tribes meant also, according to Father Lafitau, "the Eternal One."[4] In Polynesia the moon was regarded as possessing the secret of immortality ; she was perpetually renewed in the waters of Tane.[5] Among the Chams the moon has the gift of eternal youth ; she is never more than thirty.[6] Similarly, in China

[1] E. Gottschling, "The Bawenda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv, p. 382.

[2] *Koran*, Sura x, 5. Cf. Muhammad Abu Jafar al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. i, pp. 11 sq.

[3] Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, vol. ii, pp. 182 sqq.

[4] J. F. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. i, p. 244. Father Lafitau's etymology has been disputed, and the name differently interpreted (J. N. B. Hewitt, "The Cosmogonic Gods of the Iroquois," *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, for the 44th Meeting*, pp. 245 sq.). But, however that may be, there is no doubt as to the accuracy of Father Lafitau's description of the conception of her, and his etymology, whether correct or not, was in all probability derived from the interpretation of the Iroquois themselves.

[5] J. White, *Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. ii, p. 87 ; W. D. Westervelt *Legends of Ma-ui, a Demi God of Polynesia*, p. 135.

[6] H. Baudesson, *Indo-China and its Primitive Peoples*, p. 278.

the moon possesses the secret of immortality.[1] Among the ancient Egyptians the moon was "the maker of eternity and creator of everlastingness."[2] In Latin inscriptions her prescriptive epithet is 'the eternal.'[3] Among the ancient Hebrews likewise the moon was the symbol of eternity.[4] In Russia the moon is the deathless one.[5]

That deathless, eternal nature of the moon as bringer-forth of every birth of time imparts to it in primitive thought an inexorable, implacable, ineluctable character which sets it above all other powers and all other gods. The Iroquois recognised that there was a power above that of all 'manitus,' and that which that power decreed could not be altered by any god.[6] The conception, which has its parallel in most primitive mythologies, clearly corresponds to that of the Greek Moira, who stood above the gods. But Moira, or the three Moirai, or Fates, was originally no other than the moon. "The Moirai," says Porphyry, "are referred to the power of the moon."[7] The three Moirai are spoken of in Orphic writings as the parts (τὰ μέρη) of the moon.[8] Destiny, the conception which occupied so prominent a place in the thought of the Greek dramatists, is assimilated by Sophokles to the moon.[9] In Indian philosophy the problem of fatalism is discussed in the following terms: "Is anything which happens unto men," asks the Hindu philosopher, "through fate or through action, is exertion with destiny or without destiny, and does anything devoid of destiny happen unto men, or what way is it? . . . They say that anything which happens unto men is the work of the moon, and every benefit is connected with the moon, and the moon bestows it upon worldly beings."[10] The Arabian goddess Manat, who was likewise threefold, was the moon, and was also the goddess of Fate.[11] The Teutonic Norns, Urdha, Verdanda, and Skuld, who, like the Greek Moirai and the Roman Fates, were moon-goddesses,

[1] S. W. Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. ii, p. 74; N. B. Dennys, *The Folk-Lore of China*, p. 117.

[2] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 412.

[3] A. Pauly, *Real-Encyclopaedie der classische Alterthumswissenschaft*, vol. iv, p. 1228.

[4] *Psalms*, lxxxix. 37.

[5] W. R. S. Ralston, *Russian Folk-Tales*, pp. 175 sq., 100 sqq.

[6] M. G. J. de Crèvecoeur, *Voyages dans la Haute Pennsylvanie*, vol. i, p. 85.

[7] Porphyry, in Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*, 113*d*.

[8] *Orphica*, ed. E. Abel, Fr. 253.

[9] Sophokles, *Fragment.*, 787.

[10] *Dâdistâni-Dînik*, lxxi. 1. 2 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xviii, pp. 214 sq.).

[11] T. Nöldeke, "Vorstellung der Araber vom Schicksal" *Zeitschrift für Volkspsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, ii, pp. 132 sq. Cf. below, vol. iii, pp. 80 sq.

were "older than the gods."[1] "No one can withstand the word of Urdha," declares the Scandinavian epic.[2]

In an important study of the relation between early religious conceptions and philosophical ideas, Mr. Cornford shows the attributes of the Greek Moira to be the prototype of the scientific conception of natural law.[3] Thus the cold conceptions of science, which have done so much to render obsolete the ideas of magic action, of the miraculous and the supernatural, have their root in the same thought of the primitive savage as these notions. Mr. Cornford also points out that the Greek conception of Moira, or Fate, was essentially that of a dividing divinity and measurer of lots, who apportioned his special sphere of activity and his functions, not only to every human being, but also to every god.[4] Those functions follow naturally from the office of the moon as divider and measurer of time. They are, likewise, the functions of the primitive mother, who allots to each his portion of food,[5] and in early agricultural phases of culture is also the apportioner of the cultivable land.[6]

Lunar Divinities commonly Triune.

It is a widespread feature of lunar deities that, like the Moirai, they are threefold, or triune. In the languages of many uncultured peoples the waxing, the full, and the waning moon are denoted by three quite different names.[7] They are conceived as three different persons. Thus, for example, in New Britain the moon consists of three persons, the full moon, sometimes called the 'White Woman,' or the 'Old Woman,' and her two sons, the waxing and the waning moon.[8] In New Zealand it is related that when some women visited the abode of the moon, they found

[1] O. Henne-Am Rhyn, *Die deutsche Volksage*, p. 441.

[2] P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Religion of the Teutons*, p. 314. Cf. K. Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian Peoples*, vol. i, p. 96.

[3] F. M. Cornford, *From Religion to Philosophy*, pp. 143, 146.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 15 sqq.

[5] L. H. Morgan, "A Study of the Houses of the American Aborigines," *First Annual Report of the Archaeological Institute of America*, p. 32; L. Hennepin, *Voyage à un très-grand pays*, p. 70; J. T. Sharf and T. Westcott, *History of California*, vol. i, p. 49.

[6] F. R. de Chateaubriand, *Voyages en Amérique*, vol. ii, p. 37.

[7] E.g., G. Bentley, *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Languages*, s.v., 'ngombe'; C. Byington, *A Dictionary of the Chactaw Language*, p. 146; O. Dorsey and J. R. Swanton, *A Dictionary of the Biloxi and other Languages*, p. 200; T. Guevara, *Historia de la civilisación de Aurocania*, vol. i, p. 287; A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, vol. i, p. 317; J. P. Finlay and W. Churchill, *The Subanu*, p. 225; D. Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, pp. 54 sq.; A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 95.

[8] P. J. Meier, *Mythen und Erzählungen der Bewohner der Gazelle-Halbinsel Neu Pommern*), pp. 16 sqq.; cf. pp. 13 sqq.

it inhabited by three grey-headed spirits, who sat by a fire in which burned three logs.[1] Among the Bataks of Sumatra the moon consists of three persons, the 'Lords of the Moon.'[2] The Kayans of Borneo "regard the various phases of the moon as separate beings."[3] Among the natives of northern Ashanti "it is well known that the satellite is inhabited by three beings, similar to men in appearance but provided with enormous ears which completely cover their faces. One of these is white and the other two black." They existed before man was created.[4] In Dahomey the badge of the priestesses of the moon consists of a white shell and two black beads.[5] Among the Diegueños of California the moon is regarded as consisting of three persons, who are yet but one god.[6] Among the natives of New Granada the moon-goddess bore three names.[7] The Indians of western Mexico represent their lunar deity by three crosses, one large one flanked by two smaller ones.[8]

In ancient India the phases of the moon were likewise regarded as separate persons.[9] Among the ancient Babylonians the three phases of the moon bore three names—the sickle, the tiara, and the kidney, and were identified with three different gods.[10] Similarly, among the Nordic races of Europe the moon was a threefold deity—Mani, the full moon, Nyi, the new moon, and Nithi, the waning moon.[11] In an old French song the moon is represented as inhabited by three rabbits;[12] and the peasants of southern France perceive three persons in the moon.[13] The month was originally divided into three parts among the Germans[14] and the Celts,[15] as likewise among the Greeks and the Romans,[16] and the Semites.[17]

[1] J. White, *Maori Superstitions*, p. 22.

[2] W. Ködding, "Die batakschen Götter und ihr Verhältniss zum Brahmismus," *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, xii, p. 408. Cf. below, p. 710.

[3] A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, vol. ii, p. 11.

[4] R. A. Freman, *Travels in Ashanti and Jaman*, p. 293.

[5] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 66; J. A. S. Skertchly, *Dahomey as it is*, p. 473.

[6] C. G. Du Bois, "The Mythology of the Diegueños (California)," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xiii, p. 183.

[7] F. de Piedrahita, *Historia general de la conquista del Reyno de Nueva Granada*, p. 17.

[8] C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, vol. i, pp. 173 sq.

[9] A. Weber, "Vedische Hochzeitssprüche," *Indische Studien*, v, pp. 288 sqq.

[10] A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, p. 162.

[11] B. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, vol. i, p. 6.

[12] F. Pérot, *Folklore bourbonnais*, p. 132.

[13] J. B. Andrews, in *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, ix, p. 331.

[14] K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*, vol. iv, pp. 641 sqq.

[15] J. Rhys, *Lectures on Celtic Heathendom*, pp. 362 sqq.; J. Loth, "L'année Celtique," *Revue Celtique*, xxv, p. 134.

[16] Herodotus, v. 16; Plutarch, *Quaest. Roman.*, lxxviii. 21; Macrobius, *Satur.*, v. 1. 15.

[17] A. Jeremias, *loc. cit.*

In Germany the Moon-hare has three legs.[1] In India the chariot of the moon has three wheels.[2] In China the moon is inhabited by a three-legged bird.[3] The prophetic tripod, among the Greeks, had similarly three legs, and in some tripods each leg is represented by a figure of the moon-goddess.[4] Hekate was threefold. "The moon," says Porphyry, "is Hekate, the symbol of her varying phases and of her power dependent on the phases. Wherefore her power appears in three forms, having as symbol of the new moon the figure in the white robe and golden sandals, and torches lighted; the basket which she bears when she has mounted high is the symbol of the cultivation of the crops which she made to grow up according to the increase of her light; and again, the symbol of the full moon is the goddess of brazen sandals."[5] The three-headed dog Kerberos was probably a form of Hekate, or, what is the same thing, of Despoina.[6] Other monsters, such as Geryon, the Chimera, Scylla, were similarly three-headed. Countless triads of Greek goddesses, such as the three Charites, the three Horai, the three Graiai, the three Syrens, the three Hesperides, the three Gorgons, the three Erinyes, are primitively scarcely distinguishable from one another or from the Moirai.[7] The Muses were also originally three in number, and were deities of the night heavens, governing the stars.[8] The deities who delivered oracles were, under varying names, the three Moirai; they were often spoken of simply as 'The Three.'[9] The Mothers, Nurses, or Nymphs, who bring up infant gods, are also forms of the Moirai who preside over the birth and destiny of every child; they were, like them, threefold.[10] Those triads of Hellenic goddesses were regarded at will as one or as three; they were triune, or three in one. Thus the three Erinyes are frequently viewed as the Erinys, the three Moirai as Moira, the three Gorgons as Medusa; Nemesis was sometimes regarded as one of the Moirai, or as threefold.[11] Like the Greek goddesses the great goddess of the Semites was worshipped at Mecca in threefold form, as three sacred trees, and she was spoken of as the Three Virgins.[12] In Phoenicia, Carthage, as in

[1] F. F. A. Kuhn and F. L. M. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen*, p. 103.
[2] J. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Indian Mythology*, p. 303.
[3] N. B. Dennys, *The Folk-lore of China*, pp. 118 sq.
[4] J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 408.
[5] Porphyry, in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 113*d*.
[6] Cf. *Orphica* (ed. Abel), pp. 47 sq., 294; Tzetzes, "Scholia on Aristophanes," *Ranae*, 142.
[7] See below, vol. iii, pp. 159 sq.
[8] Plutarch, *De Pyth. Orac.*, xvii; *Quaest. Conviv.*, ix. 14. 3; Pausanias, ix. 29.
[9] See below, vol. iii, pp. 148, 158 sq.
[10] See below, vol. iii, pp. 159 sq.
[11] Pausanias, vii. 5. 3; cf. ix. 35. 6.
[12] L. Krehl, *Über die Religion der vorislamischen Araber*, pp. 76 sq.

Krete and archaic Greece, the Great Goddess was represented by three pillars.[1] Semitic gods were likewise triads or triune;[2] and the Jewish god, Yahweh, appeared in the form of three men whom Abraham addressed as one.[3] Threefold deities were as prominent among the races of northern Europe and among the Celts as among the Greeks and Semites. Thus, like the great goddess of the Celts, Brigit, who was herself threefold,[4] the goddesses who presided over human destiny, the Norns, the Walkyries, had the same threefold character as the Greek and Roman Fate-goddesses. They were impersonated, among the Germans and Celts, by three priestesses, who officiated over the birth of every child. They became the three weird sisters. The three Mothers or Fatal Sisters survive in popular tradition as the three fairies, fays, or fatuae. In many of the stories in which they figure two of them are deformed, like the incomplete phases of the moon, and one of them rounded and beautiful, like the full moon;[5] in the same way as the moon-god of Ashanti is black in two persons, white in the third, and as the Erinyes were similarly two parts black and one white.[6]

[1] See below, vol. iii, pp. 89 sq., 161.

[2] See below, vol. iii, pp. 80, 84 sq.

[3] *Genesis*, xviii. 2 sqq.

[4] J. A. McCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, p. 74. Cf. below, vol. iii, pp. 69 sq.

[5] K. Simrock, *Handbuch der deutschen Mythologie*, p. 382.

[6] Some scholars still hesitate to recognise fully the relation between the triplicity of deities and the phases of the moon. But that scepticism, when the facts are fully considered, scarcely appears to be scientific. All sacred or mystic numbers, such as seven, nine, twelve, have, without any exception, reference to astronomical measures, and to seek any other derivation as regards the number three is, apart from all other considerations, to establish an unwarranted exception. The original significance of the primitive pattern is often forgotten while the application of the type becomes extended. If the original meaning of symbols, conceptions, and sentiments were never forgotten, there would be no occasion for any comparative social sciences or for any criticism. The triplicity of lunar deities generally develops more especially in relation to their mantic functions. Dr. Farnell, who hotly opposes lunar interpretations, and even goes so far as to deny that Hekate was a moon-goddess—a view quite incomprehensible on the part of so conscientious a scholar—asks: "If Hekate is threefold because she is the moon, why is not Selene threefold?" The answer is that Selene, and also Artemis, being late and not primitive goddesses, have no special mantic functions, these being already fulfilled by far older and more primitive lunar deities; and they are therefore not iconically represented as threefold. But that by no means signifies that they are not thought of as threefold. Selene is expressly called τρίφυες (Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, vi. 236); and her threefold character is expressed with a considerable amount of emphasis in the following formula: "νυχτιφάνεια τρίχτυπε τρίφθογγε τρικάρηνε τριώνυμε Μήνη θριαναχίη τριπρόσωπε τριαύγενε χαί τριοδῖτι" (C. Wessely, "Griechischen Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London," *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, xxxvi, Part ii, p. 30).

The principle by which the threefold division of the month and of the moon's phases was applied to lunar deities has sometimes been extended to solar and other deities. Thus Zeus has been described as having three hundred heads, corresponding to the three hundred days of the year.[1] More frequently, however, the threefold character of primitive lunar deities, having once set the pattern, other deities are represented as triune. Thus Zeus was represented at Corinth with three eyes.[2] Like the ancient Babylonian triune god, he was doubtless originally threefold, Pluto, the netherworld Zeus, and Poseidon, the marine Zeus, being but separate forms of the undifferentiated three-realmed Zeus. Similarly, the ancient Mexicans worshipped their gods as a trinity, which was, and is still among the wilder Mexican tribes, represented by three crosses.[3] The heathen Slavs similarly represented their deity with three heads, one looking towards the sky, the second towards the earth, the third towards the sea.[4] In Pomerania the three heads of the deity looked towards earth, heaven, and hell.[5] The Nordic gods were worshipped at Upsala as a trinity.[6]

The profane mimicry of the most holy mysteries of the Christian religion by barbarous heathens has naturally been a frequent cause of annoyance to the missionaries who have endeavoured to instruct them. "It is strange," says Father d'Acosta, "that the Divell, after his manner, hath brought a trinitie into idolatry, for the three images of the Sunne called Apomti, Churunti, and Intiquaoqui, which signifieth father and lord Sunne, the sonne Sunne, and the brother Sunne. In the like manner they named the three images of Chuqilla, which is the god that rules in the region of the aire, where it thunders, raines and snows. I remember that, being in Chuquisaca, an honourable priest showed me an information, which I had long in my handes, where it was prooved that there was a certaine 'huaca,' or oratory, whereas the Indians did worship an idoll called Tangatanga, which they saide was one in three, and three in one. And as the priest stood amazed thereat, I saide that the Divell by his infernall and obstinate pride (whereby he

Dr. Farnell would seem to have here with a vengeance the threefold Selene he asks for. To object that the text is a late one would not be to the point. Later mysticism harks back invariably to primitive and inherent conceptions; it never invents. Mystics are extremely unimaginative people; they add nothing to symbols but what is in them from the first.

[1] H. Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 289.

[2] Pausanias, ii. 24. 3.

[3] C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, vol. i, pp. 173 sq.

[4] I. J. Hanusch, *Die Wissenschaft des slavschen Mythus*, pp. 99 sq.

[5] J. D. H. Temme, *Volksagen aus Pommern und Rigen*, p. 49. For many examples of trinities see H. Usener, "Dreiheit," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, lviii, pp. 1 sqq.

[6] W. Golther, *Germanische Mythologie*, pp. 604 sq.

alwayes pretendes to make himself God) did steale all that he could from the trueth to imploy it in his lyings and deceits." [1]

Pagan symbolism has, however, also been extensively adopted in Christian religion and myth. Thus the three Moirai, or Mothers, of Greek and barbaric religions have survived as the three Maries, the three daughters of Holy Sophia, who is stated to be the moon, or as Faith, Hope, and Charity.[2] In a shrine at Vallepietra, near Anagni, a threefold Christ is held in high repute [3] (Fig. 1). Even cruder ikons were common until lately, representing God with three heads, or with three faces (see Fig 2). The Church did its best to put down this disguised heathenism, and protested against those "unnatural monstrosities," as a Florentine bishop called them. Pope Urban VIII had a number of three-headed gods

FIG. 1.—The Christ of Vallepietra.

FIG. 2.—A Triune Christ, from a Mission Chapel in Bolivia (F. Keller, *The Amazon and Madeira Rivers*, p. 158).

removed from the churches of Italy, and on August 11, 1628, he caused those Holy Trinities to be publicly burned by the hand of the hangman.[4]

The Moon the Source of Lunacy, or Divine Madness.

Hekate "inspired madness." [5] Madness, or lunacy, "demoniac phrenzy, moping melancholy and moon-struck madness," [6] are

[1] J. d'Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, vol. ii, p. 373.

[2] R. A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. i, pp. 310 sq.; A. Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums*, p. 234; E. L. Rochholz, *Drei Gaugöttinnen, Walburg, Verena und Gertrud als deutsche Kirchheilige*.

[3] H. Usener, *op. cit.*, pp. 181 sq.

[4] *Ibid.* The devil was also commonly represented in the Middle Ages as a Trinity. He is so described by Dante (*Inferno*, xxxiv, 38 sqq.).

[5] L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. ii, p. 513.

[6] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, xi. 411.

universally regarded as the particular effects of the moon. Mental derangement is also a peculiar qualification for the prophetic, magic, or saintly character. The powers of the prophet, magician, or priest are thought to depend upon 'inspiration' or 'possession,' and are manifested by various nervous phenomena which come under the denomination of hysteria—convulsions, trepidations, pseudo-epileptic fits, trances, hypnosis, somnambulism. The word 'shaman,' like the Greek word 'mainad,' means 'the raging one.'[1] Such a mental condition is sedulously cultivated by the aspirants to shamanistic, magic, and prophetic powers, and the main object of their training is to create or to accentuate a condition of nervous hyperaesthesis and instability.[2] The Yoga system of India is an elaborate system of shamanistic training, the yogin being the lineal descendant of the ancient local shamans.[3] Such mental and nervous disturbances are regarded as signs of inspiration, and as being produced by an indwelling supernatural spirit. In Egypt "they look upon all madmen, imbeciles, lunatics, and such as are afflicted with the falling sickness, as saints."[4] "Almost every village in the valley of the Nile," says Burckhardt, "furnishes some 'maslub,' or reputed madman, whom the inhabitants regard as an inspired being, and a blessing sent to them from heaven."[5] "Most of the reputed saints of Egypt," according to Lane, "are either lunatics or idiots. Some of them go about perfectly naked, and are so highly venerated that the women, instead of avoiding them, sometimes suffer these wretches to take any liberty with them in a public street. Others are seen clad in a cloak or long coat composed of patches of various coloured cloths, adorned with numerous strings of beads, wearing a ragged turban, and bearing a staff with shreds of cloth of various colours attached to the top. Some of them eat straw. . . . Whatever enormities a reputed saint may commit, such acts do not affect his fame for sanctity; for they are considered as the results of the abstraction of his mind from worldly things; his soul, or reasoning faculties, being wholly absorbed in devotion."[6] The reverence with which lunacy is regarded is universal in the East, but it is not confined to Islamic communities; and the saints of Egypt during

[1] J. Stadling, "Shamanism," *The Contemporary Review*, 1901, vol. i, p. 88.

[2] Cf. A. G. Wilken, "Het Shamanisme bij de volke der Indisch Archipels," *De verspeide geschriften*, vol. iii, pp. 325 sqq.; A. C. Kruijt, *Het Animisme*, pp. 443 sqq.

[3] A. E. Gough, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, p. 221.

[4] M. C. d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, vol. i, p. 211.

[5] J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, vol. ii, pp. 27 sq.

[6] E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, vol. i, pp. 345 sq.

the Christian period do not appear to have differed greatly from the Muslim 'maslub.' In later times "the Christian community of Gous, in Upper Egypt, had the honour of possessing an insane youth who walked about the bazaars naked." The Muhammadans, however, growing jealous, "seized him one night, and converted him by circumcision into a Mohammedan saint." [1] Similar estimates were current amongst the ancient Hebrews, who held that "the prophet is a fool, the man that hath the spirit is mad." [2] They are widely prevalent. The Baralonga, for example, render, we are told, the greatest honour to persons who are demented, "believing them to be under the direct influence of their tutelary deities." [3] "Regard for lunatics is a universal trait among the American tribes." [4] In an ancient Irish legend we hear of a person who "is treated as an imbecile, and as a poet or prophet." "The association of poetry, prophecy, and idiocy," observes Sir John Rhys, "is so thoroughly Celtic as to need no remark." [5]

Not insanity alone, but also epilepsy and every disease involving convulsions—those conditions, in fact, which are the special mark of magical and prophetic gifts—are ascribed to the influence of the moon. Among the Patagonians "they who are seized with fits, or the falling sickness, or the chorea Sancti Viti, are immediately selected for the employment (of magicians) as chosen by the demons themselves." [6] Epilepsy, "the sacred disease," was formerly spoken of as 'lunacy.' Jesus, for instance, cured 'lunatics,' σεληνιαζομένοι, which word is translated in the R.V. as 'epileptics.' [7] St. Eugende was once called upon to treat a young woman who was subject to epileptic fits. This he did successfully by causing her to tie round her neck the following incantation: "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I adjure thee, thou spirit of gourmandise, of anger, of fornication, thou lunatic spirit, leave this woman." [8]

Lunar Animals; the Dog, the Hare, and the Cat.

Hekate's attendant animal was the dog, which worships her by barking at the moon, and her coming was announced by the

[1] J. L. Burckhardt, *loc. cit.* Cf. S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, pp. 150 sq., and below, vol. iii, p. 228.

[2] *Hosea*, ix. 7. Cf. *Jeremiah*, xxix. 26.

[3] E. Casalis, *Les Bassoutos*, p. 261.

[4] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. iv, p. 49.

[5] J. Rhys, *Lectures on Celtic Heathendom*, pp. 98 sq.

[6] T. Falkner, *A Description of Patagonia*, p. 117.

[7] *Matthew*, iv. 24. Cf. *Matthew*, xvii. 15.

[8] D. Monnier and Vigtriner, *Croyances et Traditions populaires recueillies dans la Franche-Comté*, etc., pp. 234 sq.

howling of dogs.[1] She "protected dogs because she liked to hear the echoes of night resound with their plaintive wailing."[2] In entire harmony with the opinion of the ancient Greeks, the Peruvians, when there was an eclipse of the moon, used to beat their dogs in order to make them howl, "thinking her affectioned to dogges, for a certain service which they fable done by them, and therefore imagine she would respect them, and awake out of her sleep caused by sicknesse."[3] The Hurons and Iroquois were of the same mind, and also thrashed their dogs when there was an eclipse of the moon, "for they thought that the moon loves those animals."[4] The Apaches similarly honoured the moon by howling and yelping like dogs; and so perfect was their imitation that they were answered by the wild cojotes for miles around.[5] The Great Cojote, which plays a prominent part in the mythology of the Plains Indians, is a moon-god.[6] The cojote, or American dog, was the favourite form adopted by a witch in North America. It sometimes happened that an Indian shot a dog and in the place of the dead animal found the corpse of a woman.[7]

The intimate association which exists in primitive thought between witches and the moon is illustrated by the connection of both with certain animals. It is a widespread notion that witches are particularly apt to assume the form of a hare. "The hare," says Mr. Henderson, "is the commonest disguise of the witch in all the northern countries of Europe."[8] "This deeply rooted belief," says the same writer elsewhere, "has been current for ages and is not yet extinct. Wherever witchcraft obtains any hold the belief is met with. I have personally heard of and known many women who were regarded as having the power of shifting themselves into hare-shape."[9] "Witches," says Sir John Rhys, "shift their form, and I have heard of an old witch changing herself into a pigeon; but that I am bound to regard

[1] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.*, lxviii.

[2] Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, xliv. 195 sq.

[3] Garcilasso de la Vega, in *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. vii, p. 333; *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, vol. i, pp. 181 sq. Cf. P. J. Arriaga, *La extirpación de la idolatria del Piru*, p. 65.

[4] J. F. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. i, p. 249; F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. vi, p. 149.

[5] E. Reclus, *Primitive Folk*, p. 137.

[6] See below, p. 737.

[7] E. A. Smith, "Myths of the Iroquois," *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 73.

[8] W. Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-lore of the Northern Counties of England*, p. 168.

[9] Id., *Survivals in Belief among the Celts*, p. 102.

as exceptional; the regular form into which Manx witches pass being that of the hare." In Wales "only the women can become hares." In the Isle of Man one instance is mentioned of a man assuming the form of a hare, but he was a smith, and smiths, as we have seen, traditionally partake of the powers of witchcraft which properly belong to women.[1] In Scotland "great aversion was shown towards the hare both by the fishing population and the agricultural. It was into a hare that a witch turned herself when she was going forth to perform any of her evil deeds. If such a hare crossed a sportsman's path, all his skill was baffled in pursuit of her, and the swiftest of his dogs was soon left far behind." A witch-hare cannot be hit with ordinary shot; she can, however, be wounded with a crooked sixpence, and there are many stories of a hare being thus successfully shot. The pursuing sportsman will usually follow the wounded animal till at last it enters a cottage; when the hunter follows it there, no hare is to be seen, but only a bleeding, wounded old woman.[2] At Treva, in Cornwall, a man once asked his wife to go to St. Ives to buy some food. This she undertook to effect in the space of half an hour. The man kept his eye on her for some time after she had started, "and at the bottom of the hill he saw his wife quietly place herself on the ground and disappear. In her place a fine hare ran on at full speed." At the same lady's funeral, "when they were about half-way between the house and the church, a hare started from the road-side and leaped over the coffin. The terrified bearers let the corpse fall to the ground and ran away."[3]

[1] J. Rhys, *Celtic Folk-lore, Welsh and Manx*, vol. i, p. 294. Cf. Id., *Lectures on Celtic Heathendom*, p. 199.

[2] W. Gregor, *Folklore of the North-East of Scotland*, p. 128.

[3] R. Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England; or Drolls, Traditions and Superstitions of old Cornwall*, pp. 335 sq. Cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, "Topographia Hibernica," ix, *Opera*, vol. v, p. 106; W. G. Black, "The Hare in Folk-lore," *The Folk-lore Journal*, i, pp. 121 sq.; B. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, vol. iii, p. 278; Sir Walter Scott, *Demonology and Witchcraft*, pp. 203, 213, 233; D. MacInnes, *Folk and Hero Tales*, pp. 87 sqq.; J. C. Atkinson, *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish*, pp. 88 sqq.; A. W. Moore, *Folk-lore of the Isle of Man*, pp. 95, 147; M. Peacocke, *Folk-lore of Lincolnshire*, p. 172; C. Hardwick, *Traditions, Superstitions and Folk-lore*, pp. 113 sqq.; C. S. Burne and G. F. Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-lore*, pp. 212 sq.; A. Zernitz, *La Luna*, p. 12 (Russia); W. K. Kelly, *Curiosities of Indo-European Tradition and Folk-lore*; B. Baader, *Neugesammelte Volksagen aus dem Lande Baden*, p. 50; C. V. Müllenhoff, *Beovulf; Untersuchungen über das angelsächsische Epos*, pp. 115, 229; W. Mannhardt, *Wald und Feldkulte*, vol. i, p. 212; F. F. A. Kuhn and F. L. M. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche*, pp. 25, 450; G. F. A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, p. 160; W. A. Craigie, *Scandinavian Folk-Lore*, p. 377; Boismoreau, *Coutumes médicales et superstitions populaires du Bocage vendéen*,

The transformation of a witch into a hare is sometimes effected in a manner which is reminiscent of primitive totemic rituals, namely, by the witch anointing herself with hare's fat.[1] Indeed, hare's fat is believed to have the property of bringing out all the witch-nature of a woman, and of turning a modest woman into a witch. It was believed in mediaeval Europe that a gathering of well-behaved women might be transformed by the use of hare's fat into a regular witches' Sabbath. In order to effect this "they set a lamp with characters graved upon it, and filled with hares fat; then they mumble forth some words, and light it. When it burns in the middle of womens company, it constrains them all to cast off their clothes, and voluntarily to shew themselves naked unto men; they behold all their privities, that otherwise would be covered, and the women will never leave dancing so long as the lamp burns. And this," says Dalla Porta, "was related to me by men of credit. I believe this effect can come from nothing but the hares fat, the force whereof perhaps is venomous and, penetrating the brain, moves them to this madness." [2]

For a hare to cross one's path is regarded as most unlucky.[3] "If an hare cross the highway," says Sir Thomas Browne, "there are few above three-score years that are not perplexed thereat; which notwithstanding is but an augural terror, according to that received expression: Inauspicatum dat iter oblatus lepus." [4] In modern Greece, if a hare runs across the path of a travelling caravan, everyone stops and the caravan waits until someone overtakes it

p. 116; L. F. Sauvé, *La Folk-lore des Hautes-Vosges*, pp. 176 sq. The witch-hare figures in a poem by Mr. Walter de la Mare:—

In the black furrow of a field
I saw an old witch-hare this night;
And she cocked a lissome ear,
And she eyed the moon so bright,
And she nibbled of the green;
And I whispered "Wh-s-st! witch-hare."
Away like a ghostie o'er the field
She fled, and left the moonlight there.
—Walter de la Mare, *Down-adown-derry*, p. 76.

[1] G. F. A. Wuttke, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

[2] G. B. Dalla Porta, *Natural Magick*, p. 407.

[3] C. J. Billson, "The Easter Hare," *Folk-lore*, iii, p. 454; J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, pp. 223, 254; W. G. Black, in *Folk-lore Journal*, i, pp. 84 sq.; J. Brand, *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, vol. i, p. 305; A. de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. ii, p. 81; *The Kalevala*, tr. Crawford, vol. i, p. 576; J. Aubrey, *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, p. 109; G. L. Gomme, *Folklore*, pp. 287 sq.; *The Indian Antiquary*, v, p. 21; J. C. de Plancy, *Dictionnaire infernal*, p. 407; E. Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France*, vol. i, p. 87; G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, p. 106; G. Georgeakis and Léon Pineau, *Le Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 339.

[4] Sir T. Browne, "Pseudodoxia," *Works*, vol. ii, p. 79.

who has not seen the hare.[1] If, however, the hare is proceeding in the same direction as the traveller the omen is lucky.[2] In Scotland, in Ireland, and in Brittany the very name of the hare must on no account be mentioned.[3] It is a prevalent belief among sailors that the presence of a dead hare on board a ship will certainly cause bad weather.[4] The hare is likewise regarded as accursed and unlucky by the Huarochiri Indians,[5] and by the Bushmen and Namaquas of South Africa.[6] The hare is not, however, invariably maleficent, especially to women. With the Bushmen, as with several other peoples, the women eat hare's flesh freely, although it is tabu to the men. That abstention is usually set down to the danger which the men would thereby incur of acquiring the timid nature of the animal. That may, of course, be one of the reasons taken into consideration; but eating the flesh of a hare is regarded even in France as being beneficial to women and as rendering them more beautiful and attractive, that is, imparting to them bewitching powers over the men.[7] Hare's flesh was eaten for the same purpose in ancient Rome.[8] Among the tribes of Texas a powder prepared from the dried eyes of a hare which has been killed in the last quarter of the moon is regarded as an infallible cosmetic and love-charm.[9] Eating hare's flesh is also believed to render women fertile.[10] According to a widespread belief obtaining among the Jews and among the Greeks, hares are all of the female sex, and are impregnated by the moon.[11] Curiously enough the same belief is held by the Chinese.[12] The antiquity of the association of hares with witchcraft among Celtic nations is testified by the fact that Queen Boadicea, when opposing the Roman armies, drew a hare from her bosom, and followed the guidance of the animal in directing her attack against the legions.[13] The witches of Great Britain were, there can be no doubt, the successors of the famous British queen, who regarded the hare as a divine animal.

[1] J. C. de Plancy, *Dictionnaire infernal*, p. 407.

[2] C. S. Burne and G. F. Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-lore*, p. 212.

[3] W. Gregor, *op. cit.*, p. 129; Id., in *Folk-lore Journal*, ii, p. 260; C. I. Elton, *Origins of English History*, p. 286.

[4] C. Hardwick, *Traditions, Superstitions and Folk-lore*, p. 115.

[5] C. J. Billson, *op. cit.*, p. 455. [6] C. J. Anderson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 328.

[7] E. Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France*, vol. i, p. 87; *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, vii, p. 192.

[8] J. C. de Plancy, *Dictionnaire infernal*, p. 407.

[9] E. Berdau, "Der Mond in Volksmedizin, Sitte, Gebräuche der Mexicanische Grenzwohnerschaft des südliches Texas," *Globus*, lxxxvii, p. 382.

[10] G. B. Dalla Porta, *Natural Magick*, p. 18.

[11] Sir T. Browne, "Pseudodoxia," *Works*, vol. i, p. 305.

[12] N. B. Dennys, *The Folk-lore of China*, p. 118.

[13] Xiphilinus, in Petrie, *Monumenta Historiae Britannicae*, p. lvii.

The hare which is so closely associated with witches and their arts is also associated in the same intimate manner, in widely different parts of the world and stages of culture, with the moon. Throughout India the hare, which plays a most prominent part in myth and story, is identified with the moon. It is called 'cacas,' and the moon 'cacacharas,' that is, the 'bearer of the hare'; and the shadows on the moon are everywhere interpreted as a hare.[1] In one form of the many myths dealing with those ideas the dwelling-place of the hares is the 'lake of the moon,' and the 'King of the Hares' is a funereal god, or god of death.[2] In Tibet and among the Mongols of Central Asia the spots on the moon are, as elsewhere, a hare, and the current belief is that a great magician called Churmusta transferred the hare to the moon. It is stated that he did this "in honour of the Supreme Ruler of Heaven, who once changed himself into a hare."[3] The version is evidently pre-Buddhistic, for in Buddhistic legends it is Buddha who changes himself into a hare, and he is also the magician who sets the hare in the moon;[4] but the Tibetan version forcibly suggests that in ancient times, before the introduction of Buddhism, the 'Supreme Ruler of Heaven' was the moon. The myth is found as far south as Ceylon. "The natives of Ceylon, instead of a man, have placed a hare in the moon." The hare was set there by Buddha.[5] In the version current among the primitive Todas the presence of a hare in the moon is accounted for by his taking refuge there when pursued by the serpent. The moon received him with the words, "I will protect you till the end of the world."[6] In China also the spots in the moon are a hare;[7]

[1] *Satapatha-Brâhmana*, xi. 2. 4. 3 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xliv, p. 10); A. de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. ii, p. 76.

[2] A. de Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[3] B. Bergmann, *Nomadische Streifereien unter der Kalmüken*, vol. iii, p. 40. Cf. P. S. Pallas, *Voyages en différentes provinces de l'Empire de Russie*, vol. i, pp. 546 sq.

[4] A. de Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[5] F. Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare and of Ancient Manners*, vol. i, pp. 16 sq.; E. Upham, *The Mahavansi, the Raja-Ratnacari, and the Raja-Vali, forming the Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon*, vol. iii, p. 309. Douce's information is from "a learned and intelligent French gentleman recently arrived from Ceylon, who adds that the Cinghalese would often request of him to permit them to look for the hare through his telescope, and exclaimed in rapture that they saw it."

[6] W. H. Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 592.

[7] J. J. M. de Groot, *Les fêtes annuellement célébrées à Émoui*, pp. 495 sqq.; N. B. Dennys, *The Folk-lore of China*, pp. 117 sq.; L. de Milloué, *Catalogue du Musée Guimet*, 1ère partie, p. 156; F. von der Goltz, "Zauberei und Hexenkünste, Spiritismus und Shamanismus in China," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkenkunde Ostasiens*, vi, pp. 15, 25.

and the same notion is current in Japan.[1] In a Mongolian tale of which there are many variants the hares and the elephants have a dispute, and the king of the hares, who states that he speaks in the name of the moon, brings the king of the elephants, who represents the sun, to acknowledge the supremacy of the moon.[2] Almost exactly the same tale is found in Central Africa, among the Masai,[3] and in Rhodesia among the Baila.[4] The hare plays the most prominent part in folklore tales throughout South Africa. "He is a small creature, but with one exception all the animals are as clay in his hands."[5] In one tale he kills many lions.[6] In a very widespread myth the hare is the messenger of the moon, and it is he who pronounced upon mankind the doom of mortality.[7] "We are still enraged with the hare," say the Basutos, "because he brought that message, and we will not eat him."[8] The hare is in the moon, "he is still to be seen there."[9]

It is remarkable that the myths so widespread in Africa are equally popular among the Indians of North America. The rabbit, which is never clearly distinguished from the hare, is there said to have suggested that men should die whenever they stumble; the moon, however, intervened, and said there might be many kinds of stumbling and many causes of death.[10] The rabbit plays a similar part in the myths of the Cherokees as the hare in African folklore.[11] The Sioux see a rabbit in the moon.[12] Among the Indians of British Columbia a hare is present in the moon; it is "the moon's young sister."[13] In ancient Mexico the gods transferred the hare to the moon;[14] and

[1] C. Netto and G. Wagner, *Japanischer Humor*, pp. 120 sq.

[2] A. de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. ii, p. 77.

[3] A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 107.

[4] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, pp. 361 sq.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 340. The exception is the tortoise, another lunar animal. (Cf. below, p. 730 n[1].)

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 385.

[7] W. H. I. Bleek, *Reynard the Fox in South Africa*, pp. 71 sqq.; Id., *A Brief Account of Bushman Folklore*, pp. 9 sq.; L. Grout, *Zulu-land*, p. 148; J. E. Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, vol. i, p. 169; E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, p. 101; H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, pp. 711 sqq., 604 sqq.; C. J. Anderson, *Lake Ngami*, pp. 328 sq. Cf. below, p. 654.

[8] C. J. Andersson, *loc. cit.*

[9] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 219.

[10] G. A. Dorsey, "A Pawnee Ritual of Instruction," in *Boas Anniversary Volume*, pp. 351 sq.

[11] J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokees," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 262.

[12] L. L. Meeker, "Siouan Myth Tales," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* xiii, p. 163.

[13] J. Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, p. 91.

[14] B. De Sahagun, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, vol. ii,

the Indians of New Mexico at the present day see a rabbit in the moon.[1] There can be little doubt that the Great Hare, the most familiar form of the Great Manitu among the Iroquois nations, was originally the moon.[2] One of the names by which Osiris was known in ancient Egypt was strikingly similar to that given by the American Indians to their Great Manitu. The Egyptian god was commonly called 'Unnefer,' that is, the Excellent, or Great Hare. He is represented as the Great Hare seated in the moon.[3]

Hekate was a hare; in Karia she was worshipped as λαγινῖτις, the hare-goddess, and her chief shrine was at Lagina, the hare-city.[4] Artemis was a hare. When the town of Baiai, in Laconia, was founded, an oracle told the migrants that the goddess herself would show them the site of the new city, and forthwith a hare appeared and guided them to the spot.[5] Hares were sacred to Artemis; Greek sportsmen were careful not to kill young hares "for the sake of Artemis,"[6] and even at the present day in some parts of Albania they "consider it a sin to kill a hare, or even to touch one that is dead."[7] Dionysos, who was a moon-god, changed himself into a hare.[8]

The close association of the hare with witches in northern Europe has its counterpart in the connection of the animal with the moon, and with the great goddesses of Celtic and Teutonic cults. In Swabia children are told not to make shadows representing hares on the walls because hares are the emblem of the sacred moon.[9] In some parts of France the moon is inhabited by rabbits.[10] Holda, one of the forms of the Teutonic goddess, is accompanied by a train of hares, who act as her torch-bearers.[11] Another name under which the German goddess survives in popular tradition is Harke, or Harfe; she is represented as dwelling in the

p. 219. In Maya MSS. and on monuments the moon-hare is represented issuing from the moon's pitcher (C. Schultz-Selleck, "Die Amerikanische Gôtter der vier Weltrichtungen und ihre Temple in Palanque," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xi, p. 217).

[1] L. L. Meeker, in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xiv, p. 163; P. J. I. Valentini, "Trique Theogony," *ibid.*, xii, p. 39.

[2] See below, pp. 733 sqq.

[3] E. Lefébure, "Le lièvre dans la mythologie," *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, vol. xxxv, pp. 479 sqq. Cf. below, p. 782.

[4] L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. iii, p. 506.

[5] Pausanias, iii. 22. 9.

[6] Xenophon, *Venatio*, v. 14. Cf. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 135.

[7] G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, p. 106.

[8] Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 26; Philostratus, i. 6.

[9] T. Harley, *Moon-lore*, p. 66.

[10] F. Pérot, *Folklore bourbonnais*, p. 132.

[11] W. Mannhardt, *Wald und Feldkulte*, vol. i, pp. 409 sq.; G. Schöne and W. Mannhardt, "Die Eisfrau von Ichstedt," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde*, iii, pp. 84 sqq.

Cammern mountains with her two daughters, thus forming a triad similar to that of other goddesses. Her antagonism to the newer religion was manifested by her attempt to destroy the church of Brandeburg by dropping a granite rock on the top of it, but her strength was not sufficient to enable her to carry out her evil intention, and the rock lies to this day where she was compelled to let it fall. According to another report she died on the introduction of Christianity into Germany. She was, like Artemis, the special protectress of wild creatures and of the hare in particular, which she kept in her cave. Huntsmen may sometimes see her rushing wildly past accompanied by a train of hares; but it is not possible to shoot a hare at night, for they are then under her special protection.[1] The part which the hare played in the agricultural cult of the ancient Germans is testified to by the importance which attaches to the hare in Germany in connection with the celebration of Easter. It is the Easter-hare which lays the Easter eggs, and it figures largely in association with them in German confectionery and Easter cards.[2] The word 'Easter,' or 'Oester,' which has been applied to the Paschal feast, is said by Bede to be that of an ancient German goddess.[3] That the hare occupied an equally important place in the cults of the Celts of Great Britain and of Ireland, though not known from direct and explicit testimony, is attested by much circumstantial evidence. The hare was in England, as in Germany, associated with the May-day ceremonies, and the custom of hunting the Easter hare was kept up until lately with much pomp by the Mayor and Aldermen of Leicester.[4] We know that the hare was tabu as food to the ancient Britons;[5] on the other hand, it was ceremoniously eaten as a sacred food specially reserved for kings in Ireland.[6] The hare which the famous queen of the Iceni used for prophetic purposes was probably the sacred animal of her goddess. That the favourite deity of the Britons bore, like the German Harke, a strong likeness to the hare-goddess Artemis appears likely from the fact that the Romans, in accordance with their policy of honouring native deities and of assimilating them to their own, dedicated numerous temples in Britain to the goddess Diana.[7]

[1] F. F. A. Kuhn and F. L. M. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche*, pp. 109 sqq.

[2] W. Mannhardt, *Wald und Feldkulte*, vol. i, p. 410; C. J. Billson, "The Easter Hare," *Folk-lore*, iii, p. 441.

[3] Beda, *De temporum ratione*, xiii. Holtzmann says: "The Easter hare is inexplicable to me; probably the hare is the animal of Ostara; on the picture of Abnoba a hare is present" (A. Holtzmann, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 141).

[4] C. J. Billson, *op. cit.*, pp. 454 sqq. [5] Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, v. 12.

[6] C. I. Elton, *Origins of English History*, p. 286 n.

[7] See below, vol. iii, pp. 71, 74.

Why is the hare so universally and persistently associated with the moon? It might be suggested that hares are frequently seen capering in the moonlight; and in Germany their dance in the light of the moon is assimilated to that of witches.[1] But it does not appear probable that such an association of ideas should have impressed itself so forcibly on the peoples of Central Asia, in Africa, in America as to establish the close and insistent association which we find. The original relation of the hare to the lunar deity was, there can be little doubt, sacrificial. The animals offered in sacrifice in those cults that belong specially to women are almost invariably small animals, such as birds, dogs, rabbits, hares, pigs. Women being in most instances unable to offer large animals, such as are used in sacrifice by hunters and herdsmen, are generally confined in their choice to smaller beasts. It is noted among the Athapascan tribes of North America that, while hunting of all large animals falls, of course, to the share of the men, "the women hunt hares, and catch them in snares which they visit daily."[2] In Nigeria women are very rigorously excluded from religious functions, there are no female priests, and no woman is even allowed to approach the sacred groves under pain of death. Among the prohibitions imposed upon them was the rule that they must not eat dogs or fowls, and the reason given is that those animals "bring witchcraft, in which women have no part."[3] It may pretty confidently be surmised that, as elsewhere, women have become excluded by the men from the practice of dreaded magic powers which they formerly exercised, and that dogs and fowls, which "bring witchcraft," were the animals at one time used as sacrificial animals in the rites that were practised by the women. Among the Totomacs of Mexico, whose chief deity was the women's goddess Centeotl, it was considered, we are told, that she required not the sacrifice of large animals; and, although the most bloody holocausts were the rule throughout the country, "only doves, quails, rabbits, and the like small animals," were offered to her.[4] The great sacred dance of the Dakotas which was supposed to be in honour of the Unktchi, the god of waters, whom there is every reason to believe was a moon-god, was called the Wakan Wacipi. The chief sacred objects in those mysteries were certain magical bags, and the aim of the initiates was to acquire and preserve the mysterious virtues contained in those

[1] F. F. Kuhn and F. L. M. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche*, p. 480.

[2] A. G. Morice, "La Femme chez les Déné," *Congrès international des Américanistes; XV^e Session tenue à Québec*, vol. i, p. 384.

[3] A. J. N. Tremearne, "Notes on some Nigerian Head Hunters," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlii, p. 164.

[4] F. S. Clavigero, *Storia antica del Messico*, vol. ii, p. 17.

'mystery bags.' Those sacred bags were made, according to the instructions of the god, from the skins of otters, raccoons, weasels, squirrels, and other small animals.[1] It is far from unlikely that the Mystery Dance of the Dakotas was, like other religious festivals of Siouan tribes formerly conducted by the women. This would explain why the sacred bags were invariably made from the skins of small animals which could easily be trapped by women. The rule that the sacrificial animals of women belong to small species is indeed universal. The dove, which, we have seen, is also an alternative form of the witch, is the favourite sacrificial animal of the Great Goddess throughout Western Asia, the bird of Ishtar and of Aphrodite, of all Semitic and Mykenean women's cults; and Jewish women offered doves as burned offerings. In the Congo women sacrifice jackals, foxes, and pigs.[2] The sucking-pig was the favourite women's sacrifice to the Great Goddess in Greece in her aspect of Earth-deity, probably on account of the grubbing habits of the animal. It is also a favourite disguise of witches.[3] The range of sacrificial animals in women's cults being thus limited, the hare is regarded as the natural representative of the moon deity in the character of 'protectress of wild things.' That attribute, which is common to moon deities and goddesses, refers in reality, as we shall see, to the function of control of the food-supply in pre-agricultural social phases; and of all small animals the hare is almost the only one which adequately represents that aspect of the goddess's functions. The relation between the moon and the hare is essentially one of protection; in India the hare is sheltered by the moon from the pursuits of serpents or of hunters; Artemis is the protectress of hares; Harke is likewise their protectress in her quality of 'goddess of wild things.' The hare was in fact sacrificed to Artemis,[4] and to Harke.[5] Other aspects of the moon deity, such as its function as the source of magical power and as controller of life and death, thence become aspects of the attendant animal also. The fructifying moon is identical with the fructifying earth, and in Aztec hieroglyphics the rabbit or hare is the ideogram for the earth.[6] Even the function of the moon as protectress of child-birth has become associated with the hare; in the Harz the spirits of unborn children sit by 'the pond of the hares.'[7] The hare is in Teutonic folklore an incubus, generally

[1] S. R. Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography*, pp. 227 sqq.
[2] R. P. Colle, *Les Baluba*, vol. ii, p. 617.
[3] F. F. A. Kuhn and F. L. M. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche*, p. 25.
[4] L. C. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. ii, p. 431.
[5] W. Mannhardt, *Wald und Feldkulte*, vol. i, p. 410, note.
[6] A. de Humboldt, *Vues des Cordillières et monuments des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique*, vol. ii, p. 131.
[7] W. Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

known as Alp, who, like the moon in primitive cultures, has intercourse with women during their sleep.[1]

The cat is another favourite form assumed by the witch, and was the usual disguise of the 'familiar spirit' of witches in western Europe.[2] In West Africa also the cat is the commonest animal into which a witch may change.[3] The cat is accordingly credited with having nine lives, with being able to see in the dark, and is feared as being liable to cause storms. It is a common and widespread superstition in Europe that a cat 'washing' herself behind the ears forbodes rain;[4] and in Asia Minor likewise rain is expected if a cat licks her paws.[5] Persons who dislike cats will, it is thought, be followed to their grave by rainy weather; and in Holland neglect to feed a cat will produce rain, especially at a wedding.[6] In Indonesia it is considered that one of the best means of bringing about a good downpour is to compel a cat to wash herself. Thus in Java and in Sumatra, when rain is needed, cats are taken to a stream and given a bath.[7] The natives of Southern Celebes, when there is a drought, carry a cat round the fields in a sedan chair, and keep squirting water over it.[8] In Anatolia the greatest misfortune that can befall a dead man is that a cat should jump over his coffin, for his body would not decompose and he would thus be prevented from entering Paradise. Accordingly, the first thing to be done when a person dies is to catch all the cats in the neighbourhood and lock them up.[9] Not only is the cat almost as prevalent a disguise of the witch as is the hare, but in the Middle Ages heretics were commonly accused of worshipping cats. The Cathari were said, though erroneously, to have derived

[1] E. H. Meyer, *Mythologie der Germanen*, p. 133; W. Mannhardt, *op. cit.* vol. i, p. 410.

[2] M. A. Murray, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe*, pp. 209 sqq., 216 sqq., 224 sq., 241; J. Boudin, *De la Démonomanie des Sorciers*, p. 257.

[3] A. Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans of the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone*, vol. i, p. 260.

[4] R. Inwards, *Weather Lore*, pp. 151 sq.; G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, p. 110; Dr. Boismoreau, *Coutumes médicales et superstitions populaires den Bocage vendéen*, p. 102.

[5] E. H. Carnoy and J. Nicolaïdes, *Traditions populaires de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 340.

[6] C. Hardwick, *Traditions, Superstitions and Folk-lore*, p. 115.

[7] G. A. F. Hazeu, "Kleine bijdragen tot de ethnografie en folklore van Java," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xlvi, p. 298; A. L. van Hasselt, *Volkbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra*, pp. 320 sq.

[8] B. F. Matthes, "Over de 'âdá's' of gewoonten der Makassaren en Boegineezen," *Verslagen en mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeeling Letterkunde, 3de Reeks, ii, p. 169.

[9] E. H. Carnoy and J. Nicolaïdes, *op. cit.*, p. 320. Cf. G. F. Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

their name from the practice, and the charge was brought against the Knights Templar. The Stadinghi, a sect of heretics which gave trouble to the Church in the thirteenth century, are expressly accused in a bull of Pope Gregory IX of the crime of keeping black cats.[1]

The important part played by cats in the rituals of witches and heretical sects " is clearly derived from an early form of sacrifice." [2] Shakespeare appears to refer to the practice, and witches were accused of producing storms by baptising a cat and thereafter drowning it.[3] In doing so they were certainly observing a venerable rite, for it was until not very long ago the custom in several parts of France to hang cats in a basket over the Midsummer bonfires, which were regarded as specially beneficial in producing rain and securing an abundant harvest.[4] In Bohemia and in Russia a black cat is buried alive in the field in order to promote the fertility of the land.[5] It is still thought in some parts of Lancashire that one of the most effective means of securing good luck is to shut the cat up in the oven.[6] In Slavonia the women imagine that they can compel a man to fall in love with them if they can contrive that he shall eat the heart of a black cat killed at the new moon.[7] The cat was, no doubt, originally domesticated by women, and was thus from the first their ' familiar ' animal.

Cats are believed to become fat or lean with the waxing or waning of the moon.[8] " Cats," says Cornelius Agrippa, " whose eyes grow wider or narrower according to the phases of the moon, are lunar animals, and are of the same nature as menstrual blood, with which many wonderful and miraculous things are wrought by magicians." [9] The Australian aborigines identify the moon

[1] H. Hallam, *A View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, vol. iii, p. 383. " Cathari a catti quia osculantur posteriora catti, in cujus specie, ut aiunt, apparet iis Lucifer."

[2] M. A. Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] A. de Nore, *Coutumes, Mythes et Traditions des Provinces de la France*, pp. 355 sq.; E. Cortet, *Essai sur les Fêtes Religieuses*, pp. 213 sq.; Laisnel de la Salle, *Croyances et légendes du centre de la France*, vol. i, p. 82; J. W. Wolf, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie*, vol. ii, p. 388; A. Bertrand, *La religion des Gaulois*, p. 407. The following account is entered in the books of the Prevost of Paris :—Item : To Lucas Pommereux one hundred sous for having supplied all the cats required for the fire of St. John during three years running, up to 1573."

[5] W. Mannhardt, *Wald und Feldkulte*, vol. i, p. 515.

[6] W. Thornberg, *An Historical and Descriptive Account of Blackpool*, p. 331.

[7] F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, p. 167.

[8] F. Douce, *Illustrations to Shakespeare and Ancient Manners*, vol. i, p. 395.

[9] H. Cornelius Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*, p. xxxii.

with a wild cat,[1] and the same view obtained in Tasmania.[2] The North American Indians believe that there is a cat in the moon ; [3] and in the Malay Peninsula the cat is the familiar spirit of the moon-goddess.[4] The natives of the northern territories of the Gold Coast ascribe eclipses of the moon to her being swallowed by a cat. " Why a cat, I could not discover," says Mr. Cardinall.[5] The cat was sacred to the goddess Freija, who rode on a chariot drawn by cats ; and Holda was attended by a train of maidens riding on cats, or disguised as cats.[6] In ancient Egypt cats were sacrosanct animals. Anyone who killed a cat incurred the death-penalty.[7] When the cat died, all the inmates of the house shaved off their eyebrows.[8] The remains of the sacred animal were carefully embalmed, and so abundant are cat-mummies in Egypt that whole shiploads have been brought to Europe to be used as manure. The cat was sacred to a number of Egyptian goddesses, among whom the cat-goddess Bast was most conspicuous in later times. It was also associated with Isis, and the head of a cat was represented on her sacred musical instrument, the sistrum. According to Plutarch, the cat in Egypt denoted the moon. " The variety of colours of the animal," he says, " its nocturnal activity, and the peculiar circumstances which attend its reproduction make it a proper emblem of that celestial body. For it is reported of this creature that it at first brings forth one, then two, afterwards three young, and so goes on adding one to each former birth till it comes to seven ; so that the cat brings forth twenty-eight in all, corresponding as it were to the several degrees of light which appear during one moon's revolutions. But though this may look like a fiction, yet there can be no doubt that the eyes of cats seem to grow larger at the full moon, and to decrease again and diminish in brightness upon the waning." [9]

[1] W. E. Stanbridge, " Some Particulars of the General Characteristics of the Tribes in the Central Part of Victoria," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, N.S., i, p. 301.

[2] J. Bonwick, *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*, p. 192.

[3] E. A. Smith, " Myths of the Iroquois," *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 81.

[4] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 13.

[5] A. W. Cardinall, *The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*, p. 23.

[6] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 305.

[7] Diodorus Siculus, i. 83.

[8] Herodotus, ii. 66.

[9] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 63. According to Dalla Porta, however, the changes in the eyes of cats are exactly the opposite to those described by Plutarch ; the animal's eyes are said to widen when the moon wanes and to narrow as the moon grows (G. B. Dalla Porta, *Natural Magick*, p. 12).

The Moon as Spinstress and Patroness of Feminine Occupations.

Women's attributes of fertility, and of magic or witchcraft, are not by any means the only ones which are dependent on the moon. Their indebtedness to that luminary is thought to extend to all their activities and avocations.

One of the activities most commonly ascribed to the moon is that of spinning and weaving. Thus the Iroquois believe that there sits in the moon "an old woman gifted with the power of divination; to this day she is clearly to be seem weaving a forehead strap." Once a month a cat which sits beside her unravels her work, and so she must go on till the end of time weaving her ever-unfinished web.[1] The same notion is familiar to the Cherokees.[2] The "Ancient Spinstress" of the Navahos is doubtless also the same lunar Penelope.[3] Among the Ojibwa she sits at a loom and weaves a girdle.[4] Among the Pawnees the moon is a witch called the Spider Woman.[5] Spiders are associated with the moon in various parts of the world. Thus the Paresi of Central Brazil identify the moon with a spider;[6] and among the Huitoto the highest heaven is occupied by a spider.[7] In the Banks Islands the companion of the moon-god and his associate in the creation of mankind is a spider.[8] In the Loyalty Islands the spider and the worm are the representatives of the power that sends rain.[9] In Nias, when the moon dies, his soul appears as a spider.[10] In Borneo the moon deity sets about the creation of the world by assuming the form of a spider and spinning a web.[11] In Sumatra, among the Bataks, the moon spins cotton.[12] In China the moon supplies the threads that bind marriages.[13] The moon is a spinster in innumerable folk-tales in Germany and in Italy.[14] In several German and Slavonic tales a

[1] E. A. Smith, "Myths of the Iroquois," *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 81.

[2] J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokees," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 262.

[3] W. Matthews, *Navaho Legends*, p. 109.

[4] L. Frobenius, *Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes*, p. 353.

[5] G. A. Dorsey, *The Pawnee Mythology*, Part i, pp. 43, 233.

[6] K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasilien*, p. 436.

[7] K. T. Preuss, *Religion und Mythologie der Uitoto*, vol. i, p. 49.

[8] H. R. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 159 sqq.

[9] E. Hadfield, *Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group*, pp. 227 sq.

[10] H. Sundermann, *Die Insel Nias und die Mission daselbst*, p. 60.

[11] A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, vol. i, p. 130.

[12] J. von Brenner, *Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras*, p. 217.

[13] N. B. Dennys, *The Folklore of China*, p. 117.

[14] K. Simrock, *Handbuch der deutsche Mythologie*, pp. 24, 438; O. Henne-Am Rhyn, *Die deutsche Volksage*, p. 32.

woman who is guilty of breaking the Sabbath by working at her loom on that day was changed into the moon.[1] In ancient Egypt the moon-goddess Neith invented weaving, and is represented with a shuttle.[2] Artemis,[3] Athene,[4] Aphrodite,[5] the Nymphs,[6] were spinstresses. Persephone weaves the shroud of the dead.[7] The Nordic goddess Frija was also a spinstress, and the constellation of Orion was her distaff; but in Sweden it is now called the distaff of the Virgin Mary.[8] The Teutonic goddesses, Holda and Bertha, were also spinstresses; and the German maidens had to complete their spinning by the time of their festivals.[9] The traditional attitude of the Moirai, Parcae, Norns is shared with them by goddesses and moon deities the world over. Among the Walloons the moon is the eternal spinstress.[10] Among the Kashubs Mother Eve is seen spinning in the moon.[11] The hare, the moon's associated animal, is also found in folk-tale as a weaver. An old lady once caused much jealousy amongst her neighbours owing to the enormous quantity of cloth which she wove; spying upon her, they discovered a hare sitting at the loom weaving.[12] Jewish women did their spinning and weaving by moonlight, doubtless considering that the moon deity would impart greater power to their industry.[13] German women had the opposite notion; on no account was spinning to be done by the light of the moon.[14] In Mexico, among the Huichol, when a woman sets about weaving or embroidering, she first strokes a serpent, the representative of the moon, and passes her hand over her brow and eyes to absorb the power imparted by the animal.[15] Among the Dayaks of Sarawak the power of weaving is regarded by the women as dependent upon the great female spirit; for it would, they hold, be quite

[1] O. Henne-Am Rhyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 sq.; F. S. Krauss, *Sagen und Märchen der Südslaven*, vol. ii, p. 63.

[2] D. Mallet, *Le culte de Neit à Saïs*, pp. 8 sq., 178 sqq.

[3] Homer, *Iliad*, xx. 70.

[4] *Ibid.*, v. 739; xiv. 178.

[5] C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, vol. ii, part ii, p. 1426.

[6] Homer, *Odyssey*, xiii. 107.

[7] Porphyry, *De Antro Nympharum*, xiv.

[8] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, vol. i, p. 270.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 269, 273; K. Simrock, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

[10] P. Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore de la France*, vol. i, pp. 17 sq.

[11] J. Gulgowski, "Sonne, Mond und Sterne in Volksglaube der Kaschuben am Weitsee," *Globus*, xciii, p. 145.

[12] F. F. A. Kuhn and F. L. M. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen*, p. 271.

[13] H. Seligsohn, in *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, vol. viii, p. 679.

[14] W. Wuttke, *Deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, pp. 14, 301.

[15] C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, vol. ii, p. 234.

impossible for a woman to weave such beautiful patterns without the inspiration of their divine protectress.[1]

It appears fairly natural, especially with the assistance of immemorial associations, to connect the moon, as measurer of duration, with the spinning of the thread, or the weaving of the web of time and destiny. Nevertheless it is probable that those poetical conceptions are not the original grounds for assigning those occupations to deities of the moon and of fate. That the primary connection between such pursuits and the moon was much more direct and unimaginative is shown by the fact that the moon is not only a spinstress and a weaver, but is likewise engaged in almost every other occupation belonging to the province of primitive woman. In Polynesia, where spinning and weaving are unknown, and where their place is taken by the making of bark-cloth, or 'tapa,' the moon is a maker of 'tapa,' and her favourite occupation is the hammering out of bark-cloth with a mallet.[2] Among the Potowatomi the moon is a basket maker.[3] In the Philippines the moon deity is engaged in making pots.[4] The Jivaro women call the clay out of which they make their pots "the soul of Ahora, the wife of the moon," and consider that the moon has a great deal to do with the successful making of pots.[5] Ishtar in Babylonia was called 'The Potter.'[6] In the islands of Ambon and Ulias the moon is employed in grinding seeds on a stone.[7] In China and in Japan the hare in the moon is engaged in pounding rice in a mortar, or, according to another version, medicinal herbs.[8] Butter-making is also an occupation of the moon.[9] Poetical symbolism is hardly equal to representing the moon as a cook; yet in Polynesia, she, or he, is actually engaged in that occupation, and on clear nights her oven may be seen, and also the tongs, with which she

[1] L. Nynak, "Religious Rites and Customs of the Iban or Dayak of Sarawak," *Anthropos*, i, p. 22.

[2] W. D. Westervelt, *Legends of Ma-ui, a Demi-God of Polynesia and of his mother Hina*, pp. 11, 42 sq., 119, 142; W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, pp. 45 sq.; G. Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 247; W. Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of Tonga*, vol. ii, p. 127.

[3] *An Account of the Captivity of John Tanner*, p. 318. The same occupation is ascribed to the moon in Germany (O. Henne-Am Rhyn, *Die deutsche Volksage*, p. 32).

[4] A. E. Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, p. 221.

[5] W. C. Farabee, *Indian Tribes of Eastern Peru*, p. 125.

[6] A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, p. 253.

[7] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, pp. 84 sq.

[8] N. B. Dennys, *The Folklore of China*, p. 117; S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. ii, p. 74; A. Zernitz, *La Luna*, p. 11.

[9] S. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, p. 193.

stokes her fire.[1] In Queensland also the moon is engaged in lighting a fire with sticks and cooking his dinner.[2] Among the Arapahos and the Beaver Indians the man in the moon is boiling a kettle.[3] Among the Eskimo the moon is likewise engaged in stoking, and the fires of the sun are kept up through the exertions of the lunar deity.[4]

The most familiar presentation of the man in the moon throughout Europe pictures him carrying a load of firewood.[5] That strange occupation for a man is popularly interpreted as a punishment laid upon him, and significantly, for the crime of Sabbath-breaking.[6] In some popular myths he is Cain, or Judas Iscariot.[7] The representation is, however, much older than Christianity. Among the Yoruba of the Gold Coast, as in Europe, there is a Sabbath-breaker in the moon who carries a load of firewood.[8] Whether the notion is imported from Europe it is difficult to say; but the same idea is found among the Thonga,[9] and all southern Bantu.[10] In some variants of the European story the crime for which the moon man is punished is that of scattering thorns on the path to the Church, in order to impede Christians attending divine service.[11] These are manifestly but aetiological stories to account for an old-established notion; and the firewood of the man in the moon has baffled the ingenuity of interpreters. But the gathering of firewood, like all other attributes and avocations of the moon deity, is but one of the habitual occupations of primitive woman. Dr. Otis Mason in his charming book on the manifold labours and industries of woman in early society, singles out the picture, familiar to every traveller,

[1] W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs of the Southern Pacific*, p. 45.

[2] W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 5*, p. 7.

[3] J. Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 1006; G. Keith, in L. R. Masson, *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, vol. ii, p. 286.

[4] F. Boas, "The Central Eskimo," *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 597, 599.

[5] For numerous illustrations of the belief see T. Harley, *Moon-Lore*, pp. 21 sqq.; P. Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore de la France*, vol. i, pp. 12 sqq.

[6] *Ibid.*; E. Cordier, *Superstitions et légendes des Pyrenées*, p. 5; F. S. Krauss, *Sagen und Märchen der Südslaven*, vol. ii, p. 64; G. Pitré, *Usi e costumi, credenze e pregiudizi del popolo Siciliano*, vol. iii, p. 20. Reference is made to *Numbers*, xv. 32–36, where a man is stoned for gathering sticks on the Sabbath.

[7] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, vol. ii, pp. 719 sq.; L. Morin, in *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, vii, p. 448; T. Harley, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Dante, *Inferno*, xx. 123, *Paradiso*, ii. 50.

[8] R. E. Dennet, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 195.

[9] H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. ii, p. 283.

[10] D. Kidd, *Savage Childhood*, p. 149.

[11] S. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, p. 193.

whether in savage countries or in Europe, of the woman wending her way, bent under an enormous load of firewood as a typical emblem of primitive woman's toil.[1] Among the Banyoro of East Africa, the first act of the bride after marriage is to draw a small pitcher of water from a well, and to gather a bundle of sticks. "The drawing of water and the carrying of fuel typified," says the Rev. J. Roscoe, "the duties of the wife."[2] The man in the moon sometimes carries a load of charcoal instead of wood.[3] In carrying firewood or charcoal, as in carrying pitchers, in cooking, spinning, weaving, the man in the moon but conforms to the law by which he assumes every feminine occupation.

The Moon regarded as the Producer of Vegetation.

The notion has, in the instance of the bearer of firewood been, doubtless, reinforced by the traditional presence of trees and shrubs in the moon. In some representations of the man in the moon, he does not carry wood, but merely stands surrounded by thorn bushes.[4] Thorn bushes were regarded as sacred among the Celts and the Teutons; no one was allowed to clip them except for sacred purposes, and they were used for cremating the dead.[5] In Polynesia "the spots observed in the moon are supposed to be groves of a sort of tree which once grew in Otaheite, and being destroyed by accident, their seeds were carried thither by doves, where they now flourish."[6] A similar account of the trees in the moon is given by the natives of the Ambon and Ulias Islands.[7] Trees are observed in the moon in several other Molucca Islands,[8] in Melanesia,[9] in the Malay Peninsula,[10] in China,[11] and in

[1] Otis T. Mason, *Woman in Primitive Culture*, p. 133.

[2] J. Roscoe, *The Soul of Central Africa*, p. 184.

[3] L. Strackerjan, *Aberglauben und Sagen am den Herzogtum Oldenburg*, vol. ii, p. 106; O. Henne-Am Rhyn, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[4] T. Harley, *Moon-Lore*, p. 30.

[5] K. Blind, in *Folk-lore*, iii, p. 89.

[6] J. Cook, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, vol. ii, p. 167. Cf. W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, vol. iii, p. 171; W. D. Westervelt, *Legends of Gods and Ghosts* (*Hawaiian Mythology*), pp. 37, 47 sq.

[7] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, pp. 84 sq.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 145, 213, 242.

[9] R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, pp. 329, 334.

[10] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 13; W. E. Maxwell, "The Folk-lore of the Malays," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 7, p. 27.

[11] J. J. M. de Groot, *Les fêtes annuellement célébrées à Émoui*, vol. ii, p. 507; W. F. Mayers, *The Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 95; N. B. Dennys, *The Folklore of China*, p. 118.

Sweden.[1] In modern Greece the man in the moon, who is no other than Cain, is engaged in cutting down a tree, which, however, grows again every month.[2] The same notion is current in China.[3]

One of the most universal and prominent attributes of the moon is, in fact, that of producer of all vegetable life. Among Brazilian tribes the moon was regarded as having "created all vegetables," and was called "the Mother of Vegetables."[4] Among the agricultural tribes of North America the moon, the 'Old Woman who never dies,' was the 'Mother' of corn and all other vegetables[5]; and the Cherokee identified the maize with the 'Old Woman' herself.[6] The same assimilation of the moon with vegetation obtained among the ancient Mexicans.[7] The natives of the Mori district in Central Celebes regard the moon as the producer of rice, and think that the rice-spirit dwells in the moon.[8] In India likewise the moon is "the bearer of seed, the bearer of plants,"[9] and is identified with the sacred plant, soma, "the Lord of Plants."[10] The ancient Persians held the same belief and said that the moon "flows towards the pastures to give food."[11] The moon was regarded by the Babylonians as the producer of all vegetable life.[12] Among the Hebrews the moon was spoken of as the bearer of "all things precious."[13]

So intimately is the moon associated with the growth of vegetation that it is often completely identified with a sacred plant or

[1] G. O. Hyltin-Cavallius, *Wärend och Widarne*, vol. ii, p. xviii.

[2] N. G. Politis, in W. H. Roscher, *Über Selene und Verwandtes*, p. 181.

[3] J. J. M. de Groot, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 501 sq.

[4] J. V. Couto de Magelhães, *O Selvagem*, pp. 122, 124; F. J. de Santa Anna Nery, *Folk-lore brésilien*, pp. 249 sq.; P. Ehrenreich, *Beiträge zur Volkerkunde Brasiliens*, p. 72.

[5] Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, vol. ii, pp. 182 sqq.; W. Matthews, *Ethnology and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians*, p. 12.

[6] J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokees," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, part i, pp. 264 sq.

[7] See below, vol. iii, p. 63.

[8] A. C. Kruijt, "Eenige ethnographische aanteekenigen omtrent de Toboengkoe en de Tomori," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, xliv, p. 231.

[9] *Rig-Veda*, ix. 60. 4. Cf. A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, vol. i, p. 359; H. Oldenberg, *La religion des Védas*, p. 185; A. de Gubernatis, *Mythologie des plantes*, vol. i, p. 108.

[10] *Anugita*, xxviii. 16 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. viii, p. 346); J. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, p. 302.

[11] *Vendidad*, xxi. 111 *b*. 9 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. iv, p. 233). Cf. A. Hovelacque, *L'Avesta, Zoroaste et le Mazdéisme*, pp. 239 sq.

[12] See below, vol. iii, pp. 90 sq.

[13] *Deuteronomy*, xxx. 14. Cf. L. Krehl, *Über die Religion der vorislamischen Araber*, p. 74. Wealth in primitive society means stores of food. Cf. above, vol. i, p. 482; below, vol. iii, p. 162.

tree, as with the soma-plant in India and the maize-plant in America. In the myths of the Iroquois, before the moon existed in her present form, the upper world was lighted by a luminous tree, the functions of which were taken over by the moon when she descended to light the earth.[1] The Caribs and the Arawaks, who regard the moon as the supreme being, picture the world as having arisen from a gigantic tree, whose leaves and twigs gave rise to all other plants and to all creatures.[2] Such a Tree of Life resembles the world-tree of Nordic mythology, which is usually known as the tree Yggdrasil, but which in the Völuspa is spoken of as 'miqtvidhr,' or 'the tree that metes out the fate of men.' It is also known as the Tree of Mimir, who appears to have been an ancient Nordic Moon-god, and the tree of fate is said to be the dwelling-place of Odin's lost eye.[3] In South America the sacred pachimba-palm is regarded as having fallen from the moon, and is considered to be identical with it.[4] The palm tree was also regarded by experts in astrological lore in Europe as partaking of the virtues of the moon, and as being in fact directly produced by the moon.[5] The natives of the Sunda Islands say that their sacred tree existed "before the gods existed."[6] In the Admiralty Islands the coco-nut palm is identified with the moon.[7] In New Britain the full moon is said to have come out of a sugar-cane.[8] Among the Bambala of West Africa the moon-god is worshipped in the form of a tree.[9] The form under which the great Arabian moon-goddess Al-Uzza was worshipped at Mecca was that of a tree.[10] All Semitic moon divinities were similarly associated with trees and sacred bushes.[11]

[1] *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Relation of 1655–56, vol. xlii, p. 149.

[2] W. H. Brett, *Legends and Myths of the Aboriginal Indians of British Guiana*, pp. 7, 104 sq.

[3] P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons*, pp. 347 sqq. For Mimir and the missing eye of Odin, or Wotan, see below, vol. iii, p. 68.

[4] F.-J. de Santa Anna Nery, *Folk-lore brésilien*, pp. 246 sq.; L. M. Torres, *Los primitivos habitantes del delta del Parana*, pp. 460 sq.; K. T. Preuss, *Religion und Mythologie der Uitoto*, pp. 53 sqq.

[5] H. Cornelius Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*, p. xxxii.

[6] E. Metzger, "Mitteilungen über Glauben und Aberglauben bei Sundanesen und Javanesen," *Globus*, xliv, pp. 184 sqq.

[7] P. J. Meier, "Mythen und Sagen der Admiralitäts-Insulaner," *Anthropos*, ii, pp. 660 sqq.

[8] Id., *Mythen und Erzählungen der Bewohner der Gazelle-Halbinsel (Neu-Pommern)*, pp. 34 sqq.; P. A. Kleintitschen, *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazelle-Halbinsel*, pp. 332 sqq.

[9] J. Henry, *L'âme d'un peuple africain. Les Bambala*, pp. 95 sq.

[10] L. Krehl, *Über die Religion der vorislamischen Araber*, p. 74.

[11] See in particular W. W. Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. ii, pp. 217 sqq.

On some Babylonian cylinders the identification is represented in a very realistic manner; the moon-god, with the crescent on his head, constitutes the trunk of a tree, and leafy boughs and branches are seen growing from every part of his person.[1] In Krete and archaic Greece, lunar deities were similarly worshipped and represented as trees.[2]

The moon is more particularly identified with the juices and sap of vegetables and trees. Sap is supposed to rise and fall with the phases of the moon; hence it is a technical rule that in order to obtain dry timber it must be felled at the waning of the moon. Thus among the Indians of Rio Grande it was considered that "while the moon was growing, sap was always flowing, and that anything cut with the sap still in it wouldn't give products that would endure."[3] The rule, which is observed by the Dayaks of Borneo,[4] is a generally recognised principle of forestry to the present day.[5] The juices of vegetables are, in fact, regarded as their life-blood or soul, and are also looked upon as the life-blood or soul of the moon. Accordingly, the highest forms of divine inspiration are acquired by partaking of those lunar emanations, as by drinking the juice of the Soma, or, in South America, the fermented concoction known as 'chicha,' or other vegetable beverages, or the juice of the grape, which was regarded in western Asia as the very blood of the Deity.[6] To chew the leaves or fibres of the lunar plant or shrub is the necessary preliminary to the acquisition of divine and prophetic inspiration.[7] Among the Semites those trees which exude thick saps and aromatic gums were regarded with special reverence, and the sacred substance, as the vital fluid proceeding from the moon, was employed as myrrh and incense to diffuse and communicate the divine emanation. "The value of the gum acacia as an amulet," says W. Robertson Smith, "is connected with the idea that it is a clot of menstruous blood, i.e., that the tree is a woman."[8]

The moon which brings forth all vegetables is thus the cosmic or

[1] E. de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, vol. i, p. 287.

[2] A. Evans, "Mycenean Tree and Pillar Cult," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxi, pp. 101 sqq.; C. G. W. Boetticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen*, pp. 204 sqq.; G. F. Creuzer, *Symbolik*, vol. iii, p. 371; F. G. Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, vol. i, p. 552; P. Rolle, *Recherches sur le culte de Bacchus*, vol. i, p. 154.

[3] J. G. Bourke, "Superstitions of Rio Grande," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vii, p. 136.

[4] A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, vol. ii, pp. 86, 255.

[5] See J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, vol. vi, pp. 133, 135 sq.; G. B. Dalla Porta, *Natural Magick*, p. 12.

[6] See below, vol. iii, pp. 133 sq.

[7] See above, p. 598.

[8] W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, p. 133.

divine counterpart of the primitive cultivator of the soil, and the presence of trees and shrubs in the moon is a direct consequence of the function of the moon as the source of woman's command of the magic of fertility and of her power to cause the earth to bring forth food. In North Frisia, and also in Brittany, the man in the moon carries not a bundle of firewood, but a load of cabbages.[1]

The Moon the Controller of Water and Moisture.

Primitive women secure the fertility of the earth by watering it and by performing magic incantations which bring about a fall of rain. In those functions, as in all others, they are assisted by the moon. In order to fulfil her office of bringer forth of vegetation, the moon has, by universal consent, complete control of all water and moisture. Snow, according to the Eskimo, comes directly from the moon.[2] Among the Tlinkit of Alaska, children bearing water-pitchers may be seen in the moon.[3] In British Columbia the moon is represented as bearing water-pitchers.[4] Among the Navahos the moon "contains all kind of water."[5] The Cherokees pray to the moon not to let it rain or snow.[6] The moon-goddess of the Iroquois tribes was also the goddess of waters. "As the moon is associated with dampness and dews of the night," says Dr. Brinton, "an ancient and widespread myth identified her with the goddess of water. The Indians looked upon the moon not only as forewarning by her appearance of the approach of rain and fogs, but as being the actual cause."[7] Among the Algonkin tribes the terms for moon and for water were the same.[8] The Sioux represented the moon as carrying a pitcher.[9] Unk-ta-he, the chief god of the Dakotas, was the god of witchcraft

[1] B. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, vol. iii, p. 57; H. Le Carguet, in *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, xvii, p. 588; E. and J. de Goncourt, *La fille Elisa*, p. 82.

[2] F. Boas, "The Central Eskimo," *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 599.

[3] A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit Indianer*, pp. 270 sq.

[4] J. Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson Indians*, pp. 91 sq.; Id., "The Shuswap," *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. i, p. 653; F. Boas, "Indianische Sagen von der Nord Pacifische Kuste," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, xxv, p. 453.

[5] W. Matthews, *Navaho Legends*, p. 80.

[6] J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokees," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 257.

[7] D. G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 130.

[8] F. von Hellwald, in *Das Ausland*, 1871, p. 1158.

[9] J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Folklore and Mythological Tales," *The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, vi (1884), p. 175.

and the god of waters.[1] The Pueblo Indians call the moon the 'Water-maiden.'[2] The serpent-goddess of Mexico, who was the moon, was also the goddess of water and of the ocean.[3] The moon is represented in Maya manuscripts, and on the monuments and cliff-carvings of Nicaragua by a pitcher of water.[4] Among the Moscos, Chia, the moon was the goddess of waters and flooded the earth.[5] Among the Brazilian tribes of the Amazon the daughter of the King of the Moon is Queen of all Waters, she rules over seas and rivers; she is called the Mother of Waters.[6] Among the Indians of the Gran Chaco the man in the moon is fabled to have been transported there while drawing water at a well.[7] The story is common in all parts of the world. It is told in New Zealand, and the lunar deity can still be seen carrying buckets of water.[8] The Yakut of Siberia represent the moon-god in the same attitude.[9] The Bushmen consider that the life of all creatures is dependent upon their drinking the water that comes from the moon.[10] Among the Hottentots the moon is the controller of the weather.[11] The aborigines of Queensland regard the moon as the cause of rain.[12] According to the Tartars of Central Asia the moon is full of water.[13] In China the moon rules the waters; or, as a Chinese writer puts it, "the vital essence of the moon governs water."[14] In Japan the moon "rules over the new-born earth, and the blue waste of the sea with its multitudinous waters."[15] In Vedic myth the moon is ruler over all waters. Soma, the moon, is also the rain.[16]

[1] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. iii, p. 485.

[2] C. F. Lummis, *The Man who Married the Moon, and other Pueblo Folk Stories*, p. 58 n.

[3] B. de Sahagun, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, vol. i, pp. 5, 9.

[4] C. Schultz-Shellack, "Die Amerikanischen Götter der vier Weltrichtungen und ihrer Tempel in Palanque," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, xi, pp. 217, 219.

[5] L. F. de Piedrahita, *Historia general de las conquistas del nuevo Reyno de Granada*, pp. 17 sq.

[6] F.-J. de Santa Anna Nery, *Folk-lore Brésilien*, p. 228.

[7] E. Nordenskiöld, *Indianerleben*, p. 273.

[8] W. D. Westervelt, *Legends of Ma-ui, a Demi-God of Polynesia*, p. 169.

[9] W. Sieroszewski, "Du Chamanisme," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xlvi, p. 216.

[10] W. H. I. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, p. 67.

[11] P. Kolbe, *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, vol. i, p. 96.

[12] W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 5*, p. 7.

[13] P. S. Pallas, *Voyages en différentes provinces de l'Empire de Russie*, vol. i, p. 536.

[14] W. F. Mayers, *The Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 288. Cf. J. J. M. de Groot, *Les fêtes annuellement célébrées à Émoui*, vol. ii, p. 495.

[15] W. E. Griffis, *Japanese Fairy World*, p. 299.

[16] A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 107.

Frogs, who croak to the moon, never fail to obtain rain from him.[1] In the Ganges valley, when there is a drought, the women slowly crush a frog with the lever used for crushing rice, and the croaking of the tortured animal is believed to be the most infallible of rain charms.[2] In the Kumaon district of north-western India a frog is hanged to a tree when rain is needed.[3] In Nepaul offerings of milk, rice, incense, and ghee are presented to the sacred frogs which dwell in a certain pool; and by this means it is thought that rain will be sent and the crops will be blessed.[4] In the province of Madras, when rain is desired the women tie a frog to a winnowing fan, and go from house to house, singing "Lady frog wants a bath." At each house the housewife comes out and pours a little water over the frog.[5] The frog, often interchangeable in myth not only with the toad, but also with the dragon, is a universal emblem of water and of the moon. Among the Salish tribes of north-western America, in British Columbia,[6] and among the Arapahos [7] a frog is seen in the moon. When the Thompson River Indians want rain they go about killing frogs.[8] The frog-clans among the Pueblo tribes are rain-making clans, owing to the assimilation of the frog with water.[9] The great goddess of Mexico, who is the moon and is ruler over all waters, was represented by a huge emerald frog.[10] In Chili the frog was the symbol of water.[11] The Indians of Peru,

[1] *Rig-Veda*, ix. 112; vii. 103; A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, vol. i, pp. 360, 540, 356, 363; A. Holtzman, *Indische Sagen*, vol. ii, pp. 1 sqq. A. de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. i, p. 18, vol. ii, p. 375; M. Bloomfield, "On the Frog-hymn, Rig Veda, vii, 103," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xvii, pp. 73 sqq.

[2] C. J. Stevenson-Moore, "Harvest Festivals in Muzuffarpur," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxxii, Part iii, p. 39.

[3] W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, vol. i, p. 73.

[4] A. L. Waddell, "Frog-Worship among the Newars," *The Indian Antiquary*, xxii, pp. 292 sqq.

[5] W. Francis, in *Folk-lore*, xviii, p. 333; E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. iii, p. 245; cf. vol. iv, p. 387.

[6] Captain Wilson, "Report on the Indian Tribes Inhabiting the Country in the Vicinity of the 49th Parallel," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, N.S., iv, p. 304; R. Brown, *The Races of Mankind*, vol. i, p. 148; J. Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, p. 119.

[7] J. Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, part ii, p. 1006.

[8] J. Teit, "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," *Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. i, part iv, p. 346.

[9] M. C. Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 58 sqq.

[10] B. de Sahagun, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, vol. i, p. 9; J. de Torquemada, *Veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia Indiana*, vol. ii, p. 46. Cf. below, vol. iii, p. 62.

[11] T. Guevara, "Folklore Araucano," *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, vol. cxxvii, p. 575.

when they need rain, make images of frogs and place them on the tops of the hills.[1] Among the Indians of Guiana a frog can be seen in the moon.[2] When they want rain they beat a frog so as to make it croak.[3] The North American Indians see in the moon the 'Primeval Toad,' which contained all the waters of the world, and caused the flood by discharging them over the earth.[4] Similarly the Australian aborigines say that all waters were once contained in a frog, which flooded the world by discharging them.[5] The Solomon Islanders represent the moon as a toad.[6] In Tibet the moon is called 'The Golden Frog'; [7] and the Chinese see a frog in the moon.[8] The toad is also regarded as an emblem of the womb; and in Germany women suffering from uterine troubles present images of toads to the Virgin Mary.[9]

In Egypt the ancient moon-god, Khons, was the controller of the water of the Nile, which was believed to increase at every new moon; he was represented bearing a Nilometer in his hand. The moon was also represented by a pitcher full of water.[10] In Semitic mythology the moon-deity, whether god or goddess, is invariably the controller of water, and the primal ocean out of which all things arose is the element of the primordial cosmic deity. The sanctuary of Eridu was both a temple of the moon and of the watery element.[11] A commentator on the Kuran explains the name Manah, borne by an idol of the moon-god at Mecca, as derived from the root 'to flow,' "because the ancient idea of the moon was that it was a

[1] D. Forbes, "On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru," *Journal of the Ethnological Society*, ii, p. 237 n.

[2] W. H. Brett, *The Indian Tribes of Guiana*, p. 76. Cf. Id., *Legends and Myths of the Aboriginal Indians of British Guiana*, p. 76.

[3] A. Caulin, *Historia coro-graphica, natural y evangelica dela Nueva Andalusia, Provincias de Cumana, Guayana y vertientes del Rio Orinoco*, p. 96.

[4] Peter Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians*, p. 33. Cf. below, p. 731.

[5] R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i, pp. 429, 478.

[6] R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, vol. i, p. 315.

[7] A. de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. i, p. 376.

[8] J. J. M. de Groot, *Les fêtes annuellement célébrées à Émoui*, vol. ii, p. 495; N. B. Dennys, *The Folklore of China*, p. 117; S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. ii, p. 74.

[9] G. Thilenius, "Kröte und Gebärmutter," *Globus*, lxxxvii, p. 106; M. Höfler, "Kröte und Gebärmutter," *ibid.*, lxxxviii, p. 26.

[10] G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, p. 375. Cf. Sir Thomas Brown, "Pseudodoxia Epidemica," *Works*, vol. i, p. 57.

[11] W. W. von Baudissin, *Studien zu semitische Religion*, vol. ii, p. 151, vol. iii, pp. 166, 265; C. J. M. de Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, p. 95. Cf. vol. iii, below, pp. 84 sq., 94.

star full of moisture, with which it filled the sublunary regions." [1] The earliest name of the Babylonian moon-goddess is Nina, which means, "the Lady of Waters." [2] In Phrygia the moon-god, Men, was associated with water and with rain.[3] Among the Greeks and Romans the moon was regarded as the source of all moisture.[4]

In Albania "the moon, water, weather, women are allied ideas." [5] In a Breton tale the moon swallows up the sea; not until a skipper complained to her that he was thrown out of employment owing to the disappearance of the ocean, did she disgorge it.[6] In Ireland it was believed that there was a well in the moon.[7] In Nordic mythology, as in America and New Zealand, the moon kidnaps people while they are drawing water, and the figure of the man carrying buckets on a pole may be seen there to this day.[8] Our familiar nursery rhyme about Jack and Jill fetching a pail of water is but a version of an ancient rune in which the names, which figure as Juki and Bill in the ancient original, are but slightly altered.[9] In Germany the man in the moon holds a pitcher.[10] In a Carniolan story the man in the moon, who is called Kotar, makes her grow by pouring water into her.[11]

The watery character of the moon is referred to in the Middle Ages by almost every writer with an eye for such notions. Thus the astrologer van Helmont described the moon as "chief over the night, darkness, rest, death and waters." [12] The old English friar Bartholomaeus describes the moon as "mother of all humours, minister and lady of the sea." [13] "The seas and floods," says Dalla Porta, "rivers and springs, do rise and fall, do run sometimes swift and sometimes slow, as she rules them." [14] "Water," says Cornelius Agrippa, "is the lunar element, the water of the sea as well as that of rivers, and all things humid, the humours of trees and of animals, and more especially those humours that are white,

[1] T. Harley, *Moon Lore*, p. 133.

[2] S. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 47.

[3] H. B. Walters, in *Classical Review*, viii, p. 229.

[4] Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.*, iii. 10. 3; Macrobius, *Saturn.*, vii. 16; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, ii. 223, xx. 1; Aristotle, *Problemata*, xxiv. 14; Catullus, v. 505.

[5] J. G. von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, p. 250.

[6] P. Sébillot, *Légendes croyances et superstitions de la mer*, vol. ii, pp. 50 sq.

[7] D. Fitzgerald, "Popular Tales of Ireland," *Revue Celtique*, iv, p. 188. Cf. below, vol. iii, p. 71.

[8] B. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, vol. i, pp. 6, 143.

[9] S. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, pp. 201 sqq.

[10] F. F. A. Kuhn and F. L. M. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche*, p. 304; K. Simrock, *Handbuch der deutsche Mythologie*, p. 23.

[11] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 719, note.

[12] J. B. van Helmont, *Workes*, p. 142.

[13] Bartholomaeus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, viii. c. 29.

[14] G. B. Dalla Porta, *Natural Magick*, p. 11.

such as the white of eggs, fat, sweat, pituitary discharge, and the superfluities of the body." [1] So again, in a treatise on hygiene which was popular in the sixteenth century it is mentioned that " the Mone is Ladie of moysture and moveth humours." [2] A mediaeval poet refers to the moon as " Queen of the Waters," ' regina undarum ' ; [3] and Fracastoro, in his famous poem on syphilis, invokes the moon, " Splendour of the nights, Golden Moon, whom the deep seas obey, whom the moisture that is contained in all things obeys." [4] Shakespeare was familiar with those immemorial associations. He refers to the moon as " the moist star," [5] and makes Titania say :—

> the moon, the governess of floods,
> Pale in her eyes, washes all the air. [6]

The last verses may possibly have been reminiscent of the expression of John Lydgate, who speaks of—

> Lucina, the moone, moyst and pale,
> That many shower fro heaven made avail. [7]

The function of the moon as controller of atmospheric conditions persists amongst ourselves in the common notion that there exists a relation between the changes in the weather and the phases of the moon.[8] The belief, like other survivals of primitive thought, such as the notion that marriage between near kin is injurious to their offspring, is often seriously regarded as having the status of a fact; and professional meteorologists and astronomers have gone to infinite trouble to investigate it and to demonstrate that it is devoid of foundation.[9]

It is anything but obvious on grounds of mere nature symbolism why the moon should be universally and indissolubly associated with the control of water and moisture. That, as has frequently been suggested, the occasional presence of dews and damp mists on moonlight nights should have compelled all peoples in every quarter of the globe to recognise the moon as the source and ruler of all waters, including the ocean, appears improbable. The connection

[1] H. Cornelius Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*, p. xxxi.

[2] Guglielmus Gratarolus, *A Direction for the Health of Magistrates and Students, Englished by T. Newton*, fol. Xy.

[3] J. Tollius, *Fortuita*, p. 77.

[4] G. Fracastoro, *De morbo gallico*, lib. i, *Opera*, vol. i, p. 619.

[5] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, i. 1.

[6] Id., *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ii. 2.

[7] J. Lydgate, *The Siege of Thebes*, 7 sq.

[8] W. L. Browne, *The Moon and the Weather*.

[9] W. Ellis, " The Moon and the Weather," *The Observatory*, xvii, pp. 139 sqq. ; Id., " Supposed Dispersion of Clouds under the Full Moon," *ibid.*, pp. 114 sqq.

between the moon and the tides appears to be unknown to the majority of uncultured peoples. Those daring seafarers, the Polynesians, had no notion of the relation between the moon and the tides. They supposed that tides were due to the presence of a huge monster called Parata, in the ocean, which breathed twice a day only, his inhalations causing the ebb-tide and his exhalation the flood-tide.[1] In Africa, among the Fjort, the tides are explained by a myth having no reference whatever to the moon.[2] The Andaman Islanders are said to recognise the relation between the tides and the moon ;[3] but it is difficult to be sure that they have not derived the knowledge from visitors. The Greeks and Romans themselves had no knowledge, until a quite late date, of the relation between the tides and the moon.[4] If any connection between the tides and the moon is recognised by some uncultured peoples, it appears far more probable that it is deduced by them from the moon's character as ruler of the waters than that the latter notion is an induction from the former. No explanation drawn from a symbolic interpretation of natural phenomena appears adequate to account for an association so constant and so intimate as that of the moon with all fluid elements.

Nothing, on the other hand, would seem logically more inevitable than that the source of magical power and of fertility should necessarily be the controller of the waters and the moisture upon which fertility depends, which are regarded as the very principle of generation, and which it is one of the chief purposes of primitive magic to control. Woman is the primitive water-carrier ; she is also the primitive rain-maker. The two functions, the practical and laborious and the magical and thaumaturgic, are indeed scarcely distinguished from one another. The drawing of water, the carrying of pitchers, and the watering of the fields are regarded as magical operations, and are carried out with the solemnity of a ritual. "A ridiculous custom is in use among the Abipones," remarks Father Dobrizhoffer, "it is that the most aged woman in the tribe shall provide water for all domestic purposes."[5]

The attributes of the moon in primitive thought are not the products of a poetical symbolism of natural phenomena, but are

[1] W. Colenso, *Ancient Tide-Lore*, pp. 1 sq. ; J. White, *Maori Superstitions*. p. 22. The Hawaiians are said to be aware of the relation between the tides and the moon (S. Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands*, p. 109).

[2] R. E. Dennet, *Notes on the Folklore of the Fjort*, p. 9.

[3] E. H. Man, "On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii, p. 337.

[4] W. Colenso, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 sqq. So late a writer as Philostratus speaks of tidal phenomena as perplexing, and refers them, like the Maori, to the respiration of a monster (*Vit. Apoll. Tyan*, v. 2).

[5] M. Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones*, vol. ii, p. 152.

the transferred characters, functions, and activities of primitive woman, which are regarded as being derived from, and controlled by the magic power of the moon. The moon is everywhere regarded as the counterpart of women, their special deity, the controller of their being and the source of their powers. "The nature of women," says Rabelais, expressing the immemorial traditional notion, "is figured by the moon."[1] In Australia "the moon is a sort of patron of women."[2] In Loango the worship of the moon is "observed chiefly by the women."[3] Among the Bambara the moon-god is the women's god.[4] Among the Fan, the religious dances in honour of the moon are performed by the women; the men are excluded.[5] In ancient Arabia the moon-god was "the special protector of the women."[6] Among the Jews likewise the moon was the peculiar deity of women.[7] In China "the moon is regarded as chief and director of everything subject in the cosmic system to the Yin, or female principle."[8] "It is chiefly the women and girls who practise the cult of the moon, and the men relinquish it almost entirely to them."[9] In Albania the moon and women are indissolubly associated.[10] Among the Eskimo, when the moon is endangered by hostile powers during an eclipse, the women do not venture out of doors; when the sun is similarly menaced the men remain indoors.[11] In Mexico at the present day, among the native tribes, the moon "is the special deity of the women," and a woman "only prays to the moon."[12] In Peru the moon was the special deity of the women, and when the image of the moon was brought into the temple of the sun, it was carried on the shoulders of women.[13] Among the tribes of Brazil "the moon is the support of women, and watches over them to protect them."[14] In Tierra del Fuego the moon is "the Lord of the women."[15] These are but

[1] Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, iii. 32.
[2] K. L. Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, p. 50.
[3] J. Merolla, "A Voyage to Congo," in Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels* vol. xvi, p. 273.
[4] J. Henry, *L'âme d'un peuple africain, Les Bambara*, p. 95.
[5] H. Trilles, *Le totémisme chez les Fân*, p. 155.
[6] D. Nielsen, *Die altarabischen Mond-religion*, p. 35.
[7] P. I. Hershon, *A Talmudic Miscellany*, p. 342.
[8] T. Harley, *Moon-Lore*, p. 134.
[9] J. J. M. de Groot, *Les fêtes annuellement célébrées à Émoui*, vol. ii, p. 473.
[10] J. G. von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, p. 250.
[11] D. Crantz, *The History of Greenland*, vol. i, p. 212.
[12] C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, vol. i, pp. 265, 295.
[13] Christoval de Molina, *An Account of the Fables and Rites of the Yncas*, p. 37.
[14] A. I. Mello Moraes, *Corographia historica do Imperio do Brasil*, vol. ii, p. 285.
[15] See above, p. 432.

examples of the universal association of the moon deity, whether male or female, with women; it is constantly present to the consciousness of all peoples, even when they entirely misapprehend the original nature of the connection. "All the learned," says Spartian, "especially in Harran, believe that those who honour the moon as a female deity and give it a feminine name remain for ever enslaved to their women, but those who worship it as a male deity and give it a corresponding name, rule over their women." [1] In like manner, according to Palgrave, our Anglo-Saxon ancestors "had an odd notion that if they addressed that power as a goddess, their wives would be their masters." [2] And as the functions of the moon-deity are the counterpart of the woman's share in the sexual division of labour, so also the supremacy and importance of the deity as the primitive cosmic power and first object of nature worship is the counterpart of the magical faculties and functions of primitive woman.

[1] Spartian, *Caracalla*, vii.
[2] F. T. Palgrave, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, p. 42.

CHAPTER XXI

THE RESURRECTION AND THE LIFE

The Serpent and Eternal Life.

WITH the fall of man and the origin of death, with woman and the moon, who are held responsible for those disasters, is intimately associated an animal which plays a larger part in religious and mythological conceptions than any totem or any of the creatures that have become connected with the gods, namely, the serpent. The serpent is in all primitive thought, as well as in later symbolism, the emblem of immortality. By uncultured peoples the serpent is thought to be the only animal, with the exception of lizards and other reptiles, and also crabs, which are regarded as equivalent, that possesses the gift of immortality, because, instead of dying, it changes its skin. Casting off one's skin like the serpent is looked upon as the natural alternative to death. As is well known, savages do not regard death as a natural event, but ascribe it to witchcraft; it is woman's witchcraft, or, what is the same thing, the moon's, which brought death into the world. Yet the effects of old age are recognised as being manifested in the wrinkling of the skin. The natives of British Columbia consider that men die because their skin is too thin; if it were hard, like horn or nails, men would never die.[1] If they could change their skins as serpents do, men would also, savages think, be immortal; and it is generally believed that this was, in fact, the method by which the first human beings preserved their immortal nature.

Thus the Tsimshian of British Columbia relate that their tribal hero, or first man, applied to the moon-god, Haiatlilaqs, for the gift of renewed youth and health. The divine physician purified him by bathing him, imparting by those baptismal rites new life to the hero's, whose skin fell from him in the form of scales, leaving him as white as snow.[2] Among the tribes of central

[1] F. Boas, "Sagen der Indianer an der Nordwest-Küste Americas," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 1895, p. 201.

[2] F. Boas, *loc. cit.*

California it is said that death was introduced among men owing to the machinations of the lizards, who obtained for themselves the faculty of changing their skin; previously men did not die, but merely changed, or moulted.[1] The Iroquois related that a certain hero-god of theirs, Atotarho, was clothed in a garment of black snakes. When his clothes began to look the worse for wear he renewed his snake-coat.[2] The ancient Mexicans also had a god, called Xipe Totec, originally a moon-god, but regarded later as a god of vegetation, who regularly renewed his youth by putting on a new skin. In their religious ceremonies, intended to promote the rejuvenescence of Nature, the skin-changing faculties of Xipe Totec were imitated in a horribly realistic manner by a priest, who clothed himself in the skin of a young woman slaughtered for the purpose.[3] The Huitoto tribes of the Upper Amazon also relate of one of their divine heroes that he grew thin and sickly when his skin got old, but became full of life and health again when he changed his old skin for a new one.[4] The Caribs hold that formerly men, when their skin got wrinkled, renewed their youth by sloughing off their old skin like serpents.[5] The same notion is entertained by the Arawak tribes of the Orinoco.[6] They relate a story, among others, of a boy who had the misfortune, or rather the good fortune, of being swallowed by a serpent. He managed to pass through the body of the monster, and when he returned safe and sound to his friends, they exclaimed at his improved appearance, for he had changed his skin, and had now a beautifully mottled skin like a serpent's.[7]

It is somewhat striking to come upon an almost identical story in Australia. Again a youth, while bathing, was swallowed by a serpent, and eventually issued from the body of the reptile. But he had changed his skin, and had become quite white, like the immortal spirits of the departed.[8] Some Australian tribes believe that the dead put on incorruptibility by an opposite process; instead of being swallowed by a serpent they themselves eat a serpent. "They believe that there are two large carpet

[1] A. L. Kroeber, "Indian Myths of South Central California," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. iv, No. 4, p. 231; Id., "The Myths of the Mission Indians of California," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xix, p. 313.

[2] D. Cusick, *Sketch of the Ancient History of the Six Nations*, reprinted in W. M. Beauchamp, *The Iroquois Trail*, p. 17.

[3] E. Seler, *Codex Borgia*, vol. i, pp. 149, 155, 169; vol. ii, p. 254.

[4] K. T. Preuss, *Religion und Mythologie der Uitoto*, vol. i, pp. 76, 110 sq.

[5] W. H. Brett, *Legends and Myths of the Aboriginal Indians of British Guiana*, pp. 107 sq.

[6] R. Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, vol. ii, pp. 319 sq.

[7] W. Curtis Farabee, *The Central Arawaks*, pp. 117 sq.

[8] W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 5*, p. 16.

snakes ('Kooremah') of immense size, about forty miles long, either in Yalairy or on the road to it, which the dead blackfellows kill and eat, and which they believe are then reproduced." [1] In New Caledonia we come upon similar stories. The place of the serpent is taken by a sea monster, but fishes and serpents are often interchanged in popular conceptions, and the sea is throughout Melanesia thought to be inhabited by a huge sea-serpent. In the New Caledonian story a personage, called by Father Lambert Diaboula, is, like Jonah, swallowed by a huge fish. He eventually succeeds in getting himself disgorged by the monster, but his skin is changed. It has become white.[2]

In Tonga the god Tangaroa, who is a lizard,[3] is said to have sent his two sons with their wives to people the island. One of those sons was all that a son should be, but the other turned out badly. So Tangaroa appointed that the good son and his descendants should have white skins, and should be transferred to the land of the immortals; but the bad son and his people were condemned to have black skins and to remain in Tonga, never going to the blessed land.[4] The same story is told in Samoa, but the personages are lizards; the good white lizards go to heaven, the bad black lizards have no hope of salvation.[5] In Ellice Island the good son of Tangaroa is "the sea eel or serpent." [6]

In the languages of Melanesia the term for "to slough one's skin" is equivalent to "living for ever." [7] In the New Hebrides the origin of death is accounted for in the following manner: "An old woman went down to the sea, taking with her her grandchild. She set the child down among the pandanus-trees that fringe our

[1] E. Palmer, "Notes on some Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthrological Institute*, xiii, p. 291.

[2] Père Lambert, *Moeurs et superstitions des Néo-Calédonians*, pp. 345 sq. In another version the swallowed personage is a woman (*ibid.*, pp. 346 sq.). Cf. M. Glaumont, "Usages et coutumes des Néo-Calédoniens," *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vii, p. 134. Obviously similar tales are told in Ugi (Solomon Island) of the Wasohunugamwanehaora (C. E. Fox and F. H. Drew, "Beliefs and Tales of San Cristoval," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlv, p. 205), in the New Hebrides (W. Gunn, *The Gospel in Futuna*, p. 218), in the Loyalty Islands (E. Hadfield, *Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group*, pp. 290 sqq.).

[3] W. von Bülow, "Die Eidechse im Volksglauben der Samoaner," *Globus*, lxxiv, p. 257.

[4] W. Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, vol. ii, pp. 112 sq.

[5] J. Fraser, "Some Folk-Songs and Myths from Samoa," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxv, p. 258.

[6] G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 285.

[7] R. H. Codrington and J. Palmer, *A Dictionary of the Language of Mota*, p. 234. Cf. below, p. 651.

beach, and went to the sea. There she cast off her old wrinkled skin, as lobsters cast their shell, and she became a young and beautiful woman. She returned to her grandchild and said: 'My grandchild, let me take you in my arms.' But the child refused, saying, 'You are not my grandmother; she was old and wrinkled, and I'll not come to you.' In vain the grandmother pleaded; the grandchild would not go to her. So after many entreaties she said to the child: 'I willed good for you, I offered you good, but you have chosen evil.' So saying she returned to the sea, put on the old skin, returned and called the child, who willingly went to her. Thus it was designed at first that we were not to die, only to be changed." [1] The same story is told with unimportant variations throughout most parts of Melanesia; [2] and we find it again in Papua.[3] The god of the Roro tribes of New Guinea "was immortal because he often changed his skin after the manner of serpents." [4] The same legend is found in the southern Moluccas, on the island of Babar. "According to a tradition, men in former times did not die, but merely changed their skins like snakes. An old woman, who had laid aside her skin, was driven away by her old husband. She took off her new skin, and from that time dates the present manner of dying." [5]

Another form which the myth takes in the New Hebrides, in the island of Ambryn, is as follows: The two gods, Barkolkol and Buglian, who respectively represent the bright aspect and the

[1] Agnes C. P. Watt, *Twenty-five Years' Mission Life on Tanna, New Hebrides*, pp. 215 sq. Cf. R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 265; W. Gray, "Some Notes on the Tannese," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, vii, p. 232.

[2] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 260, 265 (Saa, Banks' Island, New Hebrides); W. Gray, "Some Notes on the Tannese," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, vii, p. 232 (Tanna); C. E. Fox and F. H. Drew, "Beliefs and Tales from San Cristobal," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlv, p. 138; C. Ribbe, *Zwei Jahre unter den Kannibalen der Solomon-Inseln*, p. 148; P. Kleintitschen, *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazellehalbinsel*, p. 334; J. Meier, "Mythen und Sagen der Admiralitäts Insulaner," *Anthropos*, iii, p. 193; O. Meyer, "Mythen und Erzählungen von der Insel Vuatom Bismarck-Archipel, Südsee)," *Anthropos*, v, p. 904. In Aneityum (New Hebrides) the following variant is told: "An old man took off his skin before he began to work in his garden. He then looked young. But one day his two grandchildren, finding his skin folded away, pierced it through, making many holes therein. When the old man put it on again he shivered with the cold; and seeing the holes in his skin, said to his grandchildren: 'I thought we should live for ever, and cast our skins, and become young again; but as you have done this, we shall all die.' And thus death was introduced" (W. Gunn, *The Gospel in Futuna*, p. 218).

[3] C. Keysser, in R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, vol. iii, pp. 161 sq.

[4] C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 306.

[5] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 362.

dark aspect of the moon, created man. By and by man began to age and his skin grew wrinkled. Buglian said to Barkolkol: "Our man is getting wrinkled; what shall we do?" Barkolkol replied: "That is a simple matter. We will skin him like an eel, and take away his wrinkled skin. And he will grow a new skin like the serpent, and thus he will be made young, and go on doing the same thing for ever." But Buglian said: "No. When he is old and ugly, we will dig a hole in the earth, and put him in it." And so, Buglian having had the last word, it was decided that men should die.[1] In a similar story from the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain the good god Kambinana said to his wicked and foolish brother Korvouva: "Go down to the men and tell them to cast their skins, so shall they avoid death. But tell the serpents that they must henceforth die." But Korvouva, the fool, reversed the message and delivered the gospel of life to the serpents instead of to the men.[2] Or, again, in Vuatom Island the god Konokonomiange is said to have requested some boys to bring him some fire, probably because his fire, which was no other than the light of the moon, was going out. But the boys were lazy and rude, and refused to help the dying god. He then said to them: "You all were to have lived! Now you shall die, though your shadows will live. And the iguana, the lizard, and the serpent, they shall live. They will slough their skins and live for ever." The boys were very grieved and wept bitterly; they said they did not know that their lives depended upon keeping up the fire of the god Konokonomiange.[3]

The same belief is held by the Sea Dayaks of British North Borneo. The Creator having made all the animals, asked: "Who is able to cast off his skin? If anyone can do so he shall not die." The snake alone heard, and answered, "I can." And for this reason the snake to the present day does not die unless killed by man. If men were able to change their skin like serpents, they would not die.[4] The Annamites also regard mankind as having been defrauded of the gift of immortality by the serpents. Ngoc Hoàng, the emperor of heaven, sent a messenger to tell men that, when they got old, they would cast their skin and become young again, while serpents when they got old would die. But the serpents were so enraged when they heard the message that they

[1] J. B. Suas, "Mythes et légendes des indigènes des Nouvelles Hébrides (Océanie)," *Anthropos*, vi, pp. 906 sq.

[2] A. Kleintitschen, *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazellehalbinsel*, p. 334.

[3] O. Meyer, "Mythen und Erzahlungen von dem Insel Vuatom" (Bismarck-Archipel, Südsee), *Anthropos*, v, p. 724.

[4] Ivor H. N. Evans, "Folk Stories of the Tempassuk and Tuaran Districts, British North Borneo," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xliii, pp. 478, 426.

threatened the messenger that if he did not reverse it, they would fall upon him and bite him. The terrified messenger was thus induced to deliver an exactly opposite message to men.[1]

The same notions are widely current throughout Africa. In the northern territories of the Gold Coast a story is told similar to those which we have come upon in Australia and in South America. The only child of a man and woman was one day eaten by a python. They, in their distress, called four men to their assistance. "One knew how to track the snake, one knew how to slay it, the third was skilled in skinning, and the fourth was able to restore the dead to life." By the conjoint exertions of those four experts the child was recovered from the snake and restored to life. The recompense allotted to the men for their services was the skin of the snake; but they disputed amongst themselves as to who should have it. It was decided to throw it up in the air, and that it should become the possession of the man on whom it fell. But the snake's skin, having been thrown in the air, never came down again. Its head became the sun, its tail the moon, and its spots the stars.[2]

Again, in the forests of the upper basin of the Congo, an account of the origin of death is current similar to that which is so widespread in the Melanesian Islands of the Pacific. The first man, it is said, had two wives. In course of time their skins began to get wrinkled. The elder wife then went to a hut where their agricultural implements were kept, and proceeded to take off her old skin, which came off quite easily, and laid it down on the winnowing fan. Unfortunately the second wife happened to be in need of that implement at the very moment; she went to the hut to fetch it, and there saw her co-wife radiant with renewed beauty and youth. But the process of renewal had not yet been quite completed, and the spell was broken by the entrance of the second wife. In consequence of this misfortune both women fell down dead on the spot, and death was thus introduced into the world.[3] The serpent, on the other hand, never dies, and cannot be killed unless it is completely crushed.[4]

Among the Gallas tradition asserts that the order to slough their skin was by mistake delivered to the serpents instead of to the human race.[5] Similarly among the Wafipa and Wabende of the shores of Lake Tanganyika it is related that God once asked

[1] A. Landes, "Contes et légendes annamites," *Cochinchine Française. Excursions et Reconnaissances*, xi, pp. 108 sq.

[2] A. W. Cardinall, *The Natives of the Northern Territory of the Gold Coast*, p. 24.

[3] R. P. Colle, *Les Baluba*, vol. ii, pp. 507, 522 sqq. Cf. below, pp. 757 sq.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 507.

[5] A. Werner, "Two Galla Legends," *Man*, xii, pp. 90 sq.

the creatures of the earth, "Who wishes not to die?" Unfortunately all were asleep at the time except the serpent, which, of course, answered, "I do." That is why the serpent, alone of all creatures, does not die unless it is killed, but renews its youth perpetually by changing its skin.[1] Among the Baluba of the Congo the serpents likewise obtained the gift of immortality which men lost by a foolish choice.[2]

In the more common African form of the tradition the lizard, which is regarded as a form of the serpent, is the chief means of defrauding mankind of the gift of immortality. Thus, for example, among some Basuto tribes it is related how the good king Leobu, being grieved at the woes and sufferings of his people, decided to send them his own beloved son to announce the good news that they should not die, but have life everlasting. The king's instructions were, however, overheard by a professional runner, whose name was Khatoane—that is, the Lizard—and he, with all speed, ran to the people and gave them the message in quite the opposite form, telling them they should die and be dead for ever. When the son of Leobu in turn arrived with the true message of life, the people would not believe him, but said they had been told by Lizard that they should die, and that the matter was therefore settled once and for all.[3] It is possible that this particular version of the Basuto story is coloured by reminiscences of Christian missionary teaching, but there is no doubt that the myth is much older than any European influence. The principal actors, namely the two messengers, are in the most widespread form of it the chameleon and the lizard. The chameleon, which is noted for the extreme slowness and deliberate manner of its movements, was sent, the Zulus relate, with the message: "Let not men die." The reptile set out with the message in its leisurely way, stopping to catch flies and eat berries. The lizard, on the other hand, was sent with the message: "Let men die." The lizard was, of course, the first to deliver its message, and accordingly men are cursed with death.[4] The story, in slightly varying forms, is current throughout the greater part of Africa, from the Cape to the Sahara. In the majority of the reported versions, especially those

[1] Mgr. Lechaptois, *Aux Rives du Tanganika*, p. 195.

[2] R. P. Colle, *Les Baluba*, vol. ii, p. 507.

[3] E. Jacottet, *The Treasury of Ba-suto Lore*, vol. i, pp. 46 sqq.

[4] H. Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu*, pp. 3 sq., 138; W. H. L. Bleek, *Reynard the Fox in South Africa*, p. 74; J. L. Döhne, *Zulu-Kafir Dictionary*, p. 256; L. Grout, *Zululand, or Life among the Zulu Kafirs*, pp. 148 sq.; A. F. Gardiner, *Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country*, pp. 178 sq.; J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal*, p. 159; F. Merensky, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss Süd-Afrikas*, p. 124; D. Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas*, p. 209; F. Speckman, *Die Hermannsburger Mission in Afrika*, p. 164.

from the southern part of the continent, the two messengers are, as in the last-mentioned instance, the chameleon and the lizard, and it is the lizard who brings the message of death, perverting in most instances the message of life which it was charged to deliver.[1] The reptile, it would thus seem, either managed to obtain for his own kindred the gift of immortality which was intended for mankind, or was jealous that the human race should share the faculty with the reptiles.

The conceptions current among the savages of Australia, Melanesia, Africa and America were familiar to the ancient Greeks. The term by which they spoke of the cast skin of a serpent was γῆρας, that is to say 'old age.'[2] It was related amongst them how Zeus, seeing what a miserable naked animal man was, took pity on him, and, in order to compensate him for his defenceless condition, decided to bestow upon him the gift of 'Prevention of Old Age.' The god's present to mankind was loaded on the back of a donkey, who had charge to convey it safely to its destination. But, as the weather was warm, the animal soon became very tired and thirsty, and catching sight of a spring of mantling water, made a dash for it. He was, however, stopped by a serpent, the guardian of the spring, who told the donkey that he could be allowed to drink of the water only on condition he gave up his burden. The donkey was only too glad to be relieved, and thus the serpent obtained possession of the gift of 'Prevention of Old Age,' which had been intended for the benefit of mankind.[3] In another story Glaucus, the infant son of king Minos, died by falling into a cask of honey, where, after a long search, his body was at last discovered by a bull of three colours. Minos was most anxious to have his son brought back to life, and the wise Polyidos was bidden take

[1] D. Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, pp. 76 sq.; J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, vol. i, p. 47 (Bechuanas); H. A. Junod, *Les Ba-Ronga*, pp. 401 sq.; Id., *Les chants et les contes des Ba-ronga*, p. 137; Id., *The Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. ii, pp. 328 sq.; W. A. Elmslie, *Among the Wild Ngoni*, p. 70; W. E. R. Barrett, "Notes on the Customs and Beliefs of the Wa-giriama, etc., of British East Africa," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xli, p. 37; E. Jacottet, *Textes Soubiya*, pp. 112 sq.; J. G. Christaller, "Negersagen von der Goldküste," *Zeitschrift für Afrikanische Sprachen*, i, p. 61; G. Lindblom, *The Wakamba*, p. 253. In the versions given by Casalis in reference to the Basutos and by Arbousset in reference to the Cape Kaffirs the parts are inverted, and the lizard brings the message of life (E. Casalis, *Les Bassoutos*, p. 255; T. Arbousset and F. Daumas, *Relation d'un voyage d'exploration au Nord-Est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, p. 472). This is manifestly either an error of the reporters or a confusion on the part of their informants.

[2] Aristotle, *Histor. Animal*, vii. 18. The Romans called it similarly 'senectus serpentis' (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxix. 39, xxx. 22, etc.).

[3] Aelian, *Nat. Animal*, vi. 51.

charge of the body and devise some means of resurrecting Glaucus. Polyidos sat by the body vainly racking his brains for a solution of the problem set to him. While thus engaged he observed a snake on the boy's body, and taking up a stone killed the reptile. Presently another snake approached, but seeing the dead body of its comrade went away again; it returned by and by with some herbs which it laid over the dead snake. The latter was at once brought back to life, and withdrew with his companion. Polyidos having observed this, rubbed the herbs over the dead body of Glaucus, who was at once resurrected.[1] In another version of the myth Glaucus obtains possession of the herb of immortality—which in China is the special possession of the moon and the moon-hare[2]—from the moon-hare.[3]

The ancient Egyptians likewise associated the gift of immortality, which they were so eager to acquire, with the natural character of the serpent. In a passage of the 'Book of the Dead,' which probably represents a very primitive form of Egyptian belief, the deceased prays that he may become like a serpent. "I am the serpent Sata, whose years are many," he says; "I die and I am born again. I am the serpent Sata which dwelleth in the uttermost parts of the earth. I die and I am born again, and I renew myself, and I grow young each time." [4]

Those universal notions were familiar to the Semites. In the Gilgamesh epic, one of the most ancient literary monuments of the world, a story exactly similar to that of Glaucus is told. Gilgamesh learnt from Ut-napishtim of the existence of a wonderful plant, called "the old man becomes young," which had the property of bestowing everlasting life. He duly succeeded in obtaining the magic plant; but, while he was having a bath in preparation for renewing his life, a serpent stole the plant from him. The serpent thus obtained the gift of immortality which the human hero should have enjoyed.[5] In the narrative of Genesis, which appears to have been to a large extent inspired by Babylonian myths, the serpent, as in the traditions of the whole uncultured world, defrauds the human race of the gift of immortality. The Biblical narrative is, however, adapted to the later conceptions of a school of Jewish theology which was anxious to eliminate as far as possible from the sacred narrative the cruder

[1] Apollodorus, *Bibliotheka*, iii. 3.

[2] N. B. Dennys, *The Folklore of China*, p. 117.

[3] Athenaeus, vii. 48.

[4] *The Book of the Dead*, chap. lxxxvii; A. E. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 377.

[5] L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion and Magic*, pp. 173 sq.; A. Ungnad and H. Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesh-Epos*, pp. 62 sq.; R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, pp. 361 sq.

notions of primitive mythology. A Rabbinical commentary on Genesis iii. 14 goes into greater detail, and explains that Adam, after the Fall, did not possess the same skin as he had before, his first skin having presumably been immortal; it is in consequence of thus having changed the skin of the first man that the serpent is compelled to moult his.[1] An early Muslim doctor, drawing, no doubt, from the same traditional sources, gives further particulars. "When the fruit had descended down Adam's throat and reached his stomach," says the commentator, "the skin which Adam had in Paradise fell from his body. That of Eve fell off likewise, and the soft flesh of their bodies remained exposed as it is with us at the present day; for the skin which Adam had in Paradise was similar to the substance of nails. When it became detached, only a small portion of it remained on the tips of the fingers; and thereafter, whenever Adam or Eve beheld the nails of their fingers, they were reminded of Paradise and its delights." [2]

The Phoenicians, according to Sanchoniathon, considered that the serpent "is long-lived, and has the quality not only of putting off old age and of assuming a second youth, but of receiving at the same time an augmentation of its size and strength. On which account the animal is introduced in the sacred rites and mysteries."[3] The serpent had also as prominent a place in the mysteries of the ancient Hebrews, who down to the time of Hezekiah honoured the brazen image of the serpent which had been set up by Moses to save the Israelites from death.[4] The Redeemer Himself, who reversed the work of the first serpent by bringing to mankind the message of resurrection and the life everlasting, was likened by the apostle to the serpent, who could bestow immortality as well as rob mankind of the gift: "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life." [5]

The notion that the serpent possesses the gift of immortality was a definite tenet in Europe among the alchemists and practitioners of occult arts. "Chemists," says a writer on the subject, "have maintained that the serpent, by moulting and casting his skin, is regenerated, grows and acquires new strength; and that he can die only by accident and never by natural death. The opinion cannot be disproved by experiment, for if one were to keep a serpent and it happened to die, the partisans of this sort

[1] O. Dahnhardt, *Natursagen*, vol. i, p. 216 n.
[2] Muhammad Abu Jafar al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. i, p. 80.
[3] Sanchoniathon, in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, i. 10.
[4] *Numbers*, xxi. 9; *II Kings*, xviii. 4.
[5] *John*, iii. 14–15.

of immortality would say that it died of grief at being deprived of its liberty, or that it was fed on unsuitable food." [1]

Serpents, being undying, are accordingly regarded as the spirits or souls of the departed—that is, the immortal part of them.[2]

Immortality dependent on the Moon.

The serpent is thus regarded as the creature which, owing to its power of changing its skin, partakes of the moon's gift of immortality. The moon itself is thought by some peoples to owe its faculty of rejuvenation to the power of casting off its old skin. The 'old women' and other personages who, in the Melanesian and Papuan myths which we have noticed, are represented as renewing their lives by sloughing their skin are, in fact, personifications of the moon.[3] In the languages of Melanesia there is no other way of expressing the notion of eternity than by the phrase 'ul ta marama,' that is to say, "casting off one's skin like the moon." Thus when the missionaries desire to explain to those savages that God is eternal, they are obliged to say that he sloughs his skin like the moon.[4] In Australia it is believed

[1] J. Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire infernal*, p. 605.

[2] E.g., W. H. Black and L. C. Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folk-lore*, pp. 429 sq.; H. Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulus*, pp. 8, 12, 196; E. Casalis, *Les Bassoutos*, p. 246; H. Junod, *Les Ba-Ronga*, p. 396; A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*, pp. 306 sq.; H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii, p. 539; W. A. Elmslie, *Among the Wild Ngomi*, pp. 71 sq.; J. G. Bourke, "Notes upon the Religion of the Apache Indians," *Folk-lore*, vol. ii, pp. 435 sq.; Bossu, *Travels through that Part of America formerly called Louisiana*, vol. i, p. 195; D. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 107; R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 178 sq.; G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 238; G. F. Angas, *Savage Life in Australia and New Zealand*, vol. ii, pp. 67 sq.; R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, vol. iii, pp. 515 sq.; E. Modigliani, *Un viaggio a Nias*, p. 277; C. Hose and W. McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, vol. ii, p. 90; C. M. Pleyte, "Die Schlange im Volksglauben der Indonesien," *Globus*, lxv, p. 170; F. H. Sawyer, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines*, p. 260; J. J. M. de Groot, *Religious Systems of China*, vol. iv, p. 218; L. Frobenius, *Die Weltanschauung der Naturvölker*, pp. 58 sqq.; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 328 sqq. It was believed among the ancients that the spinal marrow turned into a serpent (Aelian, *Nat. Animal.*, li.; Plutarch, *Vita Cleomenis*, 39). The serpent-soul is sometimes identified with the worms which issue from a corpse and are regarded as equivalent to serpents, or as young serpents (H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. iv, p. 224; R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, vol. iii, p. 519; J. Richardson, "Remarkable Burial Customs among the Betsileo," *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, No. 1, pp. 73 sqq.; G. A. Shaw, "The Betsileo Religious and Social Customs," *ibid.*, No. 4, p. 6; *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed. H. Yule, vol. ii, p. 275).

[3] See below, pp. 682 sq., 685.

[4] R. H. Codrington and J. Palmer, *A Dictionary of the Language of Mota*, p. 234.

by the natives of Queensland that the moon divests itself of its skin every month.[1] In Togoland, among the Ewe, the moon is thought to have scales like a serpent and to cast them off each month; the natives assert that the scales cast off by an old moon may often be found in the desert.[2] The Huitotos of the Upper Amazon valley likewise believe that the moon sloughs its skin.[3] The ancient Babylonians appear to have been familiar with the same notion. An inscription describes the body of the moon-goddess Ishtar as "covered with scales like a snake's."[4] Moon-gods and moon-goddesses are usually represented as serpents.

In a more general way the moon is conceived as dying every month and as being born again after three days, and the power of men to survive every month, or the hope that they will survive after death, is regarded as being derived from the moon, and as dependent upon the moon's faculty of being born again after dying each month. Thus the eternal moon is not only the cause of death, but also the source of the power of renewed life and resurrection. Among the natives of the Caroline Islands, for instance, it is thought that men formerly went to sleep as the moon waned, and slept during the three days of the interlunary period, and that they rose again with the new moon after the third day.[5] Accordingly the people rejoice at the appearance of the new moon, and say that they are born again.[6] Similarly among the Chams the moon is regarded as the bestower of immortality.[7] The Sakai of the Malay Peninsula relate that the moon, which falls to the earth during the three days of the interlunary period, has to be assisted back into heaven by the use of powerful magic rites. Unless this is done all men must die.[8] The Mantras of the same region believe that in former times men did not die, but merely grew very thin as the moon waned, recovering, however, their condition with the recovery of the moon.[9] In India it has been recognized since Vedic times that "the moon makes life long."[10] The Hindus at the full moon,

[1] E. W. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 5*, p. 7.
[2] J. Spieth, *Die Religion der Eweer in Süd-Togo*, p. 52.
[3] K. T. Preuss, *Religion und Mythologie der Uitoto*, vol. i, pp. 76, 111.
[4] A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, p. 110.
[5] J. A. Cantova, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, xv, pp. 305 sq.
[6] C. de Brosses, *Histoire des navigations aux terres australes*, vol. ii, p. 479.
[7] A. Cabaton, *Nouvelles Recherches sur les Chams*, pp. 18 sq.
[8] I. H. N. Evans, "Some Sakai Beliefs and Customs," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, lviii, p. 191; Id., *Studies in Religion, Folklore and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula*, pp. 207 sq.
[9] D. F. A. Hervey, "The Mentra Traditions," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 10, p. 190; W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, vol. ii, p. 337.
[10] *Rig-Veda*, x. 85, Ludwig's translation, vol. ii, p. 535.

in the month of Kuar, place food on the housetops; when it has thoroughly absorbed the rays of the moon the food is distributed among the members of the family. "This is supposed to lengthen life." [1] In the Upanishads the moon is represented as the cause and controller of metempsychosis. "All who depart from this world," states the Hindu philosopher, "go to the moon. In the former half the moon delights in their spirits; in the other half the moon sends them to be born again. And according to his deeds, or according to his knowledge, a man is born again here as a worm, or as an insect, or as a fish, or as a bird, or as a lion, or as a boar, or as a serpent, or as a tiger, or as a man, or as something else in different places." [2] The Indians of California, as they dance before the moon, sing: "As the moon dieth and cometh to life again, so we also having to die, will live again." [3] According to the traditions of the Diegueños, one of these Californian tribes, the Creator, Tu-chai-poi, gave men the choice of dying for a time or of dying in a more permanent manner. The first men could not agree as to the answer, and instead of dying temporarily, like the moon, were condemned to die for a more prolonged period. Tu-chai-poi himself, however, dies with the moon, and, in fact, the Creator of mankind is manifestly no other than the moon.[4] Among the central Californian tribes it is believed that formerly men used to die for three days only, the duration of the interlunary period, and that after the third day they rose again.[5] The Takelma Indians likewise believe that their power of living month after month is dependent upon the monthly resurrection of the moon. When it first appears they pray to it: "May I prosper, may I remain alive yet awhile. Even if people say to me, 'Would that he die,' may I do just as thou doest, may I rise again like the moon. Even thus when many evil beings devour thee, when frogs eat thee up, and many evil beings such as lizards, when those eat thee up, still dost thou rise again. In time to come may I do just like thee." [6] The Cheyenne Indians think that when Heammawihio, 'the Wise One above,' who is no other than the moon, first made men they did not die permanently. "When they died they were to be dead for

[1] W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, vol. ii, p. 15.

[2] *Kanshitaki-Upanishad*, i. 2 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. i, pp. 273 sq.).

[3] G. Boscana in A. Robinson, *Life in California*, pp. 289 sq.

[4] C. Goddard Du Bois, "The Mythology of the Diegueños (California)," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xiii, p. 183.

[5] A. L. Kroeber, "Indian Myths of South Central California," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. iv, No. 4, p. 205.

[6] G. Sapir, "Religious Ideas of the Takelma Indians," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xix, p. 37.

only four nights, and then they would live again." [1] In ancient Mexico the children were taught to pray to the moon: "Mama Chuca, do not die, lest we all perish!" [2] The ancient Peruvians addressed the same prayer to Mama Quilla, Mother Moon; [3] and the Indians of Peru still believe that their power of surviving month after month depends upon the moon.[4] The ancient Babylonians prayed in much the same manner as the Indians of America. "May the gods," they said, "give me a life which, like the moon, is renewed every month." [5] In Loango the women prayed at the new moon: "So may I renew my life as thou art renewed." [6] The Christian Abyssinians address long prayers to the new moon. "He is risen!" exclaim the women. "God has made thee rise again; God make all of us rise again." [7] In the African stories of the two messengers that bring respectively the message of death and the message of eternal life to mankind, the sender of the message, in what appear to be the more primitive versions of the tale, is the moon. The story is current in that form among the Bushmen. According to them, the moon said to men: "As I die and come to life again, so shall ye do; when ye die, ye shall not die altogether, but shall rise again." [8] Among the Tati Bushmen the moon is said to have given the message to the tortoise, saying: "Go and give men this message from me. Tell them that as I dying live, so they dying will live again." The tortoise, being incredibly slow in delivering the message, it was repeated by the moon to the hare, which perverted it in such a way as to make it mean the opposite of what the moon intended.[9] The moon is the sender of the message among the Hottentots [10] and among the Nandi and the Masai of East Africa.[11] Among the Wasania the lizard is said to have said to men, who were formerly immortal: "All of you know that the moon dies and rises again, but human

[1] G. B. Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, vol. ii, p. 90.

[2] F. S. Clavigero, *Storia antica del Messico*, vol. ii, p. 17.

[3] Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, vol. i, p. 182.

[4] W. Smythe and F. Lowe, *Narrative of a Journey from Lima to Para*, p. 230.

[5] E. Combe, *Histoire du culte de Sin en Babylonie et en Assyrie*, p. 26.

[6] J. Merolla di Sorrento, "A Voyage to Congo," in Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, vol. xvi, p. 373.

[7] E. Liltmann, "Sternensagen und Astrologisches aus Nordabessinien," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, x, pp. 313 sqq.

[8] W. H. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, pp. 57 sqq.

[9] S. S. Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlvii, p. 80.

[10] J. E. Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, vol. i, p. 169; C. J. Anderson, *Lake Ngami*, pp. 328 sq.; W. H. I. Bleek, *Reynard the Fox in South Africa*, pp. 71 sqq.; T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, p. 52; L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 448.

[11] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 98; Id. *The Masai*, pp. 271 sq.

beings will die and rise no more." [1] In other versions of the widespread African myth the sender of the message is simply the personage who is most prominent in the mythological conceptions of the particular tribe or people; [2] but it is probable that those personages were originally no other than the moon, from which they are in any case not very clearly distinguished. The first people who renewed their youth by changing their skin are, according to the Baluba of the Congo, the moon-god and his two wives.[3] Among the Banyoro of Uganda the chameleon and the moon are said to be the children of two sisters; they quarrelled, and the moon was transferred to heaven for peace' sake, but since then the quality of men's skin has deteriorated. Previously they did not die.[4]

In Madagascar a current myth relates that the first men were given the choice of dying like the moon or like the banana-tree, that is to say, of dying periodically and being born again, or of dying altogether, but propagating the species as does the banana-tree, by its root. The first parents foolishly chose to propagate and die like the banana-tree, and thus lost the chance of being immortal like the moon.[5]

This last version of the myth of the origin of death differs somewhat from those found on the African continent, where, as far as I know, no reference is made to the alternative of propagating like the banana. It may have been brought to Madagascar

[1] W. E. H. Barett, "Notes on the Customs and Beliefs of the Wa-Giriama, etc., British East Africa," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xli, p. 37.

[2] Zulus (H. Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amzulu*, vol. i, pp. 3 sq., and other authorities cited, p. 647, n[4]), Basuto and Bechuana tribes (see p. 648, n[1]); Akamba (C. W. Hobley, *Ethnology of A-Kamba and other East African Tribes*, pp. 107 sq.), natives of Calabar ("Calabar Stories," *Journal of the African Society*, v, p. 194); Ashanti (E. Perregaux, *Chez les Achantis*, pp. 198 sq.; J. G. Christaller, "Nedersagen von der Goldküste," *Zeitschrift für Afrikanische Sprachen*, i, pp. 55, 58), Ekoi (P. A. Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, p. 229; F. Müller, "Die Religionen Togos in Einzeldarstellungen," *Anthropos*, ii, p. 203). The messengers also become changed in West Africa into the sheep and the goat (J. G. Christaller, *loc. cit.*; E. Perregaux, *loc. cit.*), the dog (A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 98), the frog and duck (P. A. Talbot, *loc. cit.*), the thrush (C. W. Hobley, *loc. cit.*). These are evidently stages of disintegration of the myth, in which the original notions and significance which gave rise to it in the first place have become forgotten. They illustrate the manner in which the elements and features of a myth may become so completely transformed as to leave scarcely any indication of its original significance.

[3] See below, p. 757 sq.

[4] F. Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, vol. i, p. 409, after Emin Pasha.

[5] J. Richardson, "Tanala Customs, Superstitions and Beliefs," *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, No. ii, p. 100; J. H. Hale, "Some Betsileo Ideas," *ibid.*, No. xxiv, p. 9.

from the Indonesian region by the Hovas, for the allusion to the banana in similar myths is frequently found there. Thus the Mantras of the Malay Peninsula, who consider that the first races of men were immortal like the moon, ascribe the origin of death to the difficulties arising from overpopulation. Some of the people said: "Let men die like the banana, leaving their offspring behind." The proposal was accepted by the Lords of the Underworld, and men accordingly no longer renew themselves like the moon, but propagate like the bananas.[1] The natives of the island of Nias relate that the first man, having been sent down from heaven by the moon-god, and having surveyed his new domain, began to feel the pangs of hunger, and in order to allay them ate a banana. This however, was a fatal mistake, for had he eaten instead some crabs, or some shrimps, which moult their skins like serpents, he and his progeny, the human race, would have been immortal.[2] Again, the Alfurs of Poso, in Central Celebes, tell how the first men were supplied with their requirements direct from heaven, the Creator passing down his gifts to them by means of a rope. He first tied a stone to the rope and let it down from the sky. But the men would have none of it, and asked somewhat peevishly of what use to them was a stone. The Good God then let down a banana, which, of course, they gladly accepted and ate with relish. This was their undoing. "Because you have chosen the banana," said the deity, "you shall propagate and perish like the banana, and your offspring shall step into your place. Had you chosen the stone, your life would have been like the life of the stone, indestructible and immortal." [3] The reason why the banana is singled out as an emblem of the sexual mode of propagation is probably connected with its phallic form as well as with its perishable nature.[4] It is implied in the foregoing myths, as in the narrative

[1] D. F. A. Hervey, "The Mentra Traditions," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 10, p. 190; W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, vol. ii, pp. 337 sq.

[2] E. Modigliani, *Un viaggio a Nias*, p. 295; H. Sundermann, "Die Insel Nias und die Mission daselbst," *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, xi, p. 451.

[3] A. C. Kruijt, "De legende der Poso-Alfoeren aangaande de erste menschen," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, xxxviii, p. 340.

[4] The banana-tree appears to be held particularly sacred by the Baganda; their afterbirth is carefully buried under a banana-tree, and anyone eating of the fruit of the tree would deprive the person to whom the afterbirth belongs of a portion of his soul, and thereby seriously endanger his life (J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, pp. 54 sq.). In Samoa bananas were regarded as the abode of gods (W. T. Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p. 107). The banana is sometimes thought to contain an image of Christ; it should not, therefore, be cut across with a knife, but should be pealed with the fingers (C. Rubbens, in *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, v, p. 708).

of Genesis, that men lost, or gave up, their hope of immortality owing to their fatal subjection to women and to their sexual passions. In a creation myth from the Gilbert Islands the creator, after bringing the first man and the first woman into existence, expressly forbade them to have sexual intercourse with one another, although he himself had intercourse with the woman.[1] Propagation by sexual intercourse thus appears to be regarded in primitive thought as an alternative to eternal life. Mankind cannot have both; they must choose between the moon and the banana.

In Polynesia, also, stress is laid on the contrast between the immortal nature of the moon and human mortality. "The moon," say the Maori, "will live for ever, but its descendants in this world know death."[2] And again: "When man dies his body does not come to life again; it is sucked into the mouth of Hine-nui-to-po. Not so with the moon; the moon, when it dies, goes to bathe in the great lake Aiwa, the living water of Tane, which renews life; and so it comes forth and is seen high in the heavens with life restored and strength renewed."[3] Polynesian myth represents the ancient god Maui as imploring his mother Hina, the moon, to bestow upon men the gift of immortality. He said to Hina: "Let man die and live again, as you, the moon, die and live again." But Hina said: "No; let man die and increase the soil and never rise to life again." Maui said: "Let death be very short; let man die and live again, and live for ever." But Hina replied: "Let death be very long, that men may sigh and sorrow."[4] In various parts of Polynesia it is related that Maui endeavoured to obtain by force from the relentless goddess the gift of immortality. The means by which he proposed to accomplish this were identical with those by which young men in Australia, on the Gold Coast of Africa, and in Guiana are fabled to have changed their skins, and thus, presumably, acquired a new life from serpents, namely, by entering and passing through the bodies of the monsters. Maui similarly endeavoured to jump into the mouth of Hina, or, according to another version, to enter her womb. His attempt to enter the second time into his mother's womb and be born again is, however, said to have ended in failure. According to the variant of the narrative in which the hero jumped into the mouth of the moon as she lay asleep, a noise from some chirping bird disturbed her inopportunely at the very moment, so that

[1] R. Parkinson, "Beiträge zur Ethnologie der Gilbert Insulaner," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, ii. p. 102.

[2] E. Best, "Notes on Maori Mythology," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, viii, p. 101.

[3] J. White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. i, p. 142.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 87 sq. Cf. W. D. Westervelt, *Legends of Ma-ui, a Demi-God of Polynesia, and of his Mother Hina*, pp. 134 sq. Cf. below, pp. 715 sq.

she snapped her jaws together, and Maui was bitten in two at the waist, the upper part being swallowed by the goddess and his legs tumbling from her mouth.[1] Although the versions of the ancient story which we now possess are very fatalistic and do not give any hope to man of his obtaining the precious gift from the inexorable goddess, we may perhaps surmise that at least one part of Maui became immortal through being swallowed by Hina. "If Maui had not died," say the Hawaiians, "he could have restored to life all who had gone before him, and thus succeeded in destroying death." [2]

In the Melanesian stories of the origin of death which we have noted the bestower of life and death is the moon. The old woman who changed her skin and wished to bestow the gift of immortality on her grandchild was no other than the goddess 'Round Head,' that is to say, the moon.[3] The good Kambinana, who wished men to live for ever, and the wicked and foolish Korvuva, who bestowed the gift on the serpents instead, are the Melanesian gods of the full moon and of the new moon.[4] In the Solomon Islands the origin of death is sometimes set down to the toad which, at a feast, died of envy, and was thereafter transferred to the moon. When the toad shall appear in the morning star, there will be an end of death.[5] In Fiji it is thought that men were formerly permitted by the moon to renew their lives as it does, and to live for ever.[6]

[1] W. D. Westervelt, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 sq.; J. White, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 91, 106 sq. According to the other version of the story, "even Maui's death was attended with nonsensical mischief. He would try to get out of the world as children are born into it; but this is not interesting to civilized people" (J. F. H. Wohlers, "The Mythology and Traditions of the Maori in New Zealand," *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, x, p. 14). According to yet another version, Maui tried to acquire the immortality of the moon by eating her (J. White, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 84 sqq.).

[2] W. D. Westervelt, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[3] R. D. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 265. Cf. below, pp. 682, 685.

[4] Cf. below, p. 679. In another variant of the myth, told in the Admiralty Islands, a man who is under an obligation to a divinity dwelling in a sacred tree is requested by her to bring her two white pigs. He is, however, able to find one white pig only; so he daubs a black pig with chalk to make it white. But the chalk is rubbed off as he takes the pigs to the goddess, and she detects the fraud. "Had you brought me two white pigs as I asked," she says, "you would have lived for ever; now you shall die" (J. Meier, "Mythen und Sagen der Admiralitäts Insulaner," *Anthropos*, iii, p. 193). The white and the black pig obviously symbolise the bright and the dark aspects of the moon. In New Britain a similar story relates how Korvuva the fool was told to get two white coconuts, but plucked a white and a black one instead (J. Meier, *Mythen und Erzählungen der Küstenbewohner der Gazelle-Halbinsel* (*Neu-Pommern*), pp. 21 sq.

[5] R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, vol. i, p. 315.

[6] T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, vol. i, p. 205.

Similar beliefs are general among the Australian aborigines. Among the tribes of Central Australia it is believed that formerly men did not die permanently, but rose again after the third day.[1] In the Kulin tribe it is said that the moon wished to give men a draught of water, "so that, when they died, they could after a time return to life again; but the Bronze-wing Pigeon would not agree to this, which made the moon very angry." The Wotjobaluk state that in former times, when a man died, the moon said to him: "You up again."[2] The belief that blackfellows rise up again as "white men" is universal in Australia.[3] When the body of an Australian black begins to decay the loosened epidermis assumes a whitish appearance; friends assist the dead man to cast off his skin by scraping it off with shells.[4] The ghosts of Australian blackfellows are, in fact, white; and in the corroborees, the dancers who are supposed to impersonate them, paint themselves white with a preparation of pipe-clay, which they call "the moon."[5] The moon, which is regarded by the Dieri and the tribes of Queensland as the creator of mankind, is thought by the latter to be the brother of the earthworm, who is supposed to go down into the earth every month and to rise again.[6] Among the tribes of New South Wales, the moon is said to have requested some men to carry his serpents for him; but as the men were afraid, he said to them: "As you would not do what I ask you to, you have for ever lost the chance of rising again after you die."[7] The Warramunga relate that the moon restored a woman to life by sprinkling her with his blood.[8] The Arunta say that when the moon lived among men, he died and was buried; after a few days he rose again as a young man. The people were frightened and ran away, but he said to them: "Do not run away, or you will die altogether; I shall die, but shall rise again in the sky."[9] The tribes of the lower Mulligan and Georgina districts in Queensland say that once upon

[1] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 513 sq.

[2] A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 428 sq.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 442 sqq.; J. Peggs, "Notes on the Aborigines of Roebuck Bay, Western Australia," *Folk-lore*, xiv, p. 365.

[4] A. McDonald, "Mode of preparing the Dead among the Natives of the Upper Murray River, Queensland," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, i, p. 216.

[5] E. W. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 5*, p. 7.

[6] R. B. Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i, p. 431.

[7] K. L. Parker, *Australian Legendary Tales*, p. 8. Cf. G. Taplin, *The Folklore*, etc., *of the South Australian Aborigines*, p. 51.

[8] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 626.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 564. Cf. R. H. Mathews, "Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales and Victoria," *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxxviii, p. 358.

a time, while the men were away hunting, the old women climbed up a tree to get some gum. The younger women also wanted to climb the tree and get some of the dainty, but the old women would not let them. Enraged at their refusal, the young women set fire to the tree and went away, leaving the old women to their fate. The poor old things were terribly burnt, so that it was quite impossible for them to return to camp or to move a step. So they waited for the return of the men, and asked them to help them to their feet and assist them back to camp. But the men refused, alleging that the stench from the half-roasted old women was so unbearable that they could not come near them. The old women then, picking up a handful of sand and throwing it down again, said: "All of you will die!" And so it happened. But the old women, picking up a smaller handful of sand and throwing down, said: "We shall die like this, and after four days we shall jump up again." Immediately after their resurrection the old women went up to heaven and formed the moon.[1] In another version of the story the moon-man had a fight with another man and sustained a severe wound in the belly, so that his bowels protruded; he asked some comrades to assist him, but they declined because they could not bear the stench that came from him. Others, however, came and assisted the moon back to heaven. "The assistance given by them accounts for their never dying, and springing up fresh and green after being burnt. Had his comrades helped him they would probably have lived for ever." [2]

The Serpent as Representative of the Moon.

The gift of renewed life, the hope of the resurrection and the life everlasting, are thus indissolubly connected in the most intimate beliefs of peoples in the five parts of the world with the moon and with the serpent. The two are in those beliefs interchangeable. Among the founders of European civilisation, as among the blacks of Australia, the gift of immortality is derived at times from the moon, at other times from the serpent. In one of the Greek myths of which Glaucus is the hero, the secret of resurrection is acquired by him from a serpent; in another version from the moon-hare. Endymion, on the other hand, derived his eternally renewed youth directly from the

[1] A. Fraser, "The Moon Myth," *Science of Man*, 1899, p. 194.

[2] A. C. McDougall, "Manners, Customs and Legends of the Coombangree Tribe," *Science of Man*, 1901, p. 63.

moon.[1] The serpent and the moon are in the same manner interchangeable in the similar beliefs and myths of the peoples of Melanesia, Australia, Indonesia and Asia, Africa and America. The association between the moon and the serpent is thus clearly founded upon the possession by both of the gift of immortality through perpetual renewal, and the serpent is accordingly regarded as a form or personification of the moon. It was amongst the Greeks a popular belief, which Aristotle gravely reports as a fact of comparative anatomy, that serpents have as many ribs as there are days in the lunar month.[2] Among the Pawnee Indians serpents are believed to be in subjection to the moon.[3] Among the Iroquois the moon was thought to feed on serpents.[4] Among the Algonkin tribes the serpent "crowned with the lunar crescent was a constant symbol of life in their picture-writing." [5] Their mythical "grandmother," who was no other than the moon-goddess Aataensic, was represented either as an old woman or as a serpent.[6] In Mexico the serpent-woman was the moon-goddess.[7] In Australia, serpents are the 'dogs' of the moon.[8] In Uganda the sacred serpent's festival took place on the day of the new moon.[9] Among the ancient Hindus the Naga kings, or Serpent-people, who were supposed to be descended from a serpent, were known as the Lunar dynasty.[10] So intimate is the association between the undying serpent and the eternal moon that it may safely be laid down that wherever we find the serpent in symbolism or worship, we may with a good deal of assurance expect to find a lunar cult. In the religions of civilised societies, as well as in those of uncultured peoples, serpent deities are lunar deities. In India the great serpent "that had been worshipped there since the world began" is specially associated with the moon-worship of the ancient Aryas.[11] Among all Semitic peoples the serpent

[1] Apollodorus, *Bibliotheka*, i. 7. The gift is, in the classical version of the myth, bestowed upon Endymion by Zeus, but there can be little doubt that the version given by Apollodorus represents the original form of the myth, and that it was the moon who bestowed the gift of immortality upon her lover.

[2] Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.*, ii. 12. 12; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xi. 82.

[3] G. A. Dorsey, *The Pawnee Mythology*, part i, p. 43.

[4] J. F. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. i, p. 244.

[5] D. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 120.

[6] *Loc. cit.*; A. Henry, *Travels in North America*, p. 176; *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, p. 355.

[7] See below, vol. iii, p. 62.

[8] K. L. Parker, *Australian Legendary Tales*, p. 8.

[9] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, pp. 300 sqq.

[10] J. Ferguson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pp. 59 sqq.; H. H. Wilson, "An Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir," *Asiatic Researches*, xv, pp. 22 sqq.

[11] J. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

is the avatar of the moon deity.[1] The moon goddesses of Hellenic cults were, like the Great Goddess of Semitic religion, associated with serpents. The Arcadian Artemis, Hekate, Persephone, hold serpents in their hands. Erinys, Gorgon, Graia are serpent-goddesses, whose hairs are serpents. There is a popular superstition in Central Europe that a hair plucked from a woman who is under the influence of the moon—that is to say, who is menstruating—will, if buried, turn into a serpent.[2] The hairs of a witch, according to Breton tales, turn into serpents.[3] The notion is current in Japan. "The myth of Medusa has many counterparts in Japanese folklore, the subject of such tales being always some wonderfully beautiful girl whose hair turns to snakes only at night, and who is discovered at last to be a dragon's daughter. But in ancient times it was believed that the hair of any young woman might, under certain trying circumstances, change to serpents—for instance, under the influence of repressed jealousy."[4] All women, being more or less witches, are thus thought to have something of the serpent in them. It is said in the Congo that at the time of the great flood all human beings, through fright or otherwise, resumed their original shape; the men turned into monkeys and the women into lizards.[5] A mediaeval legend asserts that women were made out of the legs of the serpent, which lost its limbs as it entered Paradise.[6] It is supposed to be a not uncommon occurrence for women to give birth to serpents and other reptiles. "Neither is it hard," says Dalla Porta, "to generate toads of women's putrefied flowers; for women do breed this kind of cattel, together with their children, as Celius Aurelianus and Platearius call them, frogs, toads, lyzards, and such like; and the women of Salerium, in times past, were wont to use the juice of parsley and leeks, at the beginning of their conception, and especially at the time of their quickening, thereby to destroy this kind of vermin with them. A certain woman lately married, being in all men's judgment great with child, brought forth instead of a child, four creatures like frogs, and after had perfect health. But this was a kind of Moon-calf."[7] In a Tartar poem the hero finds it impossible to kill a witch, even though her bowels be torn out of her body, for she keeps her soul in a snake.[8] In China serpents are regarded as the source of all magi-

[1] See above, pp. 650, 652, below, p. 672, vol. iii, pp. 85, 107.
[2] H. Ploss and M. Bartels, *Das Weib*, vol. i, pp. 447 sq.
[3] E. Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France*, vol. iii, p. 35.
[4] L. Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, vol. ii, pp. 425 sq.
[5] J. H. Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, p. 286.
[6] E. Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France*, vol. iii, p. 34.
[7] G. B. Dalla Porta, *Natural Magick*, pp. 28 sq.
[8] Schott, "Ueber die Sage von Geser-Chan," *Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1851, p. 269.

cal power.[1] In Hebrew and in Arabic the terms for magic are derived from the words meaning serpent.[2] According to Philostratus the Arabs held that by eating the heart or the liver of a serpent a man acquired magical powers and could understand the language of animals.[3] In Brittany supernatural powers may be acquired by drinking a broth prepared from serpents.[4] The Iroquois regarded serpents as the usual disguise of witches, and believed that all magical powers were derived from serpents, although their source was at the same time the moon.[5] Among the Algonkin tribes a 'manitu' was defined as "he who walketh with a serpent";[6] and among the Siouan tribes the words 'manitu,' 'wakan,' connoted both wizards and serpents.[7] Among the Missouri Indians Captain Bossu saw "an old woman who passed for a magician; she wore round her naked body a living rattlesnake, whose bite is mortal if the remedy be not applied the moment after. This priestess of the devil spoke to the serpent, which seemed to understand what she said." [8] Among the Massims of New Guinea magical powers are thought to be invariably derived from serpents.[9] Among the Ogowe of Central Africa likewise serpents are the instructors of witches.[10] The women of Dahomey, when touched by the sacred serpent, are said to become possessed. They are seized with convulsions, and are thereafter regarded as consecrated priestesses.[11] We have seen that in some West African religious associations it is necessary for the women who take part in the magic rites to be provided with serpents.[12] It is not improbable that the countless images of goddesses in Western Asia, in Krete, and in Greece who hold serpents in their hands reproduce the attitude of their priestesses, who were wont to handle sacred serpents, from which they derived their magic power. The "wisdom of the serpent," the

[1] F. von der Goltz, "Zauberei und Hexenkünste, Spiritismus und Shamanismus in China," *Mittheilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, vi, p. 22.

[2] T. Nöldeke, "Die Schlange nach Arabischen Volksglauben," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachenwissenschaft*, i, p. 413.

[3] Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon. Tyan.*, i. 20.

[4] E. Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France*, vol. iii, p. 40.

[5] E. A. Smith, "Myths of the Iroquois," *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 69 sq.

[6] *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, p. 356.

[7] D. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 110.

[8] Bossu, *Travels through the Part of America formerly called Louisiana*, vol. i, p. 194.

[9] C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 282 sqq.

[10] R. L. Garner, "Native Institutions of the Ogowe Tribe of West Central Africa," *Journal of the African Society*, i, p. 372.

[11] J. B. Labat, *Voyage du Chevalier des Marchais en Guinée*, pp. 135 sq.

[12] See above, p. 548.

wisest of all beasts of the field, has reference, there can be little doubt, to the proficiency of the reptile in the arts of magic.

Women and Serpents.

As some of the foregoing beliefs indicate, the association of serpents with women is no less close than their association with the moon. In southern Italy it is a current saying that serpents make love to all women.[1] The belief has been familiar to Italic populations from the most ancient times, for the 'fauns' of primitive Italian religion were no other than serpents, and were worshipped in the form of serpents; and, as is well known, women were in constant danger of being assaulted by fauns, who visited them even in their sleep as 'incubi.'[2] Even the Good Goddess was ravished by the god Faunus in the form of a serpent.[3] The notion was well known to the ancient Greeks. Euripides describes the women of Thebes as washing at sacred springs whence issue serpents that girdle round them, fondling them and licking their cheeks.[4] The predilection of serpents for women was associated with the sacred functions of the women in the agricultural rites which came to be associated with Dionysos and Orpheus. Plutarch tells us that Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, who was an enthusiastic devotee of the women's religion, "was wont in the dances proper to these ceremonies to have great tame serpents about her, which sometimes creeping out of the ivy in the mystic fans, sometimes winding themselves about the sacred spears and the women's chaplets, made a spectacle which men could not look upon without terror." Indeed, Alexander himself was reputed to have been the offspring of one of those serpents.[5] The ancient Celts similarly believed that serpents are attracted by women. In several stories serpents are described as fastening upon women in such a manner that it was impossible to separate them. Tenau 'of the golden breast' was so called because a serpent which had seized her had clung to her nipple so tenaciously that the breast had to be cut off and replaced by one made of gold.[6] In Germany women are said to become pregnant by a serpent entering their mouth while they are asleep.[7] In northern France at the present day women are believed to be

[1] G. Finamore, *Tradizioni popolari abruzzesi*, p. 237.

[2] Servius, ad *Aeneid*, vii. 776; Augustin, *De civitate Dei*, xv. 23; Isidor, *Orig.*, viii. 103; L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, p. 337.

[3] L. Preller, *op. cit.*, pp. 340, 353.

[4] Euripides, *Bakchai*, 765 sqq.

[5] Plutarch, *Vit. Alexandr.*, i.

[6] J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx*, pp. 689 sq.

[7] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 686.

in constant danger of being assaulted by lizards.[1] The same belief is held by the peasants of Portugal, and women, more especially when they are menstruating, are particularly careful not to go out in the fields without being protected by drawers.[2]

In Japan, as in Europe, serpents are reputed to be in love with all women, and girls are warned to be careful in approaching them lest they should be ravished.[3] In India likewise it is believed that serpents fall in love with women, and that girls are frequently assaulted by them. A love-sick serpent will, it is said, constantly follow a woman, parting from her only to take a little nourishment. "Women in Malabar would think twice before attempting to go by themselves in the bush."[4] Women themselves are supposed to conceive a passion for serpents, and to take pleasure in allowing the reptiles to bite them, for they are thought to be immune to their poison. The condition is known as 'nar-ashakh,' or 'serpent-love.'[5] It is to serpents that women turn when desirous of offspring. The Brahmans "think that children can be obtained by worshipping a cobra." Temple servants are hired to attend in private houses where a child is desired, and sing the praises of serpents. It is a common practice, when a woman desires a child, for her to 'instal a serpent' in the village well. A picture of a serpent is drawn on a stone, and the stone is thrown into the well; after a time the serpent is supposed to come to life and take possession of the well, and the woman bears a child. Children who have been thus obtained are usually named after the serpent.[6] It is a very ancient notion in India and in neighbouring countries of the East that women at the time of menstruation, or at least of puberty, before they have menstruated or had intercourse with a man, are possessed by a malignant spirit in the form of a serpent.[7] The notion is mentioned in a Vedic hymn;[8] and the old traveller, Sir John Maundeville, makes reference to the belief. In describing the usage of certain natives of the 'East Indies,' who are not more closely identifiable, of having their young girls deflowered before marriage by professional persons, he states that they explain the custom by the fact that in former times "men hadden ben dede for deflourynge of maydenes, that hadden

[1] E. Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France*, vol. iii, p. 11 n.
[2] H. Ploss and M. Bartels, *Das Weib*, vol. i, p. 447.
[3] P. Ehmann, "Volksthümliche Vorstellungen in Japan," *Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, vi, p. 339.
[4] E. Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India*, p. 91.
[5] J. C. Oman, *Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India*, pp. 312 sq.
[6] E. Thurston, *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 133 sq.
[7] L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, vol. i, p. 99.
[8] *Rig-Veda*, x. 85. 28–29 (translated by E. Lüdwig, vol. ii, p. 536).

serpents in hire bodyes, that strongen men upon hire zerdes, that the dyeden anon."[1] Among the Jews it was a common Rabbinical opinion that menstruation owes its origin to the serpent having had sexual intercourse with Eve in the Garden of Eden.[2] According to Aelian serpents made love to Jewish maidens.[3] The ancient Persians also believed that menstruation was originally caused by the serpent-god Ahriman's relations with the first woman. In a Persian tradition she was seduced by the offer of silken garments, which, it is pointed out, were of appropriate material to hide her shame, since they are produced by worms.[4] The ancient Egyptians had fables about women being pursued by serpents.[5] In Abyssinia a young woman before her marriage is considered to be in grave danger of being ravished by serpents.[6] In Algeria likewise serpents are believed to seduce young girls. The story is told of a beautifully coloured serpent which was kept as a pet by a sheikh; one day, however, it escaped and it was found that it had deflowered all the daughters of the house.[7] In Sierra Leone serpents are believed to follow the women who belong to the Ankoi society; the reptiles will leave the forest and accompany the women into their houses.[8] The Nandi of East Africa usually kill snakes; but if a snake is seen going towards a woman's bed, it is believed that it is about to intimate when her next child will be born, and accordingly the snake is not killed.[9] Among the Banyoro, women will not cross rivers from fear of the serpents that are believed to dwell there.[10] Among the Hottentots snakes are supposed to have connection with women while they are asleep, and when certain species of snakes are seen in a kraal, no woman can be persuaded to go to sleep.[11]

In several of the notions just noted serpents are regarded as being the cause of menstruation; they thus play the same part in regard to the functions of women as the moon. In New Guinea the idea appears to be familiar. Although, as we have seen, the Papuans commonly ascribe menstruation to the moon

[1] *The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville* (edited by J. O. Halliwell), pp. 285 sq.

[2] J. A. Eisenmenger, *Endecktes Judenthum*, vol. i, pp. 832 sq., after Rabbi Meir Tranpel, *Maor hakkaton*, fol. 59, col. 1.

[3] Aelian, *De Nat. Animal.*, vi. 17.

[4] O. Dahnhardt, *Natursagen*, vol. i, pp. 211, 261.

[5] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, xix.

[6] M. Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, vol. ii, p. 41.

[7] L. T. Tissière, *Études sur la vipère cornue, bicorne du sud de l'Algérie*, p. 9.

[8] N. W. Thomas, *Anthropological Report on Sierra Leone*, part i, p. 152.

[9] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 90.

[10] J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara, or Banyoro*, p. 43.

[11] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, p. 81.

having intercourse with girls and women, in their elaborate wood-carvings women are often represented as being bitten in their genital organs by lizard-shaped animals.[1] In South Australia "the origin of the sexes," we are told, "is ascribed to a small lizard, called by the men 'ibirri' and by the women 'waka.'"[2] This probably means that the vulva of women is supposed to be opened by the bite of a lizard. In Western Australia serpents are reputed to endeavour to steal native women.[3] The same representations which are found in New Guinea occur in the wood-carvings of the Maori in New Zealand. Throughout Polynesia women and girls are supposed to be in danger of being violated by lizards and by eels.[4] In Paumotu, women are careful to avoid sea-eels, and fishermen even make a point of covering them up with leaves if women are present.[5] In Tonga a certain lizard-god was noted for his love of women; he dwelt in a pond, and women who bathed in it became 'sick,' or pregnant.[6]

The notion that women are liable to be assaulted by serpents has been thought to have its origin in the phallic shape of the animal, and that idea is undoubtedly present in those world-wide beliefs. It was thought by the ancients, and is still believed by the European peasantry, that during sexual conjunction the male serpent introduces its head into the mouth of the female, and that the latter gnaws and bites it off, thus becoming fecundated.[7] The same idea appears to obtain in Polynesia,[8] and is, no doubt, general among uncultured peoples. But the phallic form of serpents is probably not the primary ground for the notion that women are liable to be assaulted by them; for the same thing is imagined, in parts of the world where there are no serpents, with reference to lizards and other animals which

[1] H. Ploss and M. Bartels, *Das Weib*, vol. i, pp. 442 sqq.

[2] G. F. Angas, *South Australia Illustrated*, fol. iv.

[3] J. Bonwick, *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*, p. 204.

[4] J. White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. ii, p. 115; F. Walpole, *Four Years in the Pacific in Her Majesty's Ship 'Collingwood,'* vol. ii, pp. 134 sqq.; A. Lesson, *Les Polynésiens*, vol. ii, pp. 475 sq.; A. Krämer, *Die Samoa-Inseln*, vol. i, pp. 438 sqq.; G. Pratt, "Some Folk-Songs and Myths from Samoa," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxv, pp. 254 sqq., 259 sqq.; Reinecke, "Die Samoaner und die Kokospalme," *Globus*, lxxv, pp. 228 sq.

[5] R. P. A. Montiton, "Les Paumotous," *Les Missions Catholiques*, vi, p. 366.

[6] E. E. V. Collocot, "Notes on Tongan Religion," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, xxx, p. 227.

[7] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, x. 62; Horapollo Nilous, *Hieroglyphics*, ed. A. T. Coy, p. 123; E. Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France*, vol. iii, p. 41.

[8] In the myths above referred to the woman who is ravished by an eel or a lizard is generally said to cut off its head.

are understood to change their skins. In most of the myths which describe women as being assaulted by serpents or other reptiles, those animals are, in fact, regarded as impersonations of a moon-god.

A variant of the same ideas represents serpents as stealing women's milk. Among the Namaquas of southern Africa the serpent is believed to be "very fond of women's milk." A Namaqua "solemnly declared that he had known several instances where it had entered people's dwellings at night, and if it met with a sleeping mother has dexterously abstracted the milk." [1] The same belief is current in Madagascar,[2] and in New Guinea.[3] It has also been a popular belief in Wales from time immemorial.[4] The fact is equally well known in Italy, where the restlessness of babies has frequently been discovered to be due to a serpent sucking the mother's breast, while the dispossessed infant had to rest satisfied with the end of the serpent's tail.[5]

The Eskimo have stories of reptiles falling in love with women and of serpents caressing women and clinging to their breasts.[6] Among the North American Indians likewise there are numerous stories of serpents having connection with women and falling in love with them.[7] Among the Dené, as among the Jews and the Persians, tradition relates that the first woman mated with a serpent.[8]

In South America serpents are generally regarded as the cause of menstruation. Among the Chiriguanos, after a girl has undergone the fumigations and purifications which are regarded as necessary when she first menstruates, the women look about the house for snakes and kill any that may be found, for they assert that a snake is the cause of the mischief.[9] In the Orinoco country the natives, says Father Gilii, "are so insane as to believe that the natural condition of women is known to snakes, and in order to protect the former, as they imagine, they do not permit them to wander about the woods at such times. In my time the wife of a certain cachique died of jaundice. When I sought to console him about the event, he replied—'It was her own fault, for she would

[1] C. G. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 303. Cf. T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, p. 81.

[2] A. van Gennep, *Tabou et totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 274.

[3] G. L. Landtmann, "The Folk-Tales of the Kiwai Papuans," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, xlvii, p. 460.

[4] J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx*, p. 690.

[5] G. Finamore, *Tradizioni popolari abruzzesi*, p. 237.

[6] H. J. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, pp. 186 sqq.

[7] C. G. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends of New England*, pp. 342 sqq.; W. E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archaeological Report, Toronto*, 1899, pp. 117 sqq.

[8] E. Petitot, *Dictionnaire de la langue Déné-Dindjié*, p. xxxv.

[9] I. Chomé, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. viii, p. 333.

go about the woods without taking heed in what condition she was, and thus exposed herself to the love of the serpents.'" [1] Pregnancy as well as menstruation may, of course, result from the assaults of serpents. The Arawaks believe that such accidents are quite common. The case came under the notice of Mr. Melville, a Government official in Guiana, of a man who had killed his daughter's child because the girl, being unwilling to disclose the father's name, said she had got the child by a serpent. Mr. Melville treated the girl's story as sheer nonsense, and endeavoured to get the Indian to admit that a child could not be born without a human father. But the old fellow, who had at one time been down the river to the mission-station, retorted with the childish question, "Who was the father of Jesus?" [2] In the Upper Amazon region the god Jurupari, who is a serpent, is said to pursue women and to ravish them; they thereafter give birth to serpents. He himself was conceived by a virgin, who had no sexual parts at all, but was bitten by a reptile while she was bathing in a pool. One of the objects of the cult of the serpent-god Jurupari is to regulate the menstruation of women.[3] On one occasion, when the Uaupe tribe was almost wiped out by an epidemic, all the women, tradition relates, went to bathe in a pool over which Jurupari presided; every one of the women became pregnant and gave birth to a child ten months after.[4] The account given by Father Yves d'Évreux of the superstitions of the Tupis of northern Brazil bears a strong likeness to the description of the rites of the Theban women in Euripides. "The Devil," says the Father, "has persuaded those Gentiles of various delusions concerning waters, fountains and streams. Some are inhabited by nymphs, others by goddesses; some produce one effect, some another; some are injurious and dangerous, others agreeable and safe; some are sacred, others profane. Those savages have likewise a superstitious opinion that when they see a certain kind of lizard, which resemble those we call 'mourons,' or venomous snakes, running in the waters, they esteem that the fountain is dangerous to women, and that Giropari (their chief spirit) drinks of that water. This superstition goes so far that they believe that those lizards cast themselves upon women, that they send them to sleep and have company with them, so that they become big with child in consequence, and give birth to lizards instead of children." [5]

[1] F. S. Gilii, *Saggio di Storia Americana*, vol. ii, p. 133. Cf. R. Schomburgh, *Reise in Britisch-Guiana*, vol. i, p. 166; vol. ii, pp. 315 sq.

[2] W. C. Farabee, *The Central Arawaks*, p. 97; cf. p. 90.

[3] H. A. Coudreau, *La France équinoxiale*, vol. ii, pp. 184 sq., 190.

[4] E. Stradelli, "Legenda di Jurupary," *Bolletino della società geografica Italiana*, Ser. iii, pp. 659 sq.

[5] Yves d'Évreux, *Voyage dans le nord du Brésil*, p. 307.

Serpents the Guardians of the Waters of Life.

In the Brazilian superstition just noted, as in the Euripidean description of the rites of the Theban women, the serpents or other reptiles who are the lovers of women are associated with sacred springs, and are, in fact, the guardian deities of those waters. The association is common in many other parts of the world. In an Indian tale a beautiful girl is taken by the King of the Serpents as his wife while she is admiring her reflection in a spring.[1] Again, the Zulus of Natal have a story about a chief's daughter who, in spite of the warnings of her parents, went to bathe, together with two hundred other young women, in a certain stream. They were confronted by Unthlatu—that is, the Serpent-man—who kept the princess prisoner for some time, and ultimately became her husband.[2] In Brazil every spring and lake is regarded as being under the control of a serpent-deity who has the power of producing storms.[3] Among the North American Indians, serpents were the spirits of the lakes and the producers of storms.[4] The same may be said to be true of most countries, from Australia to Europe and Asia.[5] One of the characters in which the serpent, or its mythical equivalent the dragon,[6] appears most commonly in myth and legend is as the guardian of waters, springs, brooks, and the sea. In innumerable myths, of which that of Perseus and Andromeda is the type, the sun-hero liberates a woman who has been given as wife to the serpent of the sea, or of a river or spring. The opponent of the sun-god in those myths is, there can be little doubt, originally the moon-god. The latter is in numerous tales credited with assaulting or kidnapping women while they are drawing water at a spring or well, in the same way as is done by the serpent-guardians of the springs. Wells and springs are, in fact, regarded as being particularly dangerous to women. In several Irish tales the water of a spring or well overflows and

[1] T. Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, vol. i, p. 255.

[2] H. Callaway, *Nursery Tales, Traditions, etc., of the Zulus*, pp. 55 sqq.

[3] F.-J. de Santa Anna Nery, *Folk-lore Brésilien*, p. 259.

[4] D. Cusick, *Sketches of the Ancient History of the Six Nations*, in W. M. Beauchamp, *The Iroquois Trail*, pp. 10, 11, 14, 16, 20, 50.

[5] J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, vol. ii, 155 sqq.

[6] In China every snake is regarded as an avatar of the great Dragon, the ruler of all waters, who is perhaps the most important divinity in Chinese mythology (F. von der Goltz, "Zauberei und Hexenkünste, Spiritismus and Shamanismus, in China," *Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Volkerkunde Ostasiens*, vi. p. 24). In Wales snakes are believed to have the power to put forth wings and to become converted into flying dragons (J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx*, p. 692).

pursues women.[1] Wells also, especially those of a particularly sacred character, are commonly credited with the property of causing women to fall pregnant.[2] We have come upon the belief in South America and in Polynesia. Kaffir women, when their children ask them where babies come from, tell them that they are found by waters and springs, and that "women bring them back with them when they return from fetching the day's water." [3] Among the Banyoro women will on no account cross rivers unprotected, from fear of being assaulted by the serpents that dwell in them.[4] A well near Oxford was regarded in recent times as being almost as dangerous to women who wished to preserve their honour as the sacred wells of the Tupis. "Child's Well," we are told, "by the holiness of the chapleynes successively serving there, had vertue to make women that were barren to bring forth children." [5] Whether it be the serpents which dwell in the wells and springs or the waters themselves that get women with child, the original cause of the mischief is the moon.

It may appear strange that serpents should be so generally and intimately associated with water. Serpents are not usually aquatic animals. But primitive zoology does not look closely into classificatory affinities. The serpent, which is interchangeable in fable with almost any reptile, the lizard, the chameleon, the crocodile, and is generally supposed to have once possessed legs,[6] is likewise regarded as identical with the worm, and is as often as not spoken of as a worm. The eel is, of course, substituted without difficulty for the serpent.[7] Fishes are commonly regarded as closely allied to serpents. The Bechuana, for instance, "have a prejudice against eating fish, and allege a disgust to eating anything like a serpent. This," remarks Livingstone, "may arise from the remnants of serpent-worship floating in their minds." [8] "A general characteristic among Bantu tribes," says Dr. Lindblom, "is that they do not eat fish; fish are

[1] J. Rhys, *op. cit.*, pp. 394, 692.

[2] See D. M'Kenzie, "Children and Wells," *Folk-lore*, xviii, pp. 269 sqq.; A. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, vol. iii, pp. 392 sq.

[3] D. Kidd, *Savage Childhood*, pp. 85 sq.

[4] J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara, or Banyoro*, p. 43.

[5] A. Wood, *Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford*, p. 354.

[6] Muhammad Abu Jafar al-Tabari, *Chronique*, vol. i, p. 79; O. Dänhardt, *Natursagen*, vol. i, pp. 116, 207, 216 sq.; E. Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France*, vol. iii, p. 34; P. A. Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, pp. 374 sq.

[7] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 187; A. R. Parkinson, "Beiträge zur Ethnologie der Gilbert Insulaner," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xvi, pp. 104 sq.; J. B. Suas, "Mythes et Légendes des indigènes des Nouvelles Hébrides (Océanie)," *Anthropos*, vi, p. 907; O. Stuebel, *Samoanische Texte*, pp. 86 sqq.; G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 50, 254.

[8] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, p. 244; cf. p. 72. Cf. G. Fritsch, *Drei Jahre in Südafrika*, p. 338.

looked upon as being akin to snakes." [1] The Caribs of the West Indies appear to have had the same notion. They say that formerly men did not grow old and died without disease; and they ascribed that immunity from old age to their living on fish "which is always young and does not age." [2] The Tasmanians did not eat any fish that has scales.[3] The ancient Egyptians observed the same abstinence.[4] Babylonian gods were conceived in the form of serpents or of fishes, which were regarded as interchangeable. Ea, or Oannes, who was the serpent Tiamat identified with the primal waters of life, was also the great Fish.[5] The Syrian form of the Semitic goddess, Derketo, was a fish;[6] and her dying and resurrecting son, Tammuz or Adonis, was also a fish-god, and was spoken of as Dagon, the Fish.[7] Similarly the Hebrews regarded Leviathan, that is, the primal serpent, as a huge fish covered with scales.[8] Joshua, the first saviour of Israel, was called "the son of Nun," that is to say, "the son of the Fish." Nun, or Ji-nun, the Fish, was, according to learned Rabbis, the true name of the Messiah, which he bore before the sun was created. He was currently regarded as identical with Leviathan, who having died, rose again after three days.[9] The symbolism passed over into early Christian ideas, and the fish, an image of which Clement of Alexandria recommends all good Christians to wear,[10] was as common an emblem of the true faith as the cross.[11] Tertullian, after referring to the error of those heretical Christians who regarded Christ as a serpent, says: "But we little fishes followers of our Fish, Jesus Christ, are born of water, nor otherwise can we obtain eternal salvation." [12]

[1] G. Lindblom, *The Akamba*, p. 128. Cf. W. S. and K. Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People; the Akikuyu*, p. 50; Th. Paulitsche, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, p. 211; R. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallele*, p. 125; W. M. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, vol. ii, part ii, pp. 61 sq.

[2] De la Borde, *Voyage qui contient une relation exacte de l'origine, moeurs, coutumes, religion, guerres et voyages des Caraïbes*, pp. 524 sq.

[3] H. Ling Roth, *The Aborigines of Tasmania*, p. 62.

[4] Herodotus, ii. 37; Horapollo Nilous, *The Hieroglyphics*, p. 65.

[5] A. Jeremias, art. "Ea-Oannes," in W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, vol. iii, Part i, pp. 577 sqq. Cf. below, vol. iii, pp. 85, 112.

[6] Diodorus Siculus, ii. 4. 2.

[7] Athenæus, viii. 37. Cf. A. Menant, "Le mythe de Dagon," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xi, pp. 295 sqq.

[8] I. Scheftelowitz, "Das Fischsymbol im Judentum und Christentum," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiv, p. 341 n.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 2 sqq., 321 sqq.

[10] Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, iii. 1.

[11] See in particular, F. J. Dölger, "ΙΧΘΥΣ" *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde*, xxiii. pp. 3 sqq.

[12] Tertullian, *De baptismo*, i. in Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, vol. i, coll. 1198 sq. The fish-symbol of the Christians was explained by the well-known anagram, Ἰησους Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱος Σωτηρ. Cf. G. A. van

The serpent's constant association with waters is not, however, due to its fancied resemblance to a fish; that association follows from the character of the serpent as a surrogate of the moon, the ruler of all waters. The ocean is throughout Indonesia regarded as a serpent, the Great Serpent of the primordial waters, from which all things have arisen.[1] In China the great serpent or dragon, which occupies the most prominent place in Chinese mythical representations, is the representative of the waters above the earth.[2] The association of the serpent with rain has led many to suppose that this is the primary significance of the serpent in universal mythology. But rain is but one of the forms of the waters over which the moon exercises her control. The moon's specific faculty of eternal renewal is, indeed, frequently ascribed to her bathing periodically in the waters of pools and lakes or of the sea. The water which by that baptism imparts renewed youth to her is thus the Water of Life. In Polynesia the moon preserves her youth by bathing in the waters of Tane.[3] The Jukon of Northern Nigeria say that the moon goes to renew its youth in its home in the waters.[4] The Huitotos of the Upper Amazon have the same notion.[5] It seems not unlikely that the renovating virtue of those waters of life is thought to be due to the presence in them of their guardian serpents, and that the moon is regarded as deriving her power of rejuvenescence and everlasting life from the serpent, which renews its skin.

den Bergh van Eysinga, "Altchristliches und Orientalisches," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, lx, pp. 210 sqq.

[1] C. M. Pleyte, "Die Schlange in Volksglauben der Indonesier," *Globus*, lxv, pp. 95 sq.; E. Modigliani, *Un viaggio a Nias*, pp. 317 sq.

[2] F. von der Goltz, "Zauberei und Hexenkünste, Spiritismus und Shamanismus in China," *Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Volkerkunde Ostasiens*, 1897, p. 24.

[3] J. White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. ii, p. 91; W. D. Westervelt, *Legends of Ma-ui, a Demi-God of Polynesia, and of his Mother Hina*, pp. 35, 119, 135.

[4] O. Temple, *Notes on the Tribes of Northern Nigeria*, p. 177.

[5] K. T. Preuss, *Religion und Mythologie der Uitoto*, vol. i, pp. 70, 115.

CHAPTER XXII

PRIMITIVE COSMIC RELIGION

THE interest and importance which attach to the superstitious, magical, or quasi-religious conceptions of uncultured peoples concerning the moon lie in the fact that they constitute the first germ of a cosmic religion. One of the most fundamental differences between the majority of those primitive ideas and practices which we regard as being of a more or less religious character and our own conceptions of religion, is that the former are, as a rule, narrowly limited in their outlook and purpose. They are not general theories of the universe or attempts to solve philosophical problems; they apply for the most part to very limited particular relations, and are directly connected, not with the interpretation of nature or eternal purposes, but with the immediate needs and purposes of primitive man. The totem is by its nature a tribal being, and has reference to the life of the tribe or the clan, and not to the government of the universe. And although it may sometimes acquire wider functions and attributes, and become a true divinity, such gods scarcely ever lose, except through the operation of wider conceptions, their essentially tribal character. They are, from their very nature, the local gods of a given tribe or people. Neighbouring tribes have their equally valid gods, and tribal divinities fight against one another by the side of their respective peoples. The rudimentary religious ideas of primitive humanity are hopelessly parochial. The conceptions connected with the moon are doubtless almost equally narrow in their scope in primitive thought, because primitive thought has no disposition towards generalisations and universal conceptions. The moon is often regarded, like the totem, as the progenitor of the tribe; the tribe itself is with most people equivalent to mankind, and its members call themselves simply 'men,' ignoring the rest of the human race, and regarding the diminutive territory which they inhabit as the universe. But from its very character the lunar deity has as natural a tendency to broaden out into a universal deity as the totemic god to retain his local and tribal nature. The moon, regarded as a super-

natural power, is a universal one, the sphere of whose influence is the whole world; totemic and ancestral gods are not cosmic, but local and tribal powers. The former order of conceptions may be distinguished as 'cosmic' in opposition to those which have reference to tribal ancestors, ghosts, or other supernatural powers of a purely local or personal character. Of those cosmic conceptions, which answer more nearly to our notion of a system of religion, the ideas primitively connected with the moon and the magical virtues ascribed to it appear to have been everywhere the first rudiments. We shall in the present chapter take a rapid survey of our imperfect information concerning the fundamental cosmic religious conceptions of peoples in the less advanced stages of culture, and we shall, I hope, be in a position to form some estimate of the accuracy of the view that the moon rather than any other natural object, such as the sun, occupies the chief place in those conceptions.

It was at one time supposed that primitive peoples tend to personify all natural objects and phenomena, and that one of the earliest forms of religious belief was what was termed 'nature worship.' But there is little evidence to support that a priori theory. Most natural objects, from the celestial bodies down to rivers, trees, and stones, are readily regarded by primitive people as animated, and as the abode of indwelling spirits. But it does not appear that any general view of the constitution, order, and origin of the universe has ever developed out of such haphazard 'animism.' Those local spirits are usually either the ghosts of deceased persons, or subordinate supernatural beings, or else they are regarded as forms, aspects, or emanations of some superior power. What are called 'departmental deities,' such as gods of rivers, of winds and storms, and so forth, are usually the crystallised results of comparatively late mythologies; they are not primitive deities, and may in most instances be recognised as specialised forms or aspects of older and more generalised supernatural powers. Nor is there any evidence or probability that primitive man is disposed to personify and 'worship' dynamic phenomena, such as 'the dawn,' 'light,' or 'pink clouds.' The objects of his superstitious interest are concrete, and he shows no more disposition to abstract the phenomena of nature than to abstract moral or intellectual qualities. On the assumption that primitive religious ideas arose out of 'nature worship,' it would be natural that the supreme place should be assigned to the sun. But that natural place of the sun as the highest visible representative of natural forces rests upon the hypothesis of a mode of origin of religious ideas, as an interpretation of natural phenomena, which is quite unproved and unlikely. The facts of ethnology point to the conclusion that such religious ideas arose out of a

desire to acquire magical powers, and not out of an intellectual desire to interpret nature. Departmental deities and systematic interpretations such as are postulated in the theory of 'nature worship' have undoubtedly arisen when primitive conceptions concerning the source and cause of magical powers have faded out of memory; but those reinterpretations appear to be invariably late phenomena superimposed upon a basis of older beliefs, and not the origin of those beliefs.

All religious conceptions tend, from their very importance, to cut themselves free from the ideas and purposes which originally gave rise to them. Beings so exalted and awful as gods are by their nature self-existent. Whatever their origin, as soon as they are conceived as substantive and separate personalities having individual names, that personality and that name are an all-sufficient account of their being, and of their influence on human life. The conceptions which have in the first instance given rise to them, whether they refer to ancestral ghosts, or to a totem, or to the moon, fall away like a scaffolding that has served its purpose from the forms of the mighty beings which have been built round those rude frameworks of primitive belief. As often as not the connection is ultimately repudiated as sacrilegious and blasphemous by the divine and self-existent gods. They are that they are. When the crude notions that gave rise to lunar divinities have lost their primitive force and significance, when the heavens are occupied by a ruler who reigns there in his own right and in his own name, all that is remembered of his origin is often no more than that he is the Light of the World, the Lord of Life and of the Resurrection. The faint remembrance of the cosmic conceptions out of which the god arose traces him back vaguely to those obsolete notions, and the heavenly sun that supports all life, and by its rising and setting is the emblem of eternal renewal, is, this time 'naturally,' likened to the god.

We meet at every turn with that process of substitution of the sun for the moon. Where human sustenance has become dependent upon agriculture, the changes of the seasons and not the lunar cycles become most prominent in importance. Other associations of ideas lead with all purely agricultural peoples to transformations in their cosmic conceptions of the government of the universe. Clans which have established themselves in a position of pre-eminence, conquerors and kings, frequently assimilate themselves to the sun, and favour the substitution of the more brilliant luminary that is not, like the moon, subject to vicissitudes of fortune, for the primitive interpretations. The respective sexes of sun and moon become changed; the evil aspects of the moon are emphasized; the moon is, in solar theologies, belittled and discredited; a regular conflict and controversial

opposition is manifested between the solar and the lunar conception of a heavenly ruler. But the attributes of the solar god are, in point of fact, no other than those which have been handed down to him from the older lunar deity. In the scheme of primitive thought the sun is destitute of functions and significance. Equinoxial time, and the relation between the seasonal changes and the course of the sun, are not observable and are therefore unknown to primitive humanity. Among the most uncultured races daylight is not even apprehended as being due to the light of the sun; it is believed to be an independent phenomenon. The brilliancy, the heat of the sun, those attributes which constitute the manifest grounds for its superior importance, count for nothing in primitive ideas of the supernatural, because these are not an 'interpretation of nature,' or a result of the impressiveness of natural phenomena, but an endeavour to secure benefits by obtaining or controlling magical powers. And the moon, the regulator and transformer, and not the sun is everywhere regarded as the source of magical powers; no primitive magician turns to the sun to obtain that power. In a Lettish myth the moon is represented as saying to the sun: "What have you to be proud about? Is it that you give heat to the world? I do more, I cause all growth and all existence, I bring to life and I bring to death." [1] The solar gods of later stages of development are but transformed moon-deities whose attributes and functions are inherited from more primitive predecessors. They are life-giving and fertilising, they are immortal, they renew their youth in cycles. But those characters and functions do not originally belong to the sun; they are the attributes of the primitive lunar deity. Hence it is that we come upon ever-recurrent incongruities which disclose the substitution; we meet with sun-gods that die a monthly death, and rise again after three days, with sun-cults that are celebrated by night.

Nor are solar cults alone derived from older lunar cults. The more highly developed religious systems of advanced cultures, which have the universal bearing and philosophic scope which we associate with a religious conception, bear the stamp of their origin and development from the most rudimentary forms of cosmic religious ideas, from the lunar cults of primitive humanity. The mind of the savage has even less disposition to form abstract conceptions than it has to construct allegorical interpretations of the phenomena of nature. It is only through the concrete that the human mind has attained to the abstract. The beliefs of primitive man are not founded on conceptions such as 'the principle of eternal renewal,' or 'the principle of life,' any more than they rest upon personifications of 'the height of heaven,' or 'the dawn.' Primitive

[1] H. Wissendorff de Wissukuok, "Légendes Lataviennes," *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, viii, p. 213.

man being much more of a magician than a philosopher or a poet, and far more concerned with performing efficient incantations than with meditating on the nature of things, the moon, which is everywhere regarded as the chief source of magical powers, has interested him to a far greater degree than 'the principle of light' or the phenomena of the dawn; and accordingly his magical rites have reference to the moon and not to the life-force or other abstractions. "Observers," remarks Sir James Frazer, "ignorant of savage superstition, have commonly misinterpreted such customs as worship or adoration paid to the moon. In point of fact the ceremonies of new moon are probably in many cases rather magical than religious." [1] But Sir James Frazer has himself experienced considerable difficulty in drawing a clear line of demarcation between magical and religious procedures. The terms 'cult,' 'worship,' 'religion,' which it is not always easy to avoid in speaking of primitive rites and beliefs, are certainly often liable to convey misleading impressions. The rituals by which primitive humanity endeavours to utilise and acquire the virtues which it believes to reside in the moon, may be regarded as operations of magic. Yet if procedures that are intended to secure the continuance of life, the redemption of human nature by a new birth, and that are addressed to a power which is regarded as the controller of human destiny, as the resurrection and the life, are not religion, it is not easy to say what is.

Cosmic Religion in Melanesia and New Guinea.

The natives of the Melanesian Islands present some of the most archaic examples of cosmological and religious conceptions which survive in a form sufficiently articulate to be decipherable with comparative ease and certainty. Primitive in the absolute sense, Melanesian religious ideas certainly are not; as everywhere else, gods and their personalities have to a large extent supplanted and effaced the ideas that originally gave rise to them, and those ideas have correspondingly lost much of their original force and significance. As an intelligent Melanesian native put it, in terms that cannot be improved upon, when questioned concerning the religious conceptions of his people—"We do not know the religious customs. It was the people long ago who knew the root; we know only the branches." [2] Nevertheless, scarcely anywhere have we a better opportunity of approaching the root of primitive cosmic religious conceptions.

[1] J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, vol. v, p. 371.
[2] W. Gunn, *The Gospel in Futuna*, p. 219.

The Melanesians have a copious oral literature of traditional myths, all of which, however, from the northernmost groups of New Britain and the Admiralty Islands to New Caledonia and Fiji, repeat essentially the same themes. Those mythical themes are exclusively lunar; the sun does not appear in them except in a quite subordinate character.

The lunar deities of Melanesia are characteristically represented as a contrasted pair of gods corresponding to the lucky, bright, or waxing moon, and to the unlucky, dark, waning moon, respectively. The one is beneficent and wise, the other maleficent and foolish. Thus, at Aurora, in the New Hebrides, "Tagaro wanted everything to be good, and would have no pain or suffering; Suqe-matua would have all things bad. Whatever Tagaro did was made right, Suqe was always wrong; he would have men die only for five days." Whatever Tagaro ate increased as he ate it, but Suqe could not plant things aright. He is the ruler of the dead. His head is forked.[1] In New Ireland, Tagaro is called Tamor, and Suqe, Soi. Tamor is big, strong, and wise; Soi, small, weak, and a fool.[2] In New Britain the two brothers are called Kabinana, the Wise, and Karvuvu, the Fool. Kabinana is also called the 'Right-hand god,' and Karvuvu the 'Left-hand god.' In the southern hemisphere the new moon crescent appears on the left-hand side of the moon to an observer facing north, the dark shadow being on the right-hand side. New Britain is close to the equator and the crescent of the new moon is therefore almost horizontal. Kabinana built his hut with a convex roof; Karvuvu, the Fool, built his with a concave roof, and was consequently flooded out by the rain. Karvuvu, the Fool, gave to the serpent the message of immortality which Kabinana, the Wise, intended for mankind.[3] In the Banks Islands the being who is called Tagaro in the northern New Hebrides is commonly known as Qat, that is to say, 'Head'; but he has eleven brothers, making twelve in all, who are called Tangaro. The dual opposition of the original pair is duplicated in the two elder brothers Tangaro, who are respectively called Tangaro the Wise and Tangaro the Fool. The opposition is again reproduced in several variants. Thus Qat and Marawa, the Spider, both undertook to create men and women; Qat took six days to carve them out of

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 168, 169.

[2] P. G. Peckel, *Religion und Zauberei auf dem mittleren Neu-Mecklenburg*, pp. 57 sqq.

[3] J. Meier, *Mythen und Erzählungen der Bewohner der Gazelle-Halbinsel (Neu-Pommern)*, pp. 13 sqq.; P. A. Kleintitschen, *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazelle-Halbinsel*, pp. 331 sqq.; R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 683 sqq.; O. Meyer, "Mythen und Erzählungen von dem Insel Vuatom (Bismarck-Archipel, Südsee)," *Anthropos*, v, pp. 715 sqq.

wood and six days to bring them to life, after which he hid them away for three days; from which it appears that he started his operations at the full moon. After three days, he once more brought them to life. Marawa, evidently beginning his work during the waning moon, took six days to complete his creation, and covered up his creatures in a pit; but when he wished to bring them up again, he found them rotten and stinking. Qat's brothers, the Tangaros, are envious and jealous of Qat and repeatedly try to injure and destroy him. They are particularly desirous of robbing him of his beautiful wife, Ro Lei, that is to say, the sun.[1]

In Pentecost Island the names of the two gods are reported as Tortali and Ul. 'Ul' means the 'Skin Changer."[2] Like Qat, Tortali has a beautiful wife with whom he spends the days during which he is absent from the sky. Ul is envious of him, and seduces her.[3] In Bowditch Island the 'skin-changer,' Ulu, is, like Qat, one of twelve; he has ten brothers and one sister. The sister is called Ina, the Moon; the ten brothers have no names, but are simply known by numbers from one to ten.[4] In the Solomon Islands the two moon-gods are called Tantanu and Baubiage. Tantanu, who is associated with the Great Serpent, is the creator of men; Baubiage has lost his arms and legs, and is thus reduced to the same condition as Qat, he consists of a head only. He is the "chief of the moon."[5] In Fiji likewise, the god Ulupoko, another 'skin-changer,' "was head only" and his only means of progression was to roll about.[6]

In Torres Straits the gods are called Bomai and Malu. The two names are said to denote the same god, but we may doubt whether this means anything more in their case than in regard to

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 156 sqq. For the meaning of 'Qat' see R. H. Codrington and J. Palmer, *A Dictionary of the Language of Mota*, p. 131. For the meaning of 'Ro Lei,' see E. Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, p. 834. Cf. below, p. 716. Ro Lei is said to have no children, a peculiarity commonly noted in primitive myth concerning the sun, who, in contrast with the moon, has no progeny of stars (see above, p. 579).

[2] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 265.

[3] J. B. Suas, "Mythes et légendes des indigènes des Nouvelles Hébrides (Océanie)," *Anthropos*, vi, pp. 902 sqq. Cf. below, p. 716.

[4] J. J. Lister, "Notes on the Natives of Fakaofu (Bowditch Island), Union Group," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxi, p. 92. Bowditch Island belongs properly to the Polynesian and not to the Melanesian region; but, as we shall see, the myths of the two regions are so entirely identical that the above particulars are noted here for the sake of comparison.

[5] R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, vol. i, pp. 334 sqq., 410 sq., 412. These appear to be the same gods who are called by Father Suas Tortali and Bugbian (J. B. Suas, "Mythes et légendes des indigènes des Nouvelles Hébrides (Océanie)," *Anthropos*, vi, pp. 902, 907.

[6] T. R. St.-Johnston, *The Lau Islands (Fiji)*, pp. 75 sq.

other Melanesian and Papuan double moon-gods. Malu (?Bomai) swells up by drinking water. Malu is "a very bad man"; he eats whole lands and islands, he eats off people's heads.[1] In the island of Yam the two gods, called Sigai and Maiau, are represented by a shark and a crocodile.[2]

The bright moon-god is commonly regarded in Melanesian myths as corresponding also to the full moon. In the island of Erub, in Torres Straits, the moon, which is said to belong to two men, is represented by two sacred stones, the one circular, the other crescent-shaped.[3] The same crescent-shaped stones are the most sacred objects of the natives of Erromanga.[4] No doubt, although we are not expressly told so, the full moon is also represented amongst them by a circular stone. Such a dual representation of the moon in its full and in its crescentic aspect is easily interpreted as having reference to the sun and the moon. The same symbolic representation recurs in almost every religion; in ancient Egypt, almost every high god and goddess bore the emblems of the full orb and the crescent. The two symbols have often been understood to represent the sun and the moon. But we find the emblems surmounting the figure of the god Moon.[5] Similarly, the various attributes of the waxing, or full-moon god, as we find them in Melanesia, may easily be adapted to a solar mythology; all that is needed is to interpret the orbed, brilliant, and beneficent full-moon deity as the sun, and to leave unchanged the contrast between him and the deformed, dark, weak and maleficent crescentic moon-god. Such an interpretation is commonly met with in our reports. Thus the Rev. H. A. Robertson says that in Erromanga "the sun and the moon, especially the latter, were sacred, and the moon was symbolised by the 'navilho' or sacred stones."[6] So again we are told that "in Aneityum, the sun, and his wife Sina, the moon, had the power of life and death; and offerings were made to them, asking them for life and health. The people had feasts at the new moon. They built altars in Futuna as well as in Aneityum, the

[1] A. C. Haddon and C. S. Meyers, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. vi, pp. 281 sqq.

[2] A. C. Haddon, *ibid.*, vol. v, pp. 64 sqq.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. vi, p. 202; Id., "Legends from Torres Straits," *Folk-lore*, i, pp. 185 sq.

[4] H. A. Robertson, *Erromanga, the Martyr Isle*, p. 389; W. Gunn. *The Gospel in Futuna*, p. 218.

[5] P. Pierret, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie égyptienne*, p. 1. The disc is, in Egyptian pictography, frequently represented as dark, while the crescent is bright. The form of the design in which the crescent occupies a portion of the ovoid disc makes, moreover, the intention perfectly clear, and leaves no room for the interpretation of the latter as the sun disc.

[6] H. A. Robertson, *loc. cit.*

two tallest posts in the altar represent the sun and the moon. In Erromanga, crescent-shaped stones were very sacred, and would seem connected with moon worship." [1] Father Suas reports from Pentecost Island a myth concerning Tortali and his brother Ul, exactly similar to that of the rivalry between Qat's brothers and himself in regard to Qat's wife, the sun (Ro Lei). Tortali is in the habit of absenting himself for several days from the heavens, while he is in the company of his wife, who is not here named. Ul during Tortali's absence seduces Tortali's wife. Father Suas calls Tortali the sun.[2] But it is difficult to see on what principles of nature symbolism the sun is represented as being absent from the heavens during the interlunar days, which the moon is usually supposed to spend in the company of his wife, the sun. According to Mrs. Hadfield, the natives of the Loyalty Islands worshipped the sun and the moon. "They say the sun reached old age in one month, but owing to some secret and special attribute was enabled to renew his youth." [3] No comment or argument could match the account of that solar deity which passes through a monthly cycle of ageing and rejuvenation. The confusion between the full-moon deity and the sun, which gives rise to these accounts of worship of the sun and moon, has also frequently afforded a natural transition from lunar to solar conceptions of cosmic religion. There is, however, no indication of such a transition having taken place anywhere in Melanesia, or of any form of sun-worship.

The two contrasted moon-gods of Melanesia are often associated with a moon-goddess, their mother, who is sometimes represented as giving birth to them by splitting into two. In New Ireland she is spoken of simply as 'Tine,' 'the Mother,' [4] or 'Hintubu-het,' 'our grandmother.' [5] In New Britain she is the mother of Kaninana and Karvuvu, whom she moulded out of her blood, and is known as 'the Old Woman,' or 'the Shining Woman.' [6] In the Banks Islands she is the mother of Qat and the Tangaros, and is called 'Qat goro,' that is 'Round Head,' or 'Head cut round,' or as Iro Ul, 'the Skin-changing Woman,' or 'the World's Skin-changer.' [7] In San Cristoval she is, according to Dr. Cod-

[1] W. Gunn, *The Gospel in Futuna*, p. 218.

[2] J. B. Suas, "Mythes et légendes des indigènes des Nouvelles Hébrides (Océanie)," *Anthropos*, vi, pp. 902 sqq.

[3] E. Hadfield, *Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group*, p. 110.

[4] E. Stephan and F. Graebner, *Neu-Mecklenburg*, p. 119.

[5] G. Peckel, *Religion und Zauberei auf dem mittleren Neu-Mecklenburg*, p. 5.

[6] J. Meier, *Mythen und Erzählungen der Bewohner der Gazelle-Halbinsel (Neu Pommern)*, pp. 16 sqq., 24 sqq.

[7] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 156. The meaning of 'Qat goro' is not given by Dr. Codrington in his book on the Melanesians. In his *Dictionary of the Language of Mota*, p. 28, 'goro' is explained as "to cut round," and also "to embrace." The interpretation of 'Iro Ul,' is given by Dr. Cod-

rington, the Snake-woman, and the mother of mankind.[1] But the serpent deity of San Cristoval, though regarded in its local forms as a female, is in its generic form, of which the local sacred snakes are surrogates, a male, and has a brother, and is thus a form of the double moon-god. It is regarded as the supreme deity, the creator of the world, of mankind, and of all creatures, and is the object of constant worship and deep reverence.[2] The Great Serpent, the creator of mankind and of all good things, occupies the same position in the Admiralty Islands.[3] It plays a no less exalted part at Pine Island, at the opposite extremity of Melanesia.[4] The same triad of the two moon-gods with their mother is also found in New Guinea.[5]

It will be well to note here a common misconception which has had a paralysing influence on the interpretation of primitive belief. In examining those beliefs, the conclusion is frequently arrived at that a given personage cannot be a god because he is not treated with reverence, because all sorts of undignified and ludicrous stories are told about him, and he moves amongst men almost as an equal manifesting no divine signs. Such beings, it is supposed, cannot properly be spoken of as gods; they must, at best, be classed as 'demi-gods,' or 'heroes.' But those distinctions, which to the European who approaches the subject from the point of view of dialectical Christian theology are of supreme importance, do not exist for the savage. Far from his having any notion of a classification into 'heroes,' 'demi-gods,' and 'gods,' there is in his conceptions no clear line of demarcation between gods and men. The magical attributes of supernatural beings are but a superlative form of powers that are daily exercised by medicine-men and wizards and may be possessed by any man; the function of creator does not establish a gulf between

rington. 'Irl' is the personal feminine determinative; 'Ul,' means "to change skin," "to slough," hence "to go on living." "Ul ta marama" means "eternal" (R. H. Codrington and J. Palmer, *A Dictionary of the Language of Mota*, p. 234). Cf. W. Schmidt, "Grundlinien einer Vergleichung der Religionen und Mythologien der Austronesischen Völker," *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien; Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, liii, Abhandlung viii, p. 107.

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 150.

[2] C. E. Fox, "Beliefs and Tales of San Cristoval," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlv, pp. 136 sqq. Cf. R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, vol. i, pp. 371 sqq.

[3] J. Meiers, "Mythen und Sagen der Admiralitäts-Insulaner," *Anthropos*, ii, pp. 650, 653, 654, 656.

[4] Père Lambert, *Moeurs et superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens*, pp. 347 sq. Cf. C. Keysser, in R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, vol. iii, pp. 180 sqq.

[5] J. Chalmers and W. W. Gill, *Work and Adventure in New Guinea*, p. 151; F. Vorman, "Zum Psychologie, Religion, Sociologie der Monumbo-Papua," *Anthropos*, v, pp. 415 sq. Cf. below, p. 690 n[7].

the god and the man; all magicians are more or less creators, and the mere circumstance that he has created the world is often in the mind of the savage an incidental detail in the attributes of the god, upon which he thinks it scarcely worth while to lay stress. As often as not the drudgery of creating beings and things is delegated by the god to a subordinate demiurge, who is generally the First Man. Indeed the god himself is scarcely distinguishable from the First Man. He is commonly supposed to have dwelt at one time amongst men, living much the same life as his savage companions, and changing his residence to heaven by a mere accident in the course of his adventures. The character of august and awful majesty, which we associate with a veritable god, the attitude of reverence which we regard as the distinguishing characteristic of a religious view of him, are products of a lengthy evolution; they are wholly foreign to primitive man's conception of supernatural beings. These may be dreaded as dangerous and evilly disposed, but dread of them does not prevent a sly delight in their discomfitures and misadventures; they may be looked upon as well-disposed and willing to be helpful, and are then treated all the more freely with friendly good-nature, but not with 'reverence.' Savage lunar deities are essentially 'the man in the moon,' in the most literal sense; the anthropomorphism of the conception is not confined to their formal appearance, is not a crutch of the mind to conceive a spiritual being; the god is not in a figurative and analytic sense a "much magnified man"; he is so in the literal sense and without any metaphor. The all-absorbing question of the European enquirer, "Is he a hero or a god, a deified man or a Supreme Being?" is destitute of significance for the native.

The gods of Melanesia and of Polynesia have commonly been described as 'tribal heroes,' or 'spirits.' Dr. Codrington, for instance, to whom we owe some of the most valuable and ably set forth stores of information concerning Melanesian belief, had the distinction constantly before his mind, and was thereby effectually prevented from perceiving, not only the slightest glimpse of Melanesian cosmological conceptions, but the character of any of the beings whom he is at great pains to classify as 'spirits' falling under some one or other systematic theoretical definition. Of Qat, the moon-god of Banks Islands, he says that "it was supposed that he was their god," but "it is impossible to take Qat seriously or to allow him divine rank. He is the hero of story-tellers, the ideal character of a good-natured people who profoundly believe in magic. Though he certainly never was a man, the people of the place where he was born in Vanua Lava, claim him as their ancestor." [1]

[1] H. R. Codrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 155.

But savage 'story-telling' is, in point of fact, scarcely ever an idle play of fancy. Even if he merely desires to indulge his creative fancy, the savage story-teller can no more than the civilised story-teller depart from social tradition. Those stories of the Melanesian savages constitute, as Father Suas remarks, "their dogmatic theology, and they have no other." [1] Their themes are literally life and death issues. We have already seen that the most widespread and popular of those stories are concerned with the origin of death and the 'Skin-changing Woman,' who is, of course, no other than the Melanesian moon-goddess.[2] The same themes in other forms likewise constitute the central purpose of the rites which still survive in the innumerable 'ghost,' or secret societies of the Melanesian region. "It is possible," observed the late Dr. Rivers, "that further knowledge will show the presence of features derived from the cult of the moon in the ritual of Melanesian 'ghost' societies." [3] At Vanikoro, in the Santa Cruz group, where, as everywhere else in Melanesia, the creation of the world and of the human race is ascribed to the moon, its cult in the stone circles constitutes in fact a regular religious worship.[4] Melanesian secret societies are, and were when they first came under the notice of Europeans, in a state of advanced decay, social considerations having largely supplanted their religious and magical purposes, but enough of their primitive character survives to bear out Dr. Rivers's view, and to show that those institutions differed in no essential from similar ones in other parts of the world. Their central object was admission to the company of deceased ancestors by obtaining eternal life and resurrection from the power which is credited with the faculty of eternal re-birth.

Thus the Qat, Qatu or Qetu societies of the Banks Islands and northern New Hebrides are the associations of the moon-god Qat. The candidate in some of the initiation rites is buried in a grave lined with dung, and is covered up with dung; so that when he rises again, he is as malodorous as the men created by Qat's associate Marawa when they were taken out of their grave after the third day.[5] Sometimes a fire of coco-nut leaves is lit over the back of the 'corpse' as he lies in his grave. After being restored to life, or at least to cleanliness, he is given a new name.[6] In the

[1] J. B. Suas, "Mythes et légendes des Indigènes des Nouvelles Hébrides (Océanie)," *Anthropos*, vi, p. 902.

[2] R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 265. Cf. C. E. Fox and F. H. Drew, "Beliefs and Tales of San Cristoval," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlv, p. 138.

[3] W. H. Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society*, vol. ii, pp. 426 sq.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 226 sqq.

[5] See above, p. 680.

[6] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 87, 90. Cf. E. N. Imhaus, *Les*

Dukduk society, which is widespread through New Britain, New Ireland, and Duke of York Island, the initiate when brought into the presence of the chief Dukduk is smitten with a heavy bamboo, a spear, or a club, and is supposed to be killed. So severe is the blow administered by the executioner, that it has sometimes happened that the victim expired beyond all hope of resurrection. Barring such accidents, the candidate is restored to life through being born again out of the 'Tubuan,' or Mother of Dukduk. The deity under whose auspices the rites are held is himself supposed to die at the conclusion of the ceremonies. The Dukduk assume mourning. "There is no dancing now, but on the contrary they limp and halt and seem faint and weary. All the people know that Dukduk is sick and death is near," says Dr. Brown. "The women cry and howl as the mournful procession passes, as if a relative were dying. What all this means I cannot tell, but I can say that it bears no resemblance whatever to any secret European society that I know of or have ever heard of." [1] But surely Dr. Brown has heard of the mourning rites and lamentations of the women of Zion for the dead Tammuz at the door of the gate of the Lord's house which was towards the north; and I can scarcely believe that he has not heard of similar lamentations over the dead god by religious associations in every part of Europe, from Greece to Ireland. In another religious society of New Britain, the Vatitin society, the candidate is, as is usual in initiation rites, secluded for a prolonged period in a hut; he is allowed no clothing or blankets and very little food, and is thus reduced to a state of delirium and ecstasis. When in this condition he is visited by a disguised personage who represents the 'inal,' or 'spirit,' and who throws

Nouvelles-Hébrides, pp. 47 sq.; A. Penny, *Ten Years in Melanesia*, pp. 70 sqq.

[1] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, pp. 61 sqq. Cf. H. H. Romilly, *The Western Pacific and New Guinea*, pp. 27 sqq.; Id., "The Islands of the New Britain Group," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, N.S., ix, pp. 11 sq.; W. Churchill, "The Duk-Duk Ceremonies," *Popular Science Monthly*, xxxviii, pp. 236 sqq.; W. Powell, *Wanderings in a Wild Country*, pp. 60 sqq.; J. Pfeil, *Studien und Beobachtungen aus der Südsee*, pp. 159 sqq.; Id., "Duk-Duk and other Customs as Forms of Expression of the Melanesian Intellectual Life," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii, pp. 181 sqq.; R. Parkinson, *Im Bismarck-Archipel*, pp. 129 sqq.; Id., *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 567 sqq.; J. D. E. Schmelz, "Über einige religiöse Gebräuche der Melanesier," *Globus*, xli, pp. 7 sqq.; E. Tappenbeck, *Deutsch-Neuguinea*, pp. 85 sqq.; C. Hager, *Kaiser Wilhelm's Land und der Bismarck Archipel*, pp. 115 sqq.; Hübner, "Die Duk-Duk-Ceremonie," *Die ethnographisch-anthropologische Abtheilung des Museum Godeffroy in Hamburg*, pp. 17 sq.; A. Hahl, "Ueber die Rechtsanschauungen der Eingebornen, eines Theiles der Blanchebucht und des Innern der Gazelle Halbinsel," *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel*, 1897, p. 76.

the candidate on the ground, leaving him for dead. After a while the Spirit gently resurrects him. "The 'inal' candidates hope to enjoy after death a better lot than ordinary mortals who have not been initiated in those high mysteries." [1]

In Rook Island, between New Britain and New Guinea, the boys were supposed to be swallowed by a monstrous spirit, and were delivered shrieking and trembling to the masked personages representing that spirit, and compelled to crawl between their legs. After the initiation it was announced that they had been eaten and, in consideration of the pugs offered as sacrifice, had been disgorged by the monster.[2] The voice of the 'spirit' is represented by 'bull-roarers.' [3]

The form of simulated death and resurrection practised on Rook Island is general among the Melanesian races of New Guinea. Thus among the Koko the candidates are bidden crawl between the legs of the disguised men who represent the spirit. In another form of the proceeding in that tribe, the trials of the candidates take place on a platform erected in the village. After the preliminary preparations, the people wait for the appearance of the moon. "As the moon rises all present become silent. The men depart for the bush and the women then put out all fires and lights. When the moon shines, a long procession emerges from the bush and enters the village, marching very slowly and stealthily." The figures are attired in huge masks. Suddenly they set up a terrifying noise and seize the boys, rushing with them up and down the village, and throwing the terrified victims at last on the platform. There they are subjected to all manner of terrifying ordeals; spears, water and other things are thrown at them, the men, calling out, "I am the spirit." The distressed parents imploringly shout, "Do not kill my child!" "The effect on the lads and girls, who are in complete darkness owing to being enveloped in hoods, of hearing the noises and the shouts of 'Do not kill my child' can easily be gauged." [4] Among other tribes the proceedings are even more realistic. Thus among the Girara the men's club-house is transformed for the occasion into the presentment of a huge crocodile,

[1] J. Meier, "Der Glaube an den 'inal' und den 'tutana vurakit' bei den Eingebornen im Küstegebiet der Blanchebucht," *Anthropos*, v, pp. 103 sq.

[2] P. Reina, "Ueber die Bewohner der Insel Rook," *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, N.F., iv, pp. 356 sq.

[3] G. Bamler, in R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch New-Guinea*, vol. iii, p. 493. Professor Webster appears to be in error in supposing that the association mentioned by Father Reina is a branch of the New Britain Duk-duk (H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, p. 199). All the features mentioned assimilate the Rook Island Association to the initiation rituals of the mainland of New Guinea.

[4] E. W. P. Chinnery and W. N. Beaver, "Notes on the Initiation Ceremonies of the Koko, Papua," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlv, pp. 71 sqq.

the façade being decorated with a gigantic crocodile's head. By this monster the youths are supposed to be swallowed. They are thrust between its jaws; a fence is then erected to hide the sequel of the tragedy, while bull-roarers swung inside the building represent the roaring of the monster. At last, yielding to the entreaties of the agonised parents, who wail over the death of the boy, the master of ceremonies consents to beg the crocodile to disgorge his prey, on consideration of a payment of some pigs as a substitute for the boy, who is accordingly vomited forth a fully initiated man.[1] Almost identically similar proceedings constitute the initiation rites of the Yabim, the Bukua, and the Kai tribes of northern Papua. Among the Yabim, for instance, an enormous hut is built in a secluded spot in the bush, which represents a monster whose huge mouth, richly furnished with teeth, forms the front of the hut, while a palm forms its backbone, which tapers to a long tail. Bull-roarers are swung by men inside the body of the animal. The initiates are swallowed through the mouth of the monster and remain secluded in its belly for three to four months. When they are restored to the world they appear stupefied, their eyes are sealed with plastered chalk, and it is only by degrees that they awake and recover their senses.[2] Among the Kai the process of being swallowed and regurgitated by the crocodile is reduced to the symbolic performance of a man who stands before its mouth, swallows water, and disgorges it on the candidate.[3]

It would be a profound misconception to imagine that those proceedings are mere grotesque pantomimes of horrors designed to instil terror to the candidates and the uninitiated, and that the monstrous crocodile is but a fantastic stage bogey. The monster is, on the contrary, the most sacred and venerated object in the religious ideas of those tribes. Among the Girara three large figures of crocodiles are permanently kept in a recess which is the Holy of Holies of the club-hut, which becomes itself transformed into a crocodile on the occasion of the initiations.[4] Among the Namau the sacred hut, or temple, contains about a dozen such figures of crocodile elaborately wrought in basket-work. Each has a special

[1] A. C. Haddon, "Migrations of Culture in British New Guinea," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xl, p. 258.

[2] K. Vetter, "Bericht . . . über papuanische Rechtsverhältnisse, wie solche namentlich bei den Jabim beobachtet wurden," *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel*, 1897, pp. 92 sq.; O. Schellong, "Das Barlum-Fest der Gegend Fischhafens," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, ii, pp. 145 sqq.; H. Zahn, in R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, vol. iii, pp. 296 sqq.

[3] C. Keysser, in R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, vol. iii, pp. 34 sqq. Cf. S. Lehner, *ibid.*, pp. 402 sqq. (Bukaua); G. Bamler, *ibid.*, pp. 493 sqq. (Tami).

[4] A. C. Haddon, "Migrations of Culture in British New Guinea," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, l, p. 258.

attendant appointed to its service. Offerings and sacrifices are presented on solemn occasions to the beasts; and they are consulted as oracles whenever any important decision has to be taken. After a war expedition, prisoners are immolated and their bodies are placed in the stomachs of the wicker-work crocodiles; they are subsequently removed and eaten communally by the men. The holy crocodiles are called 'kopiravi,' and are spoken of as 'kai ai imunu,' that is to say, 'imunu from the sky.' The term 'imunu' is explained as meaning "the principle of life." The sacred crocodiles thus represent "the principle of life from the sky." Bull-roarers are known among the Namau as 'imunu viki,' that is, 'crying imunu.' The conception of 'imunu,' "the principle of life" from the sky, which would appear to correspond to the 'mana' of the Melanesian Islands, says Professor Haddon, "runs through all their religion."[1] The crocodile occupies, in fact, a conspicuous place in Melanesian New Guinea. In the island of Yam, in Torres Straits, the two gods found throughout the Melanesian region are called Sigai and Maiau, and are represented in their shrine or temple by huge figures of a shark and a crocodile.[2] In the Solomon Islands, says Dr. Codrington, the sacred animals "are chiefly sharks, alligators, snakes, bonitos, and frigate-birds."[3] The shark, and the 'bonito' fish which resembles it, are in all likelihood regarded as marine equivalents of the crocodile. In Polynesian languages the shark and the lizard, the nearest Polynesian equivalent to the crocodile, are both denoted by

[1] A. C. Haddon, *op. cit.*, p. 260; Id., "The Kopiravi Cult of the Namau Papua," *Man*, xix, pp. 177 sqq. Cf. J. Holmes, "Notes on the Religious Ideas of the Elema Tribe of the Papuan Gulf," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii, pp. 429 sqq.

[2] A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, pp. 373 sqq.; Id., *Headhunters, Black, White and Brown*, pp. 178 sqq. The shark and crocodile pair of gods is found as far west as the island of Aru, off the western extremity of New Guinea; the animals are regarded by the natives as their ancestors, and figures of them are kept in their houses (J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 253). The Aru Islanders are not Indonesians, but Papuans, who probably migrated from New Guinea. They are divided into secret societies, the Uli-lima and the Uli-siwa, which are supposed to be hostile to one another (C. Ribbe, "Die Aru-Inseln," *Festschrift zur Jubelfeier des 25 jährigen Bestehens des Vereins für Erdkunde zu Dresden*, pp. 160, 170. Cf. A. R. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, pp. 430, 433 sq.).

[3] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 178. The frigate and other birds figure in Melanesian mythology as deputies and messengers of the gods, but not as impersonations and avatars of them, in the same manner as the birds are regarded by the Siouan Indians as the messengers of the 'Old Woman who never dies' (G. Peckel, *Religion und Zauberei auf dem mittleren Neu-Mecklenburg*, pp. 7 sq.; A. C. Haddon and C. S. Meyers, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. vi, p. 292).

almost the same word, ' mako ' and ' moko ' respectively.[1] In the Melanesian Islands the shark appears to be the more prevalent animal form of the god, while in New Guinea the crocodile is more conspicuous. In any ethnological collection of New Guinea carvings, the crocodile will be found to be present in eight objects out of ten ; there are crocodile drums, crocodile drinking vessels, crocodile arrows and spears, and the crocodile crawls over all shrine and house decorations.[2] We have seen that women are represented as being bitten in their genital organs by the crocodile.[3] Several Papuan tribes and clans have the crocodile for their ' totem ' ;[4] but this appears to be no more a true totem in the original significance of the institution than the sacred emblems of other tribes which have the moon and serpent for their ' totem.'[5] The crocodile monster which devours and regurgitates the candidates for initiation is thus no other than the ' kopiravi,' or " principle of life from the sky."[6] In the Kiwai tribe, the initiators representing the ' spirit ' are masked as crocodiles.[7]

The candidates, in the New Guinea initiation ceremonies, are often said to be restored by the monster which has swallowed them, on consideration of some pigs being supplied by the parents as a ransom.[8] This is not sheer exploitation on the part of the hierophants of those ceremonies, though, of course, it may readily degenerate into such. In some tribes, in which the ceremonies have

[1] E. Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, pp. 200, 249. " The lizard and the shark are said to have been brothers " (E. Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, p. 57).

[2] See A. C. Haddon, *The Decorative Art of British New Guinea*, pp. 26, 53 sqq.

[3] See above, p. 667.

[4] C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 36, 448, 678, 691, 736, 744 ; A. C. Haddon and W. H. Rivers, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, pp. 154, 156, 157.

[5] C. G. Seligman, *op. cit.*, pp. 442, 444, 448, 449, 450, 691, 741.

[6] A. C. Haddon, " The Migrations of Culture in British New Guinea," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, l, p. 245.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 240. Cf. J. Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea*, p. 72 sq.: " The face represents some animal with a very long mouth and teeth." Chalmers mentions the monster which, among the Annie River tribes, represents the god ' Semese,' one of the pair of gods, sons of the goddess of the tribe (see above, p. 683), which is used in the initiation ceremonies and may not, on pain of death, be seen by a woman (J. Chalmers, *loc. cit.* and pp. 85 sq.). Although he knew no details concerning the act of initiation, there can be little doubt from his description that it was exactly analogous to that of the Bukua and Yabim. Cf. Graf von Pfeil, " Dukduk and other Customs or forms of Expression of the Melanesians' Intellectual Life," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii, p. 187.

[8] P. Reina, " Ueber die Bewohner der Insel Rook," *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde*, N.F., iv. p. 357 ; C. Keysser, in R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, vol. iii, p. 39.

become reduced to a simplified form, the final investiture of the candidate with the emblems of initiation takes place while he stands on the carcass of the dead pig which he has provided as his 'entrance fee,' and before being decorated he is steamed as if he and not the pig were about to be eaten.[1] The slaughtered animal is thus regarded not merely as a payment, but as a substitute whose life is given in ransom for that of the candidate, in much the same manner as the ancient Celts and Germans offered the lives of their prisoners of war in the magic 'cauldron of regeneration' as a ransom for their own lives which had been spared.[2] In the more ancient forms of the rites in New Guinea, the substitute, or redeemer, was probably a human being. The Namau offer their prisoners of war to the 'kopiravi' crocodiles in the same manner as the ancient Celts. In the sacred stone circles at Wagawaga and Wani a man was solemnly decorated, tied to a stone, sacrificed, roasted and ritually eaten.[3] In those forms of the ritual the substituted victim is frequently assimilated to the deity itself; the Papuans doubtless considered that they acquired the virtues of the diety by eating the sacrificial victim. In the Solomon Islands it is said that formerly men cut up the moon and each ate a piece of it.[4]

The substitution of a redeemer who gives his life for the people is not infrequently enacted symbolically in the same manner as the symbolic death of the candidate for initiation is represented by a mimic death. Thus in Fiji, at the initiation rites of the young men in the Nanga, the death of their proxies was, in later times at least, fictitious, though very realistic and impressive. The candidates, after many trying experiences are finally led in single file into the sacred enclosure by the hierophant, or Vere. "The old Vere now moves slowly forward, and leads them for the first time into the Nanga tambutambu. Here a dreadful spectacle meets their startled gaze. Near the outer entrance, with his back to the temple, sits the chief priest regarding them with a fixed stare; and between him and them lie a row of dead men, covered with blood, their bodies apparently cut open, and their entrails protruding. The Vere steps over them one by one, and the awestruck youths follow him until they stand in a row before the high priest, their 'souls drying up' under his strong stare." Suddenly the high priest gives

[1] A. C. Haddon, "The Migrations of Culture in British New Guinea," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, l, p. 245, after Lieutenant Chinnery.

[2] See above p. 542, below vol. iii, pp. 450 sqq.

[3] C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 464 sqq., 550.

[4] R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, vol. i, p. 327.

a terrible yell; the dead men jump up and disappear from sight as they go down to the river to wash off the blood and entrails of pigs with which they have been besmeared and adorned.[1]

It is a conspicuous feature of the religious usages of Melanesia that the lunar power is associated with sacred stones. "Sacred places have almost always sacred stones in them."[2] Melanesian divinities, "are almost always connected with stones on which offerings are made. Such stones have some of them been sacred to some spirit from ancient times."[3] In Torres Straits, in the island of Erub, the moon is represented by two sacred stones, the one circular, the other crescentic.[4] In the Solomon Islands, the creator, Tantanu, is regarded as a stone.[5] In Fiji the chief god, Ndeugei, is a serpent in the upper part of his body and a stone in the lower.[6] The goddess 'Round Head,' the mother of Qat, is represented in the Banks Islands by a stone, and gave birth to her progeny by splitting into fragments. On Lepers' Island "all the stones that are sacred are connected with Tagaro."[7] On San Cristoval a magic stone, which a woman found on the beach, and which when raised produced thunder and lightning, spoke and announced the coming of the Great Serpent, and was in fact his daughter.[8] In the Massim area of eastern New Guinea the circles of standing stones which were of old the scenes of human sacrifice and rites of cannibalism, are marked with the remains of ancient pictographs; one bears a cross; another is called 'the Serpent.' Dr. Seligman was unable to conjecture the reason, as it bears no likeness whatever to a serpent.[9] In New Caledonia all magic and religious practices are associated with sacred stones. The fertility of yam, taro, bananas, and other vegetable food is regarded as being dependent upon the virtues of those stones; and at agricultural ceremonies portions of the vegetables which it is desired to grow are placed in contact with the sacred stones. In the Belep tribe the sacred

[1] L. Fison, "The Nanga, or Sacred Stone Enclosure of Wainimala, Fiji," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv, pp. 21 sq. Cf. A. B. Joske, "The Nanga of Viti-Levu," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, ii, pp. 254 sqq.

[2] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 175.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 170.

[4] A. C. Haddon, "Legends from Torres Straits," *Folk-lore*, i, pp. 185 sq.

[5] R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, vol. i, pp. 410 sq.

[6] R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

[7] T. Williams and J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians*, vol. i, p. 217; J. Waterhouse, *The King and People of Fiji*, p. 356.

[8] C. E. Fox and F. H. Drew, "Beliefs and Tales of San Cristoval," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlv, p. 143.

[9] C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 464 sqq., 550.

stone is regarded as " the principle of life." The god Doibet, who is ruler of the dead and of the underworld, and is manifestly the representative of the dark moon, is represented as being, in the lower part of his body, a stone.[1] At Bartle Bay, in eastern New Guinea, the most wonderful virtues are ascribed to a sacred stone ; the natives boil scrapings from it in water, and people come from far and near to avail themselves of the life-giving draught.[2] Such sacred stones play the same conspicuous part in every district of Melanesia, from the Admiralty Islands to Fiji.[3] Not only are stones the usual objects of tribal worship and the media of public magic, but individual fetiches are adopted by selecting a stone from which the owner believes he derives magic power, or ' mana.' [4] Sacred stones are a world-wide feature of archaic religious cult, from Japan to Brazil and from Madagascar to Scandinavia. Every Semitic deity was embodied in a sacred stone, and could be called down by the worshipper by setting up a stone ; anaconic stones played a scarcely less conspicuous part in primitive Greece. Sacred stones represented the gods in all Celtic countries. The sacred stones are found throughout Africa. Among the Ekoi the moon cannot be invoked by her priestesses without setting up sacred stones.[5]

It might seem that stones afford such an obvious and ready means of setting up a durable material symbol that the practice of ' worshipping ' stones scarcely calls for any explanation or interpretation. Yet it appears that the identification of stones with the moon is more than the arbitrary use of the most easily obtainable material as a symbol. The sacred stones of Melanesia are not the aniconic idols of a people unable to produce more life-like

[1] Père Lambert, *Moeurs et superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens*, pp. 222 sqq., 217 sq., 14.

[2] C. G. Seligman, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

[3] W. H. Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society*, vol. i, pp. 22, 100, 157, 231, 286, 338 ; G. Peckel, *Religion und Zauberei auf dem mittleren Neu-Mecklenburg, Bismarck-Archipel, Südsee*, pp. 67 sqq. ; W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, p. 16 ; R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, vol. i, p. 369 ; C. E. Fox and F. H. Drew, " Beliefs and Tales of San Cristoval," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlv, p. 135 ; A. C. P. Watt, *Twenty-Five Years' Mission Life on Tanna, New Hebrides*, p. 216 ; H. A. Robertson, *Erromanga, the Martyr Isle*, p. 389 ; W. Gunn, *The Gospel in Futuna*, pp. 218, 221 ; Père Lambert, *op. cit.*, pp. 297 sqq. ; A. M. Hocart, " Pierres magiques au Lau, Fiji," *Anthropos*, vi, pp. 724 sqq. ; L. Fison, " The Nanga, or Sacred Stone Enclosure of Wainimala, Fiji," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv, pp. 14 sqq. ; J. S. Gardiner, " The Natives of Rotuma," *ibid.*, xxvii, p. 466 ; E. Hadfield, *Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group*, pp. 143 sqq.

[4] R. H. Codrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 119 sq. ; W. H. Rivers, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 163.

[5] P. A. Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, p. 101.

and ornate representations of their gods, for few savages excel the Melanesians in the art of wood-carvings. In the island of Yam, in Torres Straits, as already noted, two deities, doubtless forms of the double moon-god of Melanesia, are represented by large and elaborate images of a shark and a crocodile adorned with tortoise-shell and bird-of-paradise plumage and painted in brilliant colours. But the richly carved figures are merely symbols and presentments; the actual souls or spirits of the divinities are situated in two rough stones which lie beneath the images.[1] In the myth of the Alfurs of Celebes the symbol of immortality, in opposition to propagation and death after the manner of the banana, instead of being the moon or the serpent, is a stone; and we are told, in the name of the moon-god and creator, that the stone is the symbol of immortality because, like the moon, it endures for ever and is not subject to decay and corruption.[2] In New Britain myths, mankind was defrauded of the gift of immortality, not only by the serpents, but also by stones.[3] The Melanesians do not merely represent their gods by stones, but as being stones. It appears probable that in doing so, and in drinking the scrapings of stone to acquire their virtues, they are not using an arbitrary and convenient symbol to represent the 'principle of life from the sky,' but are deliberately and logically identifying it with stones because, like the serpent, stones partake of the moon's gift of immortality.

Cosmic Religion among the Aborigines of Australia and Tasmania.

The religious conceptions and rites of the Australian aborigines do not centre exclusively round their totem animals. The moon is, by the Queensland tribes and the Dieri, regarded as the creator of mankind and of all beings.[4] The sun, on the other hand, has no place in Australian conceptions of the supernatural.[5] Among the Victorian tribes it is an emu's egg which someone threw up in the sky;[6] when personified it is regarded as a female, pre-

[1] A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, pp. 373 sqq.; Id., *Headhunters*, pp. 178 sqq.

[2] See above, p. 656.

[3] Bley, "Sagen der Baininger auf Neupommern," *Anthropos*, ix, p. 198.

[4] See above, p. 659.

[5] The missionary O. Siebert gives a sun-myth of the Dieri, but he appears to have mistaken the moon for the sun (O. Siebert, "Sagen und Sitten der Dieri und Nachbarstämme in Zentral, Australien," *Globus*, xcvii, p. 44).

[6] R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i, p. 432.

sumably the wife of the moon.[1] The control of life and death, and the resurrection of the dead are everywhere in Australia regarded as depending upon the moon.[2]

None of their ceremonies is regarded by the Australian aborigines as of more importance than their rites of initiation, or 'boras.'[3] Like all such rites they have composite and confluent purposes. I have suggested that one of these objects may originally have been to afford an opportunity for sexual selection and to insure by means of various tests of endurance the suitability of young men for the duties of married life.[4] Initiation is certainly an indispensable pre-requisite, and is regarded as a preparation for marriage; and marriages are frequently arranged in connection with the boras. This is the case with the 'pirrauru' marriages of the Dieri which appear to be survivals of wider relations between the marriage-classes. The term 'pirrauru' is derived from 'pirra,' the moon.[5] It may be conjectured that in their primitive form the union of the marriage-classes, which took place during the tribal gatherings at the full moon, were regarded as occasions on which the women were in reality fertilised by the moon through the intermediary of their 'pirrauru,' or 'moon husbands.'[6] Be that as it may, any practical purposes which ceremonies like the 'boras' may be thought to promote are mixed up in primitive thought with no less important magical purposes. Like all rites of initiation, whether into 'secret societies' or into tribal manhood, they are regarded as conferring upon the initiates two main advantages, the acquisition of certain magical powers, and admission to the ranks not only of living tribesmen, but of their departed ancestors after the death and resurrection of the body.

The latter object is achieved, as in every other part of the world, by ceremonies in which the initiate is supposed to die and be resurrected. Thus in the Urabunna tribe it is given out

[1] E. Palmer, "Notes on some Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, p. 292; W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 561; Id., *The Northern Tribes*, p. 624; H. A. E. Meyer, in J. D. Woods, *The Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 200; W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 5*, p. 24.

[2] See above, pp. 659 sq.

[3] 'Bora,' is the Kamilaroi name for the initiation ceremonies, and has become generally used by anthropologists in speaking of the similar rites of all Australian tribes.

[4] See above, pp. 187 sqq.

[5] See above, vol. i, pp. 737 sq.

[6] In some parts of New Guinea the initiation ceremonies and the marriage ceremonies are one and the same. The girls are not, however, given to their appointed husbands, but to men disguised as the 'spirit' which I take to be the moon-god (see below, vol. iii, p. 231 sq.). The 'husbands' in those ceremonies are therefore, as in Australia, in reality 'moon-husbands.'

that during their initiation the boys are taken away by a spirit called Witurna and are cut open, their bowels being taken out and replaced by a new set of vital organs.[1] Similarly in the Wiradthuri and the Koombangarry tribes of New South Wales, the initiates are supposed to be cut up by Daramulum, and then burnt to ashes; "he formed the ashes into human shape and restored them to life, new beings."[2] So again in the Umatjera tribe, Twanyirika is supposed to kill the boys at the initiation ceremony, and to bring them back to life.[3] In the Anula tribe the young men are supposed to be eaten by the spirit Gnabala, and subsequently disgorged as fully initiated men.[4] Similar accounts of the proceedings are given by the Binbinga of the Gulf of Carpentaria and various tribes of New South Wales.[5] In Queensland "the old wizards are said to swallow the boys and bring them up as young men."[6] In the Ualaroi tribe of the Upper Darling, Daramulum slays and resuscitates the candidates.[7] So again in the Wonghi tribe of New South Wales "it is said that the youths are sent away a short distance one by one, and that they are each met in turn by a being, who so far as I can understand, is believed to be something between a blackfellow and a spirit. This being, called Thuremlin, it is said takes the youth to a distance, kills him, and in some instances cuts him up, after which he restores him to life and knocks out a tooth."[8]

The means by which, in some of the foregoing accounts, the renewal of the initiate's life is supposed to be brought about is similar to that by which in an Australian story already noted a youth is supposed to acquire a new skin, through being swallowed by a serpent,[9] and to those initiation rites of Indonesia and New Guinea in which the neophyte is supposed to pass through the body of a monster and to issue again with renewed life. Daramulum, or the corresponding supernatural being who presides over the Australian rites is supposed to swallow the candidate and to bring him forth again, or to bite his head off. The performance is sometimes repre-

[1] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 342 sq., 498.

[2] R. H. Mathews, "The Bŭrbŭng of the Wiradthuri Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxv, p. 297; Id., "Initiation in Australian Tribes," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xxxvii, p. 65.

[3] W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *op. cit.*, pp. 342 sq., 498.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 373, 501.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 366 sq., 501.

[6] A. W. Howitt, "The Jeraeil, or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kurnai Tribe," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv, p. 315 n.

[7] Id., "On Australian Medicine Men," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi, pp. 47 sq.; Id., *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 596.

[8] A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv, p. 358.

[9] See above, p. 642.

sented in a fairly realistic manner. "I have seen one of the old men," says Dr. Howitt, "rush furiously at one of the novices, seize him by the head and apparently bite part of it. This is supposed to pass to him the power of 'bringing up things.'"[1] In other reported proceedings the candidates who are lying on the ground with their heads covered up, are called one by one; they have to leap over a fence into an enclosure. When the initiation by the spirit is completed and a tooth has been extracted to the awe-inspiring sound of the bull-roarers, the candidate leaps out again over the fence, and is once more covered up while other candidates are called in their turn.[2] The fenced enclosure here apparently forms a rough substitute for the elaborate crocodile-shaped hut of the New Guinea natives. In some forms of the Australian ceremonies the death, burial and resurrection are represented by one of the elder hierophants who acts as a substitute for the candidate.[3] In former times that vicarious sacrifice was carried out in Australia, as in New Guinea, more realistically. "Before cannibalism ceased to be practised by the tribes dealt with in this paper," says Mr. Mathews, "it was the custom to kill and eat a man during the 'burbung' ceremonies. The victim was an initiated man of the tribe, and his flesh and blood were consumed by the men and novices."[4] "The tribe in whose territory the meeting is held," we are told elsewhere, "are required to give up one of their men to be killed and eaten by the visitors." At the succeeding ceremony held in the latter's territory, they in turn provide the victim.[5]

The supernatural beings in relation to whom the initiation ceremonies of the Australian aborigines are carried out, and who are in fact supposed to 'initiate' the youths personally, by swallowing them, or in some way killing them or abstracting their soul and bringing them back to life again, are not tribal totems.[6] It is a

[1] A. W. Howitt, "On some Australian Ceremonies of Initiation," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, p. 451 n.

[2] W. Ridley, *Kamilaroi and other Australian Languages*, p. 154.

[3] See below, p. 702.

[4] R. H. Mathews, "Initiation in Australian Tribes," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xxxvii, p. 66.

[5] Id., "The Group Divisions and Initiation Ceremonies of the Barkunjee Tribes," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxxii, p. 250. Cf. Id. and M. N. Everitt, "The Organisation, Language and Initiation Ceremonies of the Aborigines of the South-East Coast of N.S. Wales," *ibid.*, xxxiv, pp. 278 sq.

[6] Baiame, Daramulum, Bunjil, etc., have, like all Australian personages, whether human or superhuman, animal attributes. "Bunjil means the 'Eagle-hawk'" (A. W. Howitt, "On some Australian Ceremonies of Initiation," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, p. 454 n.); Baiame appears to be generally regarded as an emu (Id., "The Jeraeil or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kurnai Tribe," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv, pp. 308, 309), but in South Queensland he is a large turtle (E. Thorne, *The Queen of the*

remarkable fact that, notwithstanding the almost complete cultural segregation of native Australia from the Melanesian region, the names by which the bora divinities are most commonly known in Australia are found on Murray Island, in Torres Straits. The being presiding over the initiations of the natives of that island is known as ' Bomai,' or ' Malu,' [1] which appear to be forms of Baiame, or Baiamai, and Daramulum. The late Mr. Andrew Lang and some other enthusiasts thought they detected in those personages "an array of moral and august savage Supreme Beings." [2] But the

Colonies, p. 317) ; Daramulum also is, among the Kurnai, a porpoise (A. W. Howitt, "The Jeraeil or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kurnai Tribe," p. 314). Daramulum is, however, said to be identical with an iguana, and the word ' ybai ' is used as a synonym of his name among the Murring tribes (A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.*, p. 454). But although those beings have animal forms which correspond to some of the totem animals of the tribes, they have distinctly no specific tribal character, and are not associated with any special clans.

[1] A. C. Haddon, *Head-hunters*, p. 46. Cf. above, p. 681. Bomai and Malu are, on Murray Island, one and the same person, the former being the ' secret name,' the latter the one more generally used.

[2] A. Lang, *The Making of Religion*, p. 272. An Australian farmer, of the type known locally as a ' cockatoo,' Mr. J. Manning, once obtained admission to a meeting of the Royal Society of New South Wales, saying that he had important information to convey concerning the religious beliefs of the Australian aborigines, and there read a paper which is a farrago of Biblical interpretations of scraps of aboriginal folklore. "I may state under my own familiarity with the subject," said farmer Manning, "that the natives of New Holland are not heathens or pagans . . . so far from being atheistic in their belief, they are not even deistic, because they not only acknowledge a Supreme Deity, but also believe in his providential supervision of all creation, aided by his Son (Grogoragally), and by the second mediator in the supernatural person of their intercessor, Moogregally, and also because they believe in a day of judgment and retribution to each man immediately after death and resurrection, and in a future state of reward and punishment by the ' fiat ' of the supreme ' Boyma,' or God, as will be understood on the reading of my notes." Their "description of the Godhead bears a striking resemblance to the 3rd verse of the 4th chapter of Revelations. They believe in the existence of a Son of God equal to Him in omniscience." "Grogoragally is the active agent of His Father, who invariably presides over all nature. . . . The description of Moogregally on Mount Dallambangel cannot fail to strike every reader of these notes as showing a strange similarity to Moses on Mount Sinai receiving the Commandments from God, for transmission through him to the Israelites (see Exodus, chap. 19). . . . The rejoicings of the blessed might be heard at a distance as far as Sydney to Port Phillip. Their existence in heaven is of a spiritual nature. . . . Grogoragally frequently visits them and joins in the incessant happy jubilee." ' Cockatoo ' Manning's lucubrations were received by the members of the society with mixed feelings of amusement and disgust, and the secretary was approached with a view to preventing the ' Proceedings ' from being defaced with such rubbish ; but the paper had, according to the rules of the society, to be printed (J. Manning, "Notes on the Aborigines of New Holland," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, 1882,

Australian bora divinities are not remarkable for either their moral or their august character. In the myths told concerning them there is scarcely one of the ten commandments which they do not break, and the part which they play in those myths is the reverse of august; it is not even decently dignified.[1] Baiame appears to be threefold; he and his two sons are regarded by the tribes of New South Wales as their progenitors.[2] More commonly he is merely opposed to his son, Daramulum. He "appears occasionally during the day, but mostly by night"; and is described as painted white with the pipe-clay which is known as 'moon.'[3] On the bora grounds he is pictured by a huge figure moulded in mud and sand on the ground; at its head stands a tree on which is represented the lunar crescent.[4] The other pictures with which

pp. 157 sqq.). 'Cockatoo' Manning's paper, adroitly edited so as to obliterate all Biblical references and its most puerile crudities, is cited by Dr. Westermarck as the 'pièce de résistance' of his account of Australian gods (E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, vol. ii, p. 673).

[1] Thus, for example, 'Bunjil,' the 'supreme being' of a large number of south-eastern tribes, is described as having been unprovided with a wife. He accordingly stole the wives of his companion Karween. A furious fight followed, in which 'Bunjil,' owing to his superior magical power, remained the victor; but he deemed it more prudent to retire to a safe place in the sky (R. B. Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i, pp. 425 sq.). He formed the sea by micturating continuously for several days (*ibid.*, vol. i, p. 429). A similar story is told of 'Baiame' (E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, vol. ii, p. 362). 'Daramulum' is generally represented as his son, though he is elsewhere the supreme ruler. He is said to be a cannibal and to have killed all his brothers except two (J. Henderson, *Observations on the Colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land*, p. 148). 'Baiame' is represented as deformed, his crippled condition being due to his having tripped over a log and fallen flat on his face (R. H. Mathews, "The Bŭrbŭng of the Wiradthuri Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxv, p. 300); or, according to another version, to his habit of sitting cross-legged in his canoe (E. J. Eyre, *loc. cit.*). Daramulum is also a cripple, his name indeed signifying 'the lame one.' (W. Ridley, *Kámilaroi, and other Australian Languages*, p. 137). 'Adnatu,' the supreme being of the Kaitish tribe, owes his name to the circumstance that he has no anus (W. B. Spencer and J. E. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 498).

[2] J. Henderson, *Observations on the Colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land*, p. 148.

[3] J. Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, p. 555.

[4] R. H. Mathews, "The Bŭrbŭng of the Wiradthuri Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxv, p. 300. The figure of the crescent is cut out of the bark of the tree. Below it is a similar circular figure which Mr. Mathews here interprets as the sun. In another paper, however, he says: "The upper object evidently represents the new moon, but whether the other figure is intended for a full moon or for the sun, I was unable to definitely determine" ("Aboriginal Bora held at Gundabloni in 1894," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxxviii, p. 43); cf. Id.,

the bora ground is decorated are the huge snake ' wahwee,' " which lived in a large water-hole, and used to kill and eat some of Baiame's peoples " ; and the Iguana [1] which is probably the ' waka ' to which is ascribed " the origin of the sexes." [2]

The most prominent character of the ' bora ' divinities is that of chief of wizards or medicine-men and source of all magical powers. Thus Baiame was regarded as the " mightiest and most famous of the ' wirreenun,' " or witch-doctors.[3] Bungil is the name applied to every wizard or medicine-man, and Dr. Howitt himself was ' a great Bungil.' [4] " It seems," he says, " to have been believed by all that their fatal magical powers were derived from Bunjil, Brewin, Daramulum, as the case may be, and further, that the wizards obtained their deadly powers when they ascended aloft to him." [5] The magical powers of Australian medicine-men are intimately associated with the possession of pieces of rock-crystal, which are supposed to be obtained directly from the heavenly magicians.[6] They, in reality, go to the mountains in quest of those magic crystals. " They stay away for months seeking them, and go through much ceremony and fasting and privations, in consequence of which the stones are supposed to come to them at night while asleep. The large rock-crystal is venerated by most blacks, and is regarded with superstitious secrecy ; it is the symbol of the Great Spirit." [7] Baiame was thought of as squatting in the ' gum-tree country,' " and from his shoulders extended two great quartz crystals." [8] Daramulum is also represented with quartz crystals on his head.[9]

Seeing that various Australian tribes are stated to regard the moon as their creator and father, and that the origin of death and

" The Bora, or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kamilaroi Tribe," *ibid*, xxiv, p. 417). Considering the place of the sun in Australian belief, it is probable that, like the sacred stones of Torres Straits, the two figures represent the crescent moon and the full moon. Among the Baluba of the Congo a disc or circle is the usual pictograph for the moon (Colle, *Les Baluba*, vol. ii, pp. 570, 637).

[1] R. H. Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 301. Cf. W. Ridley, *Kámilaroi, and other Australian Languages*, p. 138 ; and above, pp. 642 sq.

[2] See above, p. 667.

[3] K. L. Parker, *Australian Legendary Tales*, pp. 96 sqq.

[4] L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 210 sq.

[5] A. W. Howitt, " On some Australian Beliefs," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, p. 194.

[6] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[7] E. Palmer, " Notes on some Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, pp. 296 sq.

[8] A. W. Howitt, " On Australian Medicine Men," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi, p. 51.

[9] R. H. Mathews, " The Būnŭn Ceremony of New South Wales," *The American Anthropologist*, ix, p. 330.

the faculty of resurrection are even more generally ascribed to the moon, it seems no very daring conjecture that their 'Great Spirits,' the source of all magical powers, who are seen at night adorned with moon-paint and crystals, who are represented with crescents over their heads, and who kill the young men in order to resurrect them, are no other than lunar divinities. They appear to be in fact essentially identical with the moon-gods of Melanesia and Papua. The two best known Australian bora deities, Baiame and Daramulum, are an associated pair; Baiame occupies the superior position, Daramulum acting under his orders as his deputy or demiurge in the initiation ceremonies. Baiame is represented as white, Daramulum as 'one-legged' and deformed; Baiame is on the whole benevolent, or at least innocuous, Daramulum is evil and maleficent. They stand in fact in the same relation to each other as the bright full-moon and waxing moon-god and the dark waning moon-god of Melanesia. Indeed, there is evidence, which appears too substantial to be lightly dismissed, that the Australian initiation deities and their rites are culturally connected with the corresponding cults of Papua and Torres Straits. The bull-roarer and the supposed 'swallowing' of the candidates are essential and prominent features of both. The bull-roarer which in Papua as in Australia is the voice of the initiating 'spirit,' is in the Borli tribe of Papua called 'bora,' and the house where the initiations are held, the 'guhu-bora.'[1] It appears difficult to avoid recognising in the associated gods Bomai and Malu of the western Torres Straits, the Australian Baiame and Daramulum. Malu, the 'bad' god, is stated to be like Daramulum in the habit of eating off men's heads.[2] Malu is a crocodile; Daramulum is an iguana—there are no crocodiles in Australia. Bomai is a shark; Baiame is in Queensland a tortoise.[3]

The disembowelling or swallowing of the novices does not, of course, actually take place at Australian boras. That is merely a fanciful account of what is supposed to occur, and it is generally stated that those blood-curdling tales are given out to frighten women and uninitiated persons, the bull-roarers being sounded during the ceremony to represent the voice of Daramulum, or any other officiating deity, who has come down to kill and resurrect the novices. Other means are adopted to bring about the new birth of the candidates. The death and resurrection

[1] A. C. Haddon, "The Migrations of Culture in British New Guinea," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1, p. 245, after Lieutenant Chinnery.

[2] A. C. Haddon and C. S. Meyers, "The Cult of Bomai and Malu," *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. vi, pp. 281 sqq.

[3] See above, p. 697 n[6].

which the rites are supposed to effect are sometimes represented in the form of a dramatic performance. One of the older men is buried in a deep grave which is then lightly covered with branches and earth; at the conclusion of the ceremony he rises again, bearing in his mouth the magic crystal which he is supposed to have received from Daramulum.[1] The same results as would follow from the candidates being swallowed and disgorged by the initiating spirit are thought to be as effectively obtained by the reverse process. They are made to swallow a piece of the magic rock-crystal, "the symbol of the Great Spirit."[2]

The Nutka of British Columbia achieve their rebirth at initiation by the same means, ingesting pieces of rock-crystal.[3] In the Butwa society of the Upper Congo also the principle of eternal life is imparted to the candidate by causing him to swallow pounded rock-crystals.[4] The swallowing of such crystals is supposed to have a similar effect to eating a piece of the bark of the moon-palm, as is done by South American "pajes,"[5] or the drinking of a moon-draught by the Thonga medicine-men.[6] Since all stones partake of the nature of the moon inasmuch as they are everlasting and indestructible, hard crystalline gems which seem to emit light naturally contain the very quintessence of that lunar power or 'mana.' Gems are in fact regarded by the wise men of the East as owing their virtues to the moon; thus pearls are the products of the moon, emeralds of the waxing moon, cat's-eye stones of the waning moon.[7] Other gems are associated in astrological lore with various planets and stars; but, as we have seen, the magic virtues of those heavenly bodies are supposed to have their ultimate source in the moon.[8] Pearls, it is believed in India, are to be found in the heads of serpents.[9] The belief that serpents carry in their head a magical gem is very general. It was familiar to the ancient Germans, and the 'snake-stone,' or 'stone of victory,' is mentioned in some of the most ancient German poems.[10] In the Jura

[1] A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 554 sq.; Id., "On some Ceremonies of Initiation," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, pp. 453 sq.

[2] E. Palmer, "Notes on some Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, pp. 296 sq.

[3] See below, p. 722.

[4] Colle, *Les Baluba*, vol. ii, p. 624.

[5] See above, p. 598.

[6] See above, p. 598.

[7] E. Padfield, *The Hindu at Home*, p. 319.

[8] See above, p. 599.

[9] E. Padfield, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

[10] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, pp. 1219 sq. Cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Keller, pp. 68, 152.

mountains, in Switzerland, in Salzburg, it is believed that one of the eyes of the undying serpent is a diamond. The same belief was known to the ancient Greeks.[1] In China likewise it is currently believed that serpents have precious gems in their heads.[2] Diamonds are popularly supposed in France to be produced by snakes, which gather together in large numbers and form the stone out of their saliva.[3] All gems are indeed believed by the peasants of the banks of the Danube to have their origin from serpents, and a serpent's nest is supposed to contain an untold wealth of precious stones.[4] Among the ancient Celts those 'snake-stones' or 'serpents' eggs' played an important part in religious belief. It was said by the Druids that a large number of snakes would gather together and engender the magic stone, the virtues of which were practically unlimited. They would cast it up in the air by hissing all together. If a man could contrive to receive the stone in the lap of his mantle when it fell down, and before it touched the ground, his fortune was made; but he would have to be provided with a swift horse, because the serpents would infallibly pursue him and try to kill him. Further, the adventure could be attempted at a certain phase of the moon only. "As if, forsooth," remarks Pliny, who reports the Druidical doctrine, "it were in the power and disposition of man to cause the moon and the serpents to accord together in this operation of engendering the egg aforesaid!"[5] The egg was, however, probably thought to be as much the moon's as the serpent's. The veneration for such 'snake-stones,' 'adder-stones,' or 'clach-nathrach,' is still prevalent in all Celtic countries, in Scotland, in Wales, in Cornwall.[6] It is, however, as we have seen, by no means a peculiar Celtic belief. Views similar to those held by the Druids are entertained by the Melanesian natives of eastern New Guinea. The most potent, indeed the indispensable means of acquiring magical power is, they believe, to obtain a snake-stone. In order to gain possession of the precious talisman, a New Guinea magician will fast for two weeks, eating only a few bananas, and retire to the forest, living in solitude until he has visions and dreams of a black snake. By the indications of his dreams he will be guided to some hole in a tree or in a dried stream, and, having found the

[1] Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.*, iii. 8.

[2] N. B. Dennys, *The Folklore of China*, pp. 106 sq.

[3] E. Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France*, vol. iii, p. 42.

[4] V. Alecsandri, *Ballades et chants populaires de la Roumanie* (*Principautés Danubiennes*), p. xli.

[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxix, 52–54.

[6] W. W. Skeat, "Snakestones and Stone Thunderbolts," *Folk-lore*, xxiii, pp. 45 sqq.; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, vol. ix, p. 16.

snake, he will tease it with a stick until it glides away. As it does so the precious stone is disclosed, and the fortunate magician seizes the prize, being careful, however, not to touch it with his hands. The dispossessed snake may follow the wizard and endeavour to recover the stone. The talisman is so full of 'mana' that the mere touch of it would kill a man.[1] Among the American Indians it was believed that certain mythical serpents have horns on their heads. Anyone who was lucky enough to become the possessor of a fragment of those serpent-horns or stones was indeed a fortunate man, for there is scarcely anything that such a potent charm could not do, and some of their more powerful wizards owed their power to a small fragment of the precious material.[2] In Germany it is believed that if a mistletoe is found growing on a hazel-tree, a snake with a stone in its head will be found somewhere near its root.[3] The Druidical legend which Pliny reported from Gaul is told in Armenia. The serpents of Mount Ararat are said to be ruled by a queen, who leads them to battle. The serpent-queen paralyses her enemies by means of a magic stone. "She carries in her mouth the wonderful stone, the Hul, or stone of light, which upon certain nights she tosses in the air, when it shines as the sun. Happy the man who shall catch the stone as it falls."[4] Another Armenian tradition tells of a man who unknowingly married a serpent-woman. An astrologer revealed to him the true nature of his consort, and advised him to shut her up in the oven and roast her. This he did, and her ashes were found to possess the property of transmuting metals into gold.[5] The magic 'snake-stone,' or 'moon-stone,' is in fact no other than the philosopher's stone, and naturally derives its power of transmuting baser metals into incorruptible gold from the moon. The true formula for effecting the long-sought transmutation of metals into gold is to treat them with a preparation obtained by burning a serpent to ashes. Alchemists were, in fact, commonly spoken of in the Middle Ages as 'serpent-burners.'[6] The Nutka of Vancouver, the Congo natives, and the Australian aborigines, when they endeavour to renew their life by swallowing magic rock-crystals, are thus guided by the same ideas as those mediaeval students to whose groping experiments in chemistry the birth of modern physical science is in a large measure due.

[1] C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 282 sqq.

[2] *Relations des Jésuites*, 1648, p. 75. Cf. Hawkins, *Sketch of the Creek Country*, p. 80.

[3] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 1492.

[4] A. F. L. M. von Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, pp. 354 sqq.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 144 sqq.

[6] Felix Malleolus, vulgo Haemmerlein, *De nobilitate et rusticitate dialogus*, cap. xxx.

The ceremony which constitutes the central rite of Australian boras, and which takes the place of the immolation and resurrection of the candidates by the heavenly deity, is the operation of knocking out one or two of their front teeth. The evulsion or filing of teeth is a custom of wide distribution among savage peoples.[1] In Australian myth the evulsion of teeth at initiation is represented as a substitute for, or commutation of more severe proceedings. Daramulum was supposed to perform the extraction of the tooth by wrenching it out with his own teeth, but "he sometimes bit the entire face off the boys and devoured them."[2] Again it is said that he always professed or pretended to kill the boys and resurrect them, but that, in reality, he contented himself with extracting a tooth.[3] The evulsion of teeth

[1] The actual knocking out of teeth in a similar manner to that in use in Australia is very prevalent in Africa (H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest Afrika*, pp. 169 sqq.; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, pp. 104 sq.; J. E. Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, vol. ii, p. 163; J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, vol. ii, p. 215; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, p. 235; D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches*, pp. 532 sq., 263; I. Arbousset and F. Daumas, *Relation d'un voyage d'exploration*, p. 357; W. M. Kerr, "Journey from Cape Town inland to Lake Nyassa," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, viii, p. 69; J. J. Monteiro, *Angola and the River Congo*, vol. i, p. 210; P. B. du Chaillu, *A Journey to Ashongo-land*, pp. 210, 255, 331, 442; R. F. Burton, *Two Trips to Gorilla Land*, p. 89; L. Wolf, "Reisen in Central-Afrika," *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, xiv, p. 84; V. L. Cameron, "Examination of the Southern Half of Lake Tanganyika," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xlv, p. 215; C. W. Hobley, *The Ethnology of the A-Kamba*, p. 18; H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii, pp. 864, 868; C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, pp. 20, 31, 38 sq.; L. Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 464; *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, pp. 154, 237, 238 sq.; G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 50; R. W. Felkin, "Notes on the Madi or Moru Tribe of Central Africa," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, xii, p. 315; G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, vol. ii, p. 683). The Huancavelica of Peru extracted two or three teeth of all their children, as soon as the second teeth appeared (Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, vol. ii, pp. 426 sq.). The filing of teeth, which is also common in Africa and very prevalent in Indonesia, is probably an attenuated derivative form of the practice of evulsion (see J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. iv, pp. 184 sqq.; H. von Ihering, "Die küntstliche Deformirung der Zähne," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xiv, pp. 213 sqq.).

[2] R. H. Mathews, "The Bŭrbŭng of the Wiradthuri Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxv, p. 298. Cf. K. L. Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, p. 67.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 297. In other tribes the statement is varied by saying that the boys were swallowed by Daramulum and regurgitated minus one tooth. The suggestion which has sometimes been made that the mutilation of teeth is intended to promote the resemblance of the initiate to his totem animal is ruled out of court by the fact that the same mutilation is undergone indiscriminately by most clans, whatever their totem.

thus appears to be regarded as equivalent to being swallowed and restored to life by the initiating spirit.

The reason why teeth should be accounted the most suitable substitute for the whole body and soul of the candidate in the process of renewing his life, appears from a consideration of widespread and fundamental primitive conceptions. Strange as it may seem at first sight, the teeth are, in the ideas of many uncultured races, the portion of the organism in which the immortal soul more particularly resides. That apparently incongruous notion is in strict accordance with the savage logic of the matter. Speaking generally, the most enduring or immortal part of man is regarded as being in the last resort his bones; this is the portion of him which manifestly endures the longest and survives the dissolution of the body. The Choctas state in so many words that "the real seat of the human soul is in the bones."[1] The Hurons likewise called the bones 'atsken,' that is, 'the soul.'[2] The ancient Hebrews appear to have had similar notions; the word for 'bone,' 'etzem,' meant with them a man's self, his person.[3] The Australian natives regard ghosts as consisting of bones only; the word 'kutchi,' among the Central Australian tribes, means both 'bones' and 'ghost.'[4] The bones of the dead are accordingly the object of elaborate attention the world over; they are usually disenterred after a time, and fresh funeral honours are paid to them.[5] The portion of a dead man's bones

[1] A. S. Gatschet, "Human Bones," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. i, p. 238.

[2] C. Thomas, "Burial Mounds of the Northern Sections of the United States," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 114.

[3] F. Max Müller, *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 59.

[4] O. Siebert, "Sagen und Sitten der Dieri und Nachbarstämme in Zentral-Australien," *Globus*, xcvii, p. 56.

[5] E.g., W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 530 sqq.; A. C. Haddon, "The Ethnography of the Western Tribe of Torres Straits," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, pp. 416, 421, 427, 436; R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, vol. iii, p. 519; R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 254, 261, 264; W. Y. Turner, "On the Ethnology of Motu," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vii, p. 485; H. O. Forbes, "On the Ethnology of Timor-laut," *ibid.*, xiii, p. 13; J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroescharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, pp. 267 sq.; A. C. Kruijt, *Het Animisme in dem Indische Archipel*, p. 330; E. B. L. Landis, "Mourning and Burial Rites of Korea," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxv, p. 357; T. C. Hodson, "The Native Tribes of Manipur," *ibid.*, xxxi, p. 305; Lunet de Lajonquière, *Ethnologie du Tonkin septentrional*, p. 90; J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious Systems of China*, vol. iii, p. 1070; *Census of India*, 1901, vol. iii, p. 209; J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land*, p. 110; K. von den Steinen, *Unter Naturvölker Zentral-Brasiliens*, pp. 458, 505; A. de Herrera, *The General History of the West Indies*, vol. iv, p. 126; H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. i, p. 113; J. F. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. ii, p. 444; C. Thomas,

which is regarded as possessing in the highest degree the quality of immortality is his lower jaw and his teeth. In Uganda the jaw-bones of the kings are alone preserved, the rest of the skeleton being thrown aside; they are placed in temples expressly built for each one of them and having their own retinue of attendants. The royal jaw-bones are spoken of simply as 'the King,' and are consulted in all important affairs.[1] The Andamanese disinter the bones of the dead after two or three months and distribute them amongst the relatives; the jaw-bone is taken back to the deceased's own hut.[2] The Ewe of Togo state that babies are formed out of the jaw-bones of the dead, thus reincarnating them.[3] Warriors adorn their trumpets and drums with the jaw-bones of their slain foes, thus effectively conciliating their ghosts.[4] For the same reason, in Porto Novo, the executioner preserves the jaw-bones of his victims and keeps them securely in his house so as to have them under proper control.[5] Among the Nyangwe, Livingstone met an old reprobate who, on the same principle, carried about with him, slung over his shoulders, the jaw-bones of ten persons whom he had eaten.[6]

The opinion that a man's bones constitute the essentially immortal portion of him is parallel with the view that stones possess the virtue of immortality; and that the teeth should be accounted as the portion of the skeleton possessing that virtue in the highest degree follows from the same logic which leads primitive man to look upon crystals as the most immortal order of stones. The bones of the dead are in fact expressly referred to in Maya codices as "precious stone bones."[7] In Samoa the spirit of a shark-god was supposed to be immanent in the teeth of a shark, the rest of the animal being but an ordinary fish; another god was supposed to reside in the teeth of a whale. Those sacred teeth were consulted as oracles.[8] The holy tooth of Buddha is similarly worshipped in a special temple in

"Burial Mounds of the Northern Sections of the United States," *Fifth Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 112; D. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, pp. 255 sqq.

[1] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, pp. 109, 113, 282 sq.

[2] R. Owen, "On the Osteology and Dentition of the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, N.S., ii, p. 37.

[3] J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, p. 558. Cf. A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 131 n.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Père Baudin, "Féticheurs, ou ministres religieux des Nègres de Guinée," *Les Missions Catholiques*, xvi, p. 332.

[6] D. Livingstone, *Last Journals*, vol. ii, p. 127.

[7] E. Seler, "Die Sage von Quetzalcouatl," *Verhandlungen des XVI internationales Amerikanisten-Kongresse*, part i, p. 137.

[8] G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 72.

Ceylon. The dragon's teeth which Kadmos sowed and out of which fully armed warriors arose probably contained the immortal spirit of the divine animal.[1] According to another version of the story the teeth were sown by Athena herself and from them the Thebans were descended.[2] They were in all probability the spirit of the sacred python of the goddess. Teeth are also associated in primitive thought with the moon, not only on account of their durable character, but because they possess to a certain extent the property of being renewed. Among the natives of the Loyalty Islands "it seems to have been the general opinion that the moon possessed an unlimited supply of teeth to dispose of; so that whenever a man pulled out a decayed tooth he was mindful to throw it over his house on a moonlight night, calling out at the same time to the moon, 'Here is my old tooth, take it away and send me another in its place.' A friend of mine," says Mrs. Hadfield, "gravely told me that the moon did not always grant their desire."[3] That faculty of renewal is shared by the hair, the growth of which is commonly believed to depend upon the moon.[4] Accordingly not only the evulsion of teeth, but also the close cropping of the hair or complete depilation is an essential part of the Australian rites of initiation.[5] When, therefore, Daramulum bites off the teeth of the initiates as a compromise for biting off their heads or swallowing them bodily, he is selecting the most appropriate substitute for the whole man, and the portion best suited to receive the gift of spiritual immortality.

It would appear, then, that among the Australian aborigines, whose totemic conceptions and rites present one of the most primitive surviving examples of rudimentary religious conceptions, the fundamental notions connected with the attributes ascribed

[1] Apollodorus, iii. 1. 1; Pausanias, ix. 10. 1 sqq.

[2] Pausanias, *loc. cit.*; Apollonius Rhodius, iii. 1183; Scholiast to Euripides, *Phoeniciae*, 670.

[3] E. Hadfield, *Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group*, pp. 110 sq.

[4] G. Pitré, *Usi e costumi, credenze e pregiudizi del popolo siciliano*, vol. iii, p. 20; Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, i, 37; A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, pp. 57 sq.; E. Meier, *Deutsche Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Schwaben*, p. 511; L. Schandeir, in *Bavaria, Landes- und Volkskunde der Königreichs Bayern*, vol. iv, p. 402; C. S. Burne and G. F. Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-lore*, p. 259; P. Sébillot, *Traditions et superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne*, vol. ii, p. 355.

[5] J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, vol. ii, p. 337; R. H. Mathews, "Initiation in Australian Tribes," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xxxvii, p. 65; Id., "Phallic Rites and Initiation Ceremonies of the South Australian Aborigines," *ibid.*, xxxix, pp. 631 sqq. In New Guinea the re-growth of the hair is the sign of re-birth. The initiates were completely shaved, and the seclusion lasted until their hair had grown again to a length sufficient for it to be tied into a knot (E. G. Edelfield, in Lindt, *Pictorial New Guinea*, pp. 132 sq.).

to the moon and the rites depending upon those conceptions play a part no less important than those associated with totemic animals.

The same appears to have been the case with the now extinct natives of Tasmania. The only fragments of information which we possess in regard to their religious views have reference to the part played in those ideas by the moon. They regarded it, we are told, as the parent of all beings.[1] "Amongst the neighbouring tribes of aborigines," says Mr. Lloyd, "it was customary to meet at some time-honoured trysting-place at every full moon, a period regarded by them with the most profound reverence. Indeed, judging from their extraordinary gestures in their dances, their upturned eyes and outstretched arms, apparently in a supplicating spirit, I have often been disposed to conclude that the poor savages were inviting the mercy and protection of the planet as their guardian deity."[2] Initiation rites which appear to have been similar to those of the Australian tribes, and in which the use of the bull-roarer and the evulsion of teeth played the same parts, were practised by the Tasmanians.[3]

Traces of Lunar Cults in Indonesia.

The sun naturally assumes a special importance where agriculture has developed into being the chief means of subsistence. But religious and cosmological conceptions are not shaped anew in accordance with changed conditions of existence; they are adapted from the more primitive cults which preceded agricultural phases of culture. Thus the races of the Malay Archipelago are for the most part dependent upon primitive agriculture. Accordingly the most general cosmic conception amongst them is that of Father Sun, who is the husband and fertiliser of Mother Earth. Their theoretical religious ideas have, moreover, been so thoroughly influenced by Hinduism and Islam that scarcely anywhere are their primitive conceptions to be found unmodified. This is illustrated by the fact that the Bataks, the most primitive race of Sumatra, have a trinity which in some respects conforms in nomenclature to the Hindu triad, and that

[1] J. Bonwick, *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*, p. 192.

[2] G. T. Lloyd *Thirty-three Years in Tasmania and Victoria*, pp. 48 sq.

[3] J. Bonwick, *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*, pp. 60, 175 sq., 186 sq., 202 sq.; H. L. Roth, *The Aborigines of Tasmania*, pp. 115 sq.; J. J. de la Billardière, *Account of a Voyage in Search of La Pérouse*, vol. ii, p. 72; J. Backhose, *Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, p. 82; R. H. Davies, "On the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land," *Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science*, ii, p. 416.

even the wild tribes of Borneo Dayaks call their supreme being Hatalla or Mahatalla, which is simply the Arabic Allah ta'ala.[1] Nevertheless, thick as is the veneer of advanced cultural conceptions and of solar mythology in Indonesia, the more ancient strata of primitive cults pierce through it everywhere. Thus, as has several times been demonstrated, the triad of gods of the Toba-Bataks, although it shows adaptations to ideas derived from Hindu religion, is none the less a native and more ancient trinity. The Hindu 'Trimutri' is, at any rate, in its present form, associated with solar conceptions. But the persons of the Batak trinity which is assimilated to it are known as the "Lords of the Moon."[2] With them is also associated a moon-goddess, 'Sideak Parudyar,' who, after having bestowed upon her children the magic powers of control over demons, retired to the moon, and watches thence over their welfare.[3] "When we are in need, in trouble, or anxiety," say the Bataks, "when a child, a woman, or an oppressed person amongst us is in need of help, we look up to the moon, and we take courage."[4] The strange combination of primitive with later cosmic conceptions is manifested in the Kei Islands and in Aru even more incongruously than among the Bataks; the chief god is spoken of as the "Sun-Moon."[5] In Ceram-laut and in the island of Gorom, where the natives are at the present day Muhammadan, the moon is feminine; but the women address her as "Our Grandfather."[6] In the sixteenth century Barthema noted that the moon was worshipped in Java.[7] In the Kei islands and in Timor the moon is the chief object of worship.[8] In the latter island the cult is served by aged vestal priestesses, who tend an undying fire and keep guard over sacred talismans.[9] In the island of Babar the supreme god dwells in the

[1] A. C. Kruijt, *Het Animisme in den Indischen Archipel*, p. 471. Cf. for the Hinduistic form of the Batak Trinity, W. Ködding, "Die batakschen Götter und ihr Verhältniss zum Brahmanismus," *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, xii, pp. 407 sqq.; J. Warneck, *Die Religion der Batak*, p. 4.

[2] W. Ködding, *op. cit.*, p. 408. Cf. G. A. Wilken, "Het Aimisme bij de Volken van den Indischen Archipel," *De verspreide geschriften*, vol. iii, p. 218; C. M. Pleyte, *Bataksche Vertellingen*, pp. 23 sqq.; P. W. Schmidt, "Grundlinien einer Vergleichung der Religionen und Mythologien der Austronisischen Völker," *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophische-historische Klasse*, vol. liii, iii, p. 39.

[3] W. Ködding, *op. cit.*, p. 405. Cf. J. Warneck, *Die Religion der Batak*, p. 33 n.

[4] J. F. von Brenner, *Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras*, pp. 221 sq.

[5] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, pp. 224, 233, 252.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 987.

[7] D. Barthema, in G. B. Ramusio, *Navigationi et Viaggi*, vol. i, fol. 168.

[8] G. A. Wilken, *De verspreide geschriften*, vol. iii, pp. 180 sq.

[9] F. Junghuhn, *Die Battaländer auf Sumatra*, vol. iii, p. 316.

moon.[1] In the island of Nias the cosmogony is purely lunar.[2] In Middle Celebes, among the Bataks of the Tomori region, the moon is represented as being inhabited by the great spirit Omonga, and sacrifices are offered to it at harvest time. In the songs chanted at those festivals the moon is addressed as 'Mother.' The native myths represent her as having 308,000 children; the sun had the same number, but they were destroyed by his heat, whereas the moon's children, which she hides from the sun during the day, are let loose at night only.[3]

In Ceram, in the Kakiam Society, rites of initiation have survived which are similar to those which prevail in Papua. The candidates, after bidding a solemn farewell to their relatives, who are informed that the 'Nitu Elak,' the ancestor of the people, is about to take the souls of the novices out of their bodies, are led blindfolded to his lodge, whence terrifying noises issue. Presently a sword or spear dripping with blood is thrust through the roof of the hut to betoken that the heads of the candidates have been cut off. In other versions of the rite, the boys are pushed into the mouth of a gigantic crocodile. They are supposed to descend into hell. After they have been mourned for during several days by their desolate parents, they rise again, and are restored to their home with changed souls. They have to be taught like little children the ordinary ways of the world of men.[4]

Among the Dayaks of Borneo, "the veneration for the moon," we are told, "formed the chief basis of their worship and myths."[5] When the Spaniards first visited Borneo, the only worship which they noticed amongst the natives was that "they pray to the moon, and ask her for children, abundance of cattle and of the fruits of the earth, and other similar things."[6] Dayak mythology is exclusively lunar in symbolism.[7] The moon is regarded by them as the cause of time, and every event is controlled by her. Thus when a house happens

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

[2] H. Sundermann, *Die Insel Nias und die Mission daselbst*, pp. 61 sqq.; P. W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 74 sqq.

[3] J. Warneck, "Studien uber die Litteratur der Tobabatak," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, ii, p. 124.

[4] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, pp. 107 sqq.; F. Valentyn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indien*, vol. iii, pp. 3 sq.; Von Schmid, "Het Kakihansch Verbond op het eiland Ceram," *Tijdschrift voor Neerlands Indie*, ii, pp. 25 sqq.; A. van Ekris, "Het Ceramsche Kakian-verbond," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, ix, pp. 205 sqq.

[5] H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, vol. ii, Appendix, p. cxcviii.

[6] Massimiliano Transilvano, "Epistola della ammirabile e stupenda navigatione fatta per li Spagnoli," in G. B. Ramusio, *Navigationi et viaggi*, vol. ii, p. 351.

P. W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 sqq.

to be burned down, they ignore the physical cause, however obvious it may be, and ascribe the misfortune to the house having been built, or the timber for it having been felled, during an unfavourable phase of the moon; and priestesses are accordingly called in to perform sacrifices to the moon and pacify her.[1] The solar religious conceptions found in Indonesia are absent, or only present to a negligible extent, among the more primitive populations, and " it is certain that solar mythology was orginally foreign to all purely Indonesian peoples." [2]

Survivals of Primitive Cosmic Religion in Polynesia.

The decay of lunar religion may, however, take place not as the outcome of new significances imparted to the solar seasons by the development of agriculture, but from the mere oblivion into which the conceptions that gave rise to it may gradually fall. The heavenly deities are then reinterpreted, if interpreted at all, on the assumption of a natural superiority of the sun, in much the same manner as by European investigators who become acquainted with them through the medium of a preconceived theory of 'nature worship.' The Polynesians were in a comparatively advanced state of culture when they migrated from the Indonesian region to the Pacific Islands. The change in cosmological conceptions which has taken place in Indonesia in relation to the growth of agriculture may have already commenced before the departure of the Polynesian migrants; but, if so, it had certainly not proceeded far. This would seem to be indicated by the conception of 'Mother Earth,' 'Papa,' who is the wife of 'Father Sky,' 'Rangi.' [3] The decay of the original conceptions upon which

[1] A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, vol. i, p. 317; vol. ii, p. 86.

[2] P. W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 127. Cf. A. C. Kruijt, *Het Animisme in den Indischen Archipel*, pp. 487 sq. Professor Schmidt, by a most exhaustive examination of the mythological conceptions of Indonesian peoples, establishes beyond every possibility of doubt his conclusion that they originally were purely lunar. Dr. Kruijt expresses in more general terms the view that lunar religion formerly played a more important part in Indonesia than it does at the present day.

[3] J. White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. i, pp. 46 sqq.; G. Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, p. 1. The Rangi-Papa mythology, which is extremely variable in its genealogies, has little or no connection with the more widespread and characteristic Polynesian myths, and has all the appearance of having been tacked on to them as a very late philosophical attempt to give an account of the origin of things. The forcible separation of the sky from the earth, which furnishes the chief theme of the myth, is equally prominent among the Australian aborigines, and does not therefore necessarily belong to an agricultural cosmology. Among the southern Maori, Tangaroa, instead of being the progeny of 'Father Sky' and 'Mother Earth,' is the 'uncle'

the myths of Polynesia were founded has proceeded much farther than in Melanesia. Those myths have been preserved with a wonderful unity of tradition and wealth of detail in every part of the Pacific, but their interpretation was not an object of religious or of magical interest. Hence, so far as they are 'interpreted' at all, they are interpreted 'naturally,' that is, in accordance with the more obvious aspects of natural phenomena rather than with their primitive religious and magical significance. In other words, solar interpretations, if not expressly insisted on, are at least assented to and accepted. Those characters of Polynesian mythology have been sufficient to convey to European enquirers the impression that it presents a typical example of the primitive 'solar religion' imagined in the theory of 'nature worship'; and the Polynesians have even been sometimes termed 'The People of the Sun.'[1] As a matter of fact there is not a trace of sun worship throughout the length and breadth of Polynesia.[2] Nor indeed is there any solar mythology; the sun plays no part in Polynesian myth, except in female form as the wife of the moon. Enquirers have expressed surprise at the subordinate part played by the sun in Polynesia, and have surmised that his cult must have "fallen into decay."[3]

The most prominent figure in Polynesian myth and manifestly one of the most ancient, is Maui, the "creator of land," the "creator of man." He has been identified with the sun,[4] and constitutes in fact the central link which, in every home of the race, has been thought to impart to Polynesian mythology its solar character. That professed sun-hero is, however, the son of the moon, Hina; and it is even more startling to learn that the most famous of his myths relates how he waged war against the sun, ultimately catching it in a noose and belabouring it with a bludgeon till the solar deity was compelled to cry for mercy and to accept

of 'Father Sky' (J. F. H. Wohlers, "The Mythology and Traditions of the Maori of New Zealand," *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, vii, p. 5).

[1] T. R. St.-Johnston, *The Islanders of the Pacific, or the Children of the Sun*, pp. 28 sqq. and passim. The author's views are introduced with the inevitable preface: "The great phenomenon that must strike the rudimentary intellect of primitive man more than anything is the daily birth and death of the sun."

[2] E. Best, "Notes on Maori Mythology," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, viii, p. 97; E. Tregear, "The Maoris of New Zealand," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix, p. 122.

[3] E. de Bovis, "État de la société tahitienne à l'arrivée des Européens," *Annuaire des établissements français de l'Océanie*, 1863, p. 272.

[4] J. A. Moerenhout, *Voyages aux îles du Grand Océan*, vol. i, p. 502; E. Tregear, cited by W. D. Westerfeldt, *Legends of Ma-ui, a Demi-God of Polynesia, and of his mother Hina*, p vi. Mr. R. W. Williamson arrives at the conclusion that Maui is a volcano (R. W. Williamson, *The Social and Political System of Central Polynesia*, vol. i, pp. 9, 142, 302).

Maui's conditions for his ransom and release.[1] The exploit is related in much the same form in New Britain.[2] Maui is in fact demonstrably identical with the moon-gods of Melanesia. His name means 'left-handed';[3] and he is thus, like the "left-handed Karvuvu" of New Britain,[4] who is, no doubt, the hero of the sun-noosing exploit, the new-moon-god that grows from the left (west) in opposition to the "right-handed Kabinana." His name is also used as a synonym of 'witchcraft.'[5] An alternative name of Maui, by which he is more commonly known in Samoa,[6] the Marquesas[7] and in Tahiti,[8] is Tiki, Ti'i, or Tiki-tiki. The New Zealand moon-charm in the form of a foetus, which is fabled to have been given to Maori women by the moon,[9] represents Maui; its full designation is Maui-tiki-tiki. The name, which means "top-knot," is explained in the New Zealand and Hawaiian versions of his myth by the account of Maui's premature birth as a shapeless abortion; his mother Hina in her disgust is said to have tied some of her hair round his head, and thrown him into the sea.[10] It is not very obvious why the moon-goddess should have tied a lock of her hair round the foetus Maui before casting him away. The incident appears in a more intelligible form in Melanesia. On Ugi, in the Solomon Islands, one of the moon-gods, who rejoices in the name of Warohunugamwanehaora, is, like Maui, prematurely born as a diminutive foetus; his formidable name means "tied with his umbilical cord," and is given him because his mother wound his navel-string round and round his head before she turned him adrift.[11] Warohunugamwanehaora's myth turns, like Maui's, on the jealousy and rivalry between the clever little fellow

[1] W. D. Westervelt, *op. cit.*, pp. vi sqq., 2 sqq., 40 sqq., 165 sqq.; G. Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, pp. 10 sqq.; R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, pp. 124 sqq.; J. White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. ii, pp. 63, 85, 100; E. Best, "Notes on Maori Mythology," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, viii, p. 97; J. F. H. Wohlers, "The Mythology and Traditions of the Maori of New Zealand," *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, vii, p. 14; W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, p. 62.

[2] J. Meier, *Mythen und Erzählungen der Küstenbewohner der Gazelle-Halbinsel (Neu-Pommern)*, pp. 133 sqq.

[3] E. Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, p. 233; J. F. H. Wohlers, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[4] See above, p. 679.

[5] E. Tregear, *loc. cit.*

[6] E. Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, p. 235.

[7] J. A. Moerenhout, *Voyages aux îles du Grand Océan*, vol. i, p. 523; M. Garcia, *Lettres sur les îles Marquises*, p. 6.

[8] T. Henry, "Tahitian Folk-lore," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, x, p. 52.

[9] See above, p. 584.

[10] W.D.Westervelt, *op. cit.*, p. 6; J. White, *Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. ii, p. 92.

[11] C. E. Fox and F. H. Drew, "Beliefs and Tales of San Cristoval," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlv, p. 203.

and his big brothers. The big Warohunugaraiia tries to eat the little Warohunugamwanehaora; but ultimately it is the abortive moon who eats up the big dark moon. Some of the chief incidents in the story of the Solomon Islands little moon-god are identical with those in the New Hebrides story of the Head-god Qat.[1] The New Hebrides moon-god is known on the island of Weasisi as 'Moi-tiki-tiki.'[2] The clever and crafty little Maui-tiki-tiki had also in New Zealand a big and stupid elder brother, Maui the elder.[3]

As in all traditional mythologies, the same deities are known in Polynesia and in Melanesia by various names, and the traditional names become transferred from one deity to another. An instance of the confusion and transformations that may thus arise is presented by the myth of Rona, who in the best-known forms of her attributes is the woman in the moon, abducted there by the moon-god, while she was drawing water.[4] In other versions, however, Rona is a male and an ogre. "Rona is lord of the sun and moon. Rona eats the moon and the moon eats Rona; but as each becomes exhausted and devoured in the monthly battle, they go to the Life-waters of Tane to bathe and be restored to life and strength, by which they become able to renew the struggle."[5] The two versions are not in reality so disparate and incongruous as might seem; for as the moon is commonly conceived to grow by drinking water,[6] the drawing of water is equivalent to causing the moon to wane, or to eating away its substance.

The two moon-gods, the favourable and the unfavourable, not infrequently change places. Maui-tiki, who figures in western Polynesia as a good-natured hero anxious to confer benefits upon mankind, has in Tahiti the exactly opposite character, and is a maleficent fiend who desires to slay men.[7] We have seen how in

[1] C. E. Fox and F. H. Drew, *op. cit.*, pp. 205 sqq.; R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 160 sqq. Warohunugamwanehaora's brothers, believing him to be dead, sail to another island; but the diminutive god sails past them unnoticed in a mussel-shell, and greets the surprised brothers on their arrival. Qat is left for dead by his brothers, who sail off to another island; but he passes them unnoticed in a coco-nut shell and greets them as a giant on their arrival.

[2] W. Gunn, *The Gospel in Futuna*, p. 217.

[3] J. White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. ii, p. 64.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 20 sq., 26; W. D. Westervelt, *Legends of Ma-ui*, p. 169; E. Best, "Notes on Maori Mythology," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, viii, pp. 100 sq.

[5] J. White, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 21. Cf. J. F. H. Wohlers, "The Mythology and Traditions of the Maori in New Zealand," *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, viii, pp. 118 sq.

[6] Cf. above, pp. 636, 681.

[7] T. Henry, "Tahitian Folk-lore," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, x, p. 52.

a picturesque myth Maui endeavours to defy death and to obtain from the moon-goddess the gift of immortality for the human race, eloquently pleading with his mother, who, however, remains inexorable and pronounces upon mankind its fatal doom.[1] In Tahiti the myth is completely reversed; it is the moon-goddess who desires to bestow upon men the boon of immortality, and Maui who opposes her prayers. "Oh Ti'i!" she pleads, "do not persist in invoking man to death. When he suffers under the curse of the gods, I shall resuscitate him. Behold my moon and glittering stars; are they not more comely than thy dying man?"[2]

The wife of Maui is Rohe or Rau. "She was beautiful as he was ugly, and on his wishing to exchange faces with her, she refused his request. He, however, by means of an incantation, managed to gain his point. In anger she left him, or refused to live any longer in the world of light, but proceeded to the under-world."[3] As in the parallel Melanesian myths, the wife of the moon-god is no other than the sun. In the New Hebrides, Ro Lei is ravished by Qat's or Tortali's envious brother;[4] in New Zealand Rohe is ravished by a serpent-shaped god.[5] In the Solomon Islands, the Loyalty Islands, and in New Guinea, the sun and the moon formerly travelled in company, but quarrelled and separated;[6] in New Zealand the moon said to the sun, "Let us travel together at night," but they disagreed and separated.[7] Rohe, the wife of Maui, is in fact said in New Zealand and in the Chatham Islands to be "the sister of the sun;"[8] but it appears manifest that, like Ro Lei, she was in reality the sun itself. The supposed sun-god, Ra —in Tonga and Hawaii, La, in North Borneo 'lau'—is thus in Polynesian myth, under the thinnest of disguises, a female and the wife of the moon.

The place of Maui, who in eastern Polynesia is creator of the world and father of all the gods, is in western Polynesia occupied by Tangaroa. In the Banks Island myth there are eleven Tangaroas;[9] in Polynesia their number is variable. A Tongan version

[1] See above, pp. 657 sq. [2] T. Henry, *loc. cit.*

[3] E. Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, p. 421.

[4] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 159 sq.; J. B. Suas, "Mythes et légendes des indigènes des Nouvelles Hébrides (Océanie)," *Anthropos*, vi, pp. 902 sqq. Cf. above, p. 680.

[5] J. White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. ii, p. 115.

[6] R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, vol. i, p. 327; E. Hadfield, *Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group*, p. 232; R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, vol. iii, pp. 159, 261, 493.

[7] J. White, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 87.

[8] A. Shand, "The Moriori People of the Chatham Islands," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, iii, p. 91.

[9] See above, p. 679.

describes four Tangaroas, and associates them in terms admitting of no misconception with the four phases of the moon.[1] Sir George Grey supposed that Tangaroa was a sea-god.[2] He has, of course, been recognised as a sun-god.[3] In Samoa he dwells in the moon.[4] In Hawaii and in eastern Polynesia, Tangaroa is an evil and maleficent god; he is the ruler of Hades;[5] in Tahiti, where there are four Tangaroas, they are the enemies of mankind;[6] in the Marquesas Tangaroa is a god of darkness and is defeated by the god of light, Atea.[7] He is identical with the Tangaroas and Tagaros known throughout Melanesia. "It would be quite erroneous," remarks Professor Schmidt, "to regard him (Tagaro) as a loan from the Polynesian Tangaroa. He is, of course, identical with him, not, however, as an imitation, but as an earlier form of him, which has more distinctly retained its lunar character."[8]

Maui, Tangaro a andother corresponding Polynesian gods, are, like those of Melanesia, incarnate in serpents, lizards and eels,[9] and in stones.[10]

The deities of Polynesia and their mythology are in fact identical

[1] F. Reiter, "Traditions tonguiennes," *Anthropos*, ii, pp. 438 sqq.

[2] G. Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, p. 7.

[3] T. R. St.-Johnston, *The Islanders of the Pacific, or the Children of the Sun*, p. 67 sq.; A. Krämer, *Die Samoa-Inseln*, vol. i, pp. 24, 281 sq.

[4] E. Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, p. 463.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 464.

[6] T. Henry, "Tahitian Folk-Lore," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, x, p. 52.

[7] A. Fornander, *Account of the Polynesian Race*, vol. i, pp. 214 sqq.

[8] P. W. Schmidt, "Grundlinien einer Vergleichung der Religionen und Mythologien der Austronesischen Völker," *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophische-historische Klasse*, liii, Abhandlung, iii, p. 108. Cf. R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 156.

[9] E. Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, p. 57; G. F. Angas, *Scenes of Savage Life, in Australia and New Zealand*, vol. ii, pp. 67 sq.; E. Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, p. 463; A. C. E. Caillot, *Mythes, légendes et traditions des Polynésiens*, p. 251 n.; W. Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of Tonga*, vol. ii, pp. 100, 112 sq.; E. E. V. Collocot, "Notes on Tongan Religion," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, xxx, pp. 152 sq., 227 sqq.; F. W. Christian, "Notes on the Marquesans," *ibid.*, iv, p. 189; W. E. Gudgeon, "On Matakite," *ibid.*, xx, p. 150; "Extracts from the Papers of the late Rev. W. Wyatt Gill," *ibid.*, xxi, pp. 61 sq.; Id., *Life in the Southern Islands*, p. 279; W. von Bülow, "Die Eidechsen im Volksglauben der Samoaner," *Globus*, lxxiv, p. 257; A. Krämer, *Die Samoa-Inseln*, vol. i, p. 438 n.; D. Hort, *Tahiti, the Garden of the Pacific*, pp. 224 sq.; R. W. Williamson, *The Social and Political Systems of Central Polynesia*, vol. ii, pp. 231 sqq., 253, 267 sq., 273 sqq., 280.

[10] E. Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, p. 463; G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 63 sq.; J. B. Stair, *Old Samoa*, pp. 211 sqq.; *Rovings in the Pacific*, vol. i, p. 197; J. J. Lister, "Notes on the Natives of Fakaofu (Bowditch Island), Union Group," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxi, pp. 50 sq.

with those of Melanesia. The Polynesian myths have, as regards their original conception and meaning, undergone a far more pronounced process of decay and obliteration through oblivion, while they have at the same time acquired the richer expression which a more advanced culture and more unfettered play of imagination impart. The marked aristocratic form which Polynesian society assumed has tended to emphasise the social aspects of those racial myths, while their religious aspect has faded almost completely away. The chief interest of the Polynesians in those myths lay accordingly in the descent claimed by aristocratic families from the gods. They were the children of Maui, of Tangaroa, of Feke, and so forth. Hence the most prominent character of those 'atuas' appeared to the European observer to be their position as ancestral divinities, and Polynesian religion seemed to be most aptly characterised as a worship of deified ancestors.

Curiously enough it was, in all probability, by the reverse process that the aristocratic castes of Polynesia had been established in the first instance. Polynesian kings were primarily 'sacred' kings, that is, representatives of the gods, and aristocratic clans were such by virtue of their relationship to the gods. It was as priests of the gods that they had originally acquired the exclusive status which separated them from the common crowd, and which was subsequently developed by force of arms and political power.[1] Originally that power was derived from the gods, and the privileged position of the aristocracy depended on their tabu character. The Tuitonga, the sacred king of Tonga, was regarded as the direct descendant of Maui, Tangaroa, and the goddess Hikuleo.[2] That character of the sacred chiefs, hence associated them, in spite of the decay and oblivion of religious tradition, with the moon. The chief of Eimu was called 'the Lord of the Moon.'[3] In Samoa, where the name of a chief might not be pronounced, least of all when he was dead, the phrase by which his demise was announced was: "The moon has fallen."[4]

Religion having thus become transformed into social and political power, little in the way of regular cult was to be found in the greater part of Polynesia, and where such existed, as in Hawaii and the Society Group, it had assumed an official character as an adjunct of political power, the priesthood being under the immediate orders and jurisdiction of the king.[5] For the same

[1] See below, vol. iii, p. 27.

[2] B. H. Thomson, *The Diversions of a Prime Minister*, pp. 293 sq. For the local goddess Hikuleo, see E. E. V. Collocot, "Notes on Tongan Religion," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, xxx, p. 153.

[3] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, vol. iii, p. 172.

[4] A. Krämer, *Die Samoa Inseln*, vol. ii, p. 109 n.

[5] W. Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of Tonga*, vol. ii, p. 87; J. R. Forster, *Observations made during a Voyage round the World*, pp. 545 sq.;

reasons rites of initiation and religious associations, or 'secret societies,' had, in western Polynesia, entirely disappeared. There can be little doubt that they formerly existed amongst the ancestors of the Maori; but the bull-roarer, so characteristic of the initiation rites of New Guinea and Australia, had in New Zealand become a children's toy.[1] Maori tradition asserted, however, that the 'runanga,' a name applied to the tribal councils held by chiefs, had been in the legendary home of the race in 'Hawaiki' the appellation of religious secret societies.[2] In eastern Polynesia, in the Society Islands, Tuamotu, and the Marquesas, the institution survived as the famous Areoi societies. But here also the social and political had to a large extent supplanted the purely religious aspects, and the higher grades of the Areois were intimately connected with the privileges and exclusiveness claimed by aristocratic classes, who indeed appear to have used the institution as a means for downright exploitation and plunder.[3] Nevertheless the Areoi societies, in contrast with the official priesthoods of Polynesia, regarded themselves as independent of the established government and king; Areoi claimed to owe allegiance to their own officers only.[4] In spite of the circumstances making for the decay of their religious character, the Polynesian Areoi societies preserved the essential features that everywhere mark the primary purpose and conception of religious associations. They were not concerned with this world only, but with insuring for their members advantages in the after-life.[5] No particulars are available concerning their rites of initiation, which, we are told, were the occasion of great feasts; but there can be little doubt that they included a symbolic representation of death and resurrection. In the sacred enclosures, or 'marae,' human sacrifices were offered;[6] the officiating hierophant was attired in a

E. de Bovis, "État de la société taïtienne à l'arrivée des Européens," *Annuaire des établissements français de l'Océanie et du Protectorat des îles de la Société*, p. 239; J. J. Lister, "Notes on the Natives of Fakaolu (Bowditch Island), Union Group," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxi, p. 54.

[1] A. Hamilton, *Maori Art*, p. 373.

[2] J. C. Johnstone, *Maoria*, p. 47; E. Tregear, "The Maoris of New Zealand," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix, p. 118.

[3] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, vol. i, pp. 237 sq.; vol. iii, pp. 129 sq.; H. Lutteroth, *O-Taïti*, p. 15.

[4] E. de Bovis, "État de la société taïtienne à l'arrivée des Européens," *Annuaire des établissements français de l'Océanie et du Protectorat des îles de la Société*, p. 264.

[5] J. A. Moerenhout, *Voyages aux îles du Grand Océan*, vol. i, p. 493 sq.; W. Ellis, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 190.

[6] E. de Bovis, *op. cit.*, p. 272; T. Henry, "The Tahitian Version of the Names Ra'iatea and Taputapu-alea," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, xxi, p. 77; von Schleinitz, "Die Markesas Inseln und ihre Bevölkerung," *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, vi, p. 360. Cf.

mortuary shroud.[1] The candidate, painted red,[2] received after initiation a new name.[3] The death and resurrection of the god himself formed an important part of the rites of the Areoi. At the winter festival his death was lamented and the members went into mourning,[4] and the resurrection of the god was celebrated at the spring with feasts and rejoicings.[5] The ritual was thus, as in the religions of more advanced cultures, associated with the yearly seasonal changes, and were those of a solar and not of a lunar cycle. But the god whose death and resurrection were thus celebrated, mostly, it appears, by night, was the moon-god of Polynesia and Melanesia. In the Marquesas he was Maui.[6] In Tahiti he was the great god of the Islands, Oro.[7] Oro is a dialectical variation of the name of the god known in western Polynesia as Rongo, or Rogo,[8] and is said to be the same as Rona, the dark god who eats the moon.[9] His opposite, with whom Oro is in constant rivalry, is Tane, the creator god and master of the Water of Life, whose creatures Oro slays.[10]

The dualism represented by the two moon-gods, the bright and the dark, which is so conspicuous a feature of Melanesian and Polynesian myths, and of which we find clear traces in Australia, is met with everywhere in primitive lunar cosmological conceptions. That universal conception is not the expression of a primitive sense of the opposition between good and evil forces, but owes its origin in every instance to the contrast between the two beings which are, in primitive belief, supposed to contend

J. Montgomery, *Journal of Voyages and Travels by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, Esq. . . . in the South Sea Islands*, vol. i, p. 113.

[1] E. de Bovis, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

[2] P. Lesson, *Voyage autour du monde . . . sur la corvette la Coquille*, pp. 404 sq.

[3] J. A. Moerenhout, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 493.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 503, 517 sq.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 516.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 561 n.

[7] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, vol. i, pp. 183 sqq.; J. A. Moerenhout, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 485 sqq.; E. de Bovis, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

[8] W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, pp. 14, 15; E. Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, pp. 425; J. White, *Maori Superstitions*, p. 97; Id., *The Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. i, pp. 36 sqq.; G. Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, p. 7.

[9] See above, p. 715.

[10] J. White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. i, pp. 36 sqq.; E. de Bovis, *op. cit.*, p. 272; W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, vol. i, p. 285. Cf. R. W. Williamson, *The Social and Political Systems of Central Polynesia*, vol. i, pp. 245. The Rev. W. Ellis, Lieutenant de Bovis, and Mr. Williamson interpret the opposition between the two gods as a contest between two different races of which, they suppose, Oro and Tane were the respective deities.

for mastery in the course of the lunar cycle, the one loving darkness rather than light, and seeking to destroy the other who would bestow light and the power of regeneration upon the world.

Primitive Cosmic Religion in North America.

That contrast is expressed by the Eskimo in Greenland as clearly as by the natives of the Pacific Islands. They relate that in the beginning there were two brothers, one of whom said: "There shall be night and there shall be day, and men shall die one after another." But the other said: "There shall be no day, but only night all the time, and men shall live for ever."[1] In this instance, as in many others, the good and evil attributes are, it will be noted, intermixed; for it is from the power of darkness that eternal life is represented as obtainable, and the defeat of the dark god by the bright one caused death to be the fate of humanity. There is no ambiguity about our information concerning the cosmic conceptions of the Eskimo. The moon, Aningahk, is with them the supreme deity and ruler of the universe; to him all spirits are subordinate and from him all powers derive. With Aningahk is associated a female form of the lunar power, the goddess Sedna, who presides over the food supply of the people and to whom their propitiating rites are directed. The sun, who is the sister of the moon, plays no part in their theology, and the heat and light of the luminary are supposed to be derived from the moon.[2]

The conceptions of the various tribes inhabiting the north-western region of the American continent appear to be very similar. Among the Tlinkit the sun is likewise the wife of the moon and is regarded as being a poor creature, while the moon is a wealthy and powerful chief. When there is an eclipse of the moon, the Tlinkit bring out all their possessions and offer them to him.[3] Presumably this is not so much a magic rite to promote the increase of those possessions, as a placatory act to induce the moon not to abandon them.

[1] H. Egede, *Nachrichten von Grönland aus einen Tagebuch vom Bischof Paul Egede*, p. 157.

[2] W. Thalbitzer, "The Heathen Priests of East Greenland (Angakut)," *Verhandlungen des XVI internationales Amerikanisten-Kongress, Wien*, 1908, vol. ii, p. 448; F. Boas, "The Central Eskimo," *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 597, 599. Cf. below, vol. iii, pp. 52 sq.

[3] A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit Indianer*, p. 270. Cf. F. Boas, "Sagen der Indianer an der Nordwest-Küste Americas," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 1895, p. 231.

The Nutka of British Columbia are said to "regard the moon and the sun as their highest deities, the moon being the husband and the sun the wife. To the moon chiefly, as the more powerful deity, they pray for all they require." [1] Among the things which the Nutka, like most uncultured humanity, appear to require are the renewal of their lives and the assurance that they will some day join the immortal company of their ancestors. To promote those objects they have religious associations with complicated rituals which partly refer to the totemic clans of their ancestors, but the central ceremony of which is the simulated death of the candidate and his rebirth and resurrection. He is carried away into the forest, sometimes after having been shot, and is later brought back as a corpse. The medicine-men then proceed to resurrect him and extract from his body a magic stone, or piece of quartz.[2] "The performances are essentially the same from Alaska to Juan de Fuca Strait," and, according to Professor Boas, are found in their most typical form in the ceremonies of the Kwakiutl. In one of these, performed by a women's religious association, the chief priestess dances before the effigy of an enormous double-headed serpent. She is then 'killed,' her head being apparently split open with a paddle, and streams of blood gushing forth. But this is merely a conjuring trick, and the voice of the woman, conveyed through a pipe, is presently heard to issue from her supposed bones.[3] Among the allied Niska tribe of Tsimshian Indians of British Columbia, whose religious organisations are said to be derived from the Kwakiutl, the friends of the initiate pretended to cut off his head with their knives, a decapitated dummy being dexterously substituted. The 'corpse' is mourned over and bewailed by the weeping women, accorded a solemn funeral and deposited in a grave. The pretended death of the candidate lasts a whole year, after which he is brought back a renewed man. In former times the initiate was sometimes supposed to spend the period of his temporary death at the bottom of the sea, and his resurrection was effected by means of elaborate machinery worked by ropes from the land, which made it appear that the novice rose from the waves. Like all machinery, the contrivances of those Indians were liable to get out of order, and it sometimes happened that the novice was

[1] G. M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 206; H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Tribes of the Pacific States*, vol. iii, p. 152.

[2] F. Boas, "Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada," *Report of the Sixtieth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (Leeds, 1890), pp. 47 sq.; *Narrative of the Adventures and sufferings of John R. Jewitt*, p. 119; J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. iii, pp. 504 sq.; Id., *The Golden Bough*, vol. x, pp. 270 sq.

[3] F. Boas, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

drowned in earnest.[1] But such accidents nowise shake their faith; some of the Thompson River Indians take a delight in killing themselves, in order to hasten their resurrection into eternal life.[2]

The tribal chief takes the leading part in the rites of the Tsimshian and impersonates the divinity under whose auspices they are held. In that capacity his appearance is thus described by an agent of the Hudson Bay Company who visited the Nutka at the beginning of the last century. "He imitates the rising sun, which they believe to be a shining man, wearing a radiated crown, and continually walking round the earth, which is stationary. He wears on this occasion, a most splendid dress of ermine and other valuable furs; and a curiously constructed mask, set round with seals' whiskers and feathers, which gradually expand like a fan; and from the top of the mask swan-down is shaken out in great quantities according as he moves his head. The expanding bristles and feathers represent the sun's rays, and the showers of down, rain and snow; the Indians chanting at the same time, in regular order and in a low key, showing reverence, awe, and devotion."[3] As the sun is with those Indians the wife of the moon from which all rain and snow are believed to proceed, it is difficult to understand how the sun-goddess should be represented by them as a snow-producing man; and it appears probable that seeing a representation of a radiating heavenly body and controller of the weather, the European traveller assumed it as a matter of course to be the sun. The rites of the Tsimshian are, as a matter of fact, believed by them to have been instituted by the moon-god Haiatlila'qs, who is regarded as the founder of all the tribe's institutions. It is the Moon which is supposed to renew the life of the Tsimshian by causing them to change their skin. And accordingly "everyone who wants to go to heaven must pass through the House of the Moon."[4]

In spite of the keen interest taken since the seventeenth century in the North American Indians and of the admirable scientific work carried out in our own times by American anthropologists, our information concerning the fundamental cosmic religious conceptions of the native races is extraordinarily deficient, confused, and contradictory. The investigations of American scientists

[1] F. Boas, "Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada," *Report of the Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (Ipswich, 1895), pp. 575 sq.; Id., "The Social Organisation and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum*, 1895, pp. 653 sqq.

[2] J. Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia* (*Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. i), p. 357.

[3] J. Dunn, *History of the Oregon Territory*, pp. 253 sq.

[4] F. Boas, "Sagen der Indianer an den Nordwest-Küste Americas," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 1895, pp. 201 sq.

have unfortunately been carried out at least two hundred years too late. The reports of the earlier travellers and missionaries are marred by complete unfamiliarity with the ideas of uncultured peoples, and distorted by preconceived theories held with theological zeal by the reporters. Every type of theory and description which has at one time or another been formulated concerning the religious ideas of primitive peoples has been applied to the North American Indians. They have been described as polytheists and as monotheists, as sunk in the depths of devil-worship and as entertaining the most sublime notions of the true God handed down from primitive revelation ; their religion has been characterised as being pure ' shamanism,' a mere jumble of disconnected superstitions, and as forming a deeply philosophical system of theology ; it has been defined in turn as a worship of ghosts, a worship of the elements, and pure sun-worship. With regard to the latter conception, which was at one time very prevalent, and is still met with in learned enquiries into the matter, Dr. Daniel Brinton observes : " A generation ago it was a fashion very much approved to explain all symbols and myths by the action of this orb on nature. This short and easy method with mythology has, in Carlylian phrase, had its bottom pulled from under it in these later times. Nowhere has it manifested its inefficiency more palpably than in America. . . . Fear, said the wise Epicurean, first made the gods. The sun with its regular course, its kindly warmth, its beneficent action, nowise inspires that sentiment. It conjures no phantasms to appeal to superstitious fancy, and its place in primitive mythology is conformably inferior. The myths of the Eskimos and northern Athapascans omit its action altogether. The Algonkins by no means imagined it the highest god, and at most but one of his emblems. The alleged sun worship of the Cherokees rests on testimony modern, doubtful, and unsupported. In North America the Natchez alone were avowed worshippers of this luminary. The heliolatry organised principally for political ends by the Incas of Peru, stands alone in the religions of the red race. Those shrewd legislators at an early date officially announced that Inti, the sun, their own elder brother, was ruler of the cohorts of heaven by like divine right that they were of the four corners of the earth. This scheme ignominiously failed, as every attempt to fetter the liberty of conscience must and should. The myths of creation never represent the sun as anterior to the world, but as manufactured by the ' old people,' (Navajos), as kindled and set going by the first men (Algonkins), or as freed from some cave by a kindly deity (Haitians). Nor did at least the northern tribes regard the sun as the cause of fecundity in nature at all." [1]

Most of the earlier reports concerning the religious ideas of

[1] D. G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, pp. 141 sq., 149.

the North American Indians expressed the disgust with which those conceptions, in so far as the missionaries were able to apprehend them, were regarded. Thus, a Catholic missionary declared that "the demons with which they peopled nature, them alone in their fear they sought to appease. Pure unmixed devil worship prevailed throughout the length and breadth of the land." [1] The Great Manitu, according to the earlier missionaries, was the Devil.[2]

A quite different view of the matter obtained in the majority of later accounts. "It has been asserted for several hundred hears," says the Rev. J. O. Dorsey, "that the North American Indian was a believer in one Great Spirit prior to the coming of the white race to the continent, and that, as he was a monotheist, it was an easy matter to convert him to Christianity. Indians have been represented as speaking of 'The Great Spirit,' 'The Master of Life,' etc., as if the idea of the one and only God was familiar to our aborigines during the pre-Columbian period." [3] Thus, as an example of the numerous statements of the kind, Messrs. Lewis and Clarke described their impression of Red-Indian theology by stating that "the religion of the Indians consists in the belief in one Great Spirit." [4] Those accounts were for the most part written in the light of theological presumptions. More recent and scientific investigations have caused the once current notion of the North American 'Great Spirit' to be considerably modified. "Among the many erroneous conceptions regarding the Indian," says Mr. Henshaw, "none has taken deeper root than the one which ascribes to him belief in an overruling deity, the 'Great Spirit.' Very far removed from this tremendous conception of one all-powerful deity was the Indian belief. . . . To none of his deities did the Indian ascribe moral good or evil. His religion was practical. The spirits were the source of good or bad fortune, whether on the hunting path or the war trail, in the pursuit of a wife or in a ball game." [5] "It was partly through pioneer study of the Sioux Indians," Dr. McGee observes, "that the popular fallacy concerning the aboriginal 'Great Spirit' gained currency; it was partly through the study by Dorsey among the

[1] *American Catholic Missions*, p. 25, cited by J. O. Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 431.

[2] *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. ii, p. 77, vol. vi, p. 172; N. Denys, *Description géographique et historique des costes de l'Amérique septentrionale*, vol. i, p. 42.

[3] J. O. Dorsey, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

[4] M. Lewis and W. Clarke, *Travels to the Source of the Missouri River*, vol. i, p. 174.

[5] H. W. Henshaw, art. "Popular Fallacies," in *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. ii, p. 284.

Cagina and Dakota tribes, first as a missionary, and afterwards as a linguist, that the early error was corrected." [1] The view of the religious conceptions of the North American Indians which is now generally held by anthropologists is that they were essentially a form of what is usually described as 'shamanism,' that is to say, the paramount interest of the American Indians in the supernatural had reference to the acquisition and exercise of magical powers, and the chief objects of their awes and fears were the persons credited with the possession of such powers, and innumerable spirits whom they regarded as the supernatural counterparts of their medicine-men or magic wielders.

Those diverse views of the religion of North American natives may, however, not be so irreconcilably opposed as might appear. In regarding the exercise of magical power as the paramount aspect of their conceptions of the supernatural, the American Indians did not differ from other uncultured peoples. But those magical powers were, as in every other instance, thought of as derived from supernatural sources. Medicine-men were believed to be inspired or possessed by 'manitus,' and were themselves spoken of as 'manitus.' [2] It was moreover the aim of every Indian to partake of those magical powers by placing himself under the special protection of some manitu, or guardian spirit. In order to do so a severe course of fasting and ascetic practices, similar to that which constituted the preparatory training of every medicine-man, was undergone, and the aspirant retired to the wilderness in a state of semi-dementia and dreamed dreams. The 'manitu,' or animal, which he first beheld in his disordered visions, was his personal 'manitu.' But it was believed that the dream was sent by the 'Chief of the Manitus,' or Lord of Life, and that it was he who appointed the personal 'manitu' of the medicine-man or the protecting spirit of the ordinary individual.[3]

[1] W. J. McGee, "The Siouan Indians," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 183. Cf. C. G. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 205: "I do not believe that the idea of a Great Spirit, in the sense in which it is generally used by Indians, or is attributed to them, was ever known till learned from the whites."

[2] J. de Laet, *Novus orbis; seu descriptionis Indiae occidentalis libri xviii*, pp. 50, 75; J. G. Müller, *Geschichte der amerikanischen Urreligionen*, p. 71 All ghosts are called 'manitus' (R. H. Schoolcraft, *The Indian and his Wigwam*, p. 214). Another term which has been equated with the Supreme Being of European theology is the Siouan Wakanda. 'Wakan' means the magic art, conjuring, and sleight-of-hand; a Siouan medicine-man, on being asked by a missionary what he knew about 'Wakanda,' answered with some surprise that he himself was a 'wakanda' (J. O. Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 372).

[3] Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied, *Reise in das Innere Nort-Amerikas*, vol. ii, p. 166.

Again, in the cults and magic of all North American tribes certain sacred objects consisting of miscellaneous trifles, such as feathers, grass, etc., contained in skin-bags, which are spoken of by the somewhat absurd name of ' medicine,' played the most important part. But these sacred bundles, or medicine-bags, derived their virtues from being, it was supposed, impregnated with the magic power of the Chief of Manitus, and from having originally been, like the rock-crystals of the Australian medicine-men, the direct gift of the Supreme Manitu. " All the sacred bundles," said a Pawnee chief, " are from the far-off country in the south-west, from which we came long ago. They were handed down to the people before they started on their journey. It all came through the power of Ti-ra-wa. It was through the Ruler of the Universe that the sacred bundles were given to us. We look to them because through them and the buffalo and the corn we worship Ti-ra-wa. When a man goes on the war-path, and has led many scouts and brought the scalps, he has done it through the sacred bundles." [1]

Ample allowance must be made, in interpreting the language in which the North American Indians give an account of their conceptions of the supernatural, for their long familiarity with European theology. The chief source of magical power was assimilated not only by zealous missionaries who cherished the theory of ' accommodation,' but by the Indians themselves with the God of the white man; and that identification was, in many respects, a natural and justifiable one. When the attributes of the Christian God were set forth by the missionaries, and the Indians were told that He created the world and mankind and was the Supreme Ruler and the controller of the order of nature and the destinies of mankind, they at once exclaimed: " Why! that is our Atahocan! " [2] The Chief Manitu, or ultimate source of magical powers, by whatever name known in the various tribes, possesses in fact all those attributes. But there are nevertheless profound differences between the Indians' conception of that being and the theological conception of the Deity. The functions of creator and ruler of the universe impart no transcendental character to the Chief of Manitus, and are not thought of as fundamental and defining characters, for all other manitus, including every medicine-man, are in some degree creators and controllers of nature and human destiny. The supremacy of the Chief Manitu is therefore in no way the transcendental supremacy connoted in the term Supreme Being.[3] In the numerous tales

[1] G. B. Grinnell, *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-tales*, pp. 354 sq.

[2] J. G. Müller, *Geschichte der Amerikanischen Urreligionen*, p. 103, after Cornelius Hazart, *Katholische Kirchengeschichte* (1684), vol. ii, fol. 437b.

[3] The term ' Kitchi Manitu,' translated as ' Great Spirit,' was confined

of which, under various names, he is the subject, every trace of an august nature is lacking ; like all the divine heroes of similar savage myths, he is treated with good-humoured familiarity and is quite indistinguishable, except by his superior magical powers, from an ordinary mortal Red Indian. He is actuated by like motives and passions, and his foibles and discomfitures in undignified situations are frequently dwelt upon with sly malice. Nor does he possess moral attributes ; he is called Kuloskap (or Gluskap), ' the Liar ' ; [1] among the Ojibwa he is known as Nanabozhu, the ' Clown.' [2] " Notwithstanding the power that Woesack-oot-chacht here displayed," says Captain Back, " his person is held in very little reverence by the Indians, and in return he seizes every opportunity of tormenting them." [3] " They cannot be said truly to worship any divinity or god," says Father Sagard Théodat, " for although many speak in praise of the Ioskeha, we have heard others speak of him with contempt and irreverence." [4]

The Supreme Manitu was, in fact, not conceived by the North American Indians as a solution to speculations concerning the origin and government of the universe ; his attributes of creator and controller are incidental and subordinate. It was as the most powerful source of magical power and as the imparter of that power that he originally arose, not as a conclusion to philosophical enquiries.

The Algonkin and Iroquois tribes regarded all magical power as derived from the moon.[5] It was the moon-goddess Aataentsic who imparted the arts of witchcraft and sorcery, and her power determined the destinies of men. Aataentsic was to the Iroquois " the head of their nation." [6] The Siouan tribes, whose expression, the ' Kitchi Manitu,' literally translated gave rise to the term ' Great Spirit ' applied to the highest divinity of the North American Indians, had the same conception. " In the moon

to some tribes of the lower Missouri basin (M. zu Wied-Neuwied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-Amerikas*, vol. i, p. 257). Among the Canadian tribes the expression was introduced by the Jesuit missionaries (*Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. v, p. 157 ; W. M. Beachamp, *The Iroquois Trail*, p. 45).

[1] C. G. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends of New England*, pp. 2, 106 ; D. Brinton, " The Hero-God of the Algonkins as a Cheat and a Liar," *Essays of an Americanist*, pp. 130 sqq.

[2] A. G. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan*, p. 73 ; R. P. Cuog, *Lexique de la langue Algonquine*, p. 443.

[3] R. Huish, *Voyages of Captains Beechey and Back, R.N.*, p. 562.

[4] G. Sagard Théodat, *Le Grand Voyage du pays des Hurons*, p. 160.

[5] See above, p. 597.

[6] Father Brébeuf, in *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. x, p. 126.

they say, lives the Old Woman who never dies." [1] The great magic ceremonies which the Mandans carried out in order to obtain a plentiful supply of maize and buffaloes were intended to propitiate the 'Old Woman who never dies.' To her they prayed: "Mother, have pity on us; do not send the severe cold too soon, so that we may have a sufficient supply of meat; do not permit all the game to go away, so that we may have something for the winter." [2]

The religious rites of the Cherokee, an agricultural Iroquois tribe, were likewise addressed to the 'Old Woman.' [3] They "assemble and feast at the appearance of the new moon, when they seem to be in great mirth and gladness." [4] "At the appearance of the new moon," says another traveller referring more particularly to the Creeks, "I have observed them with open extended arms, then folded, with inclined bodies, to make adorations with ardour and passion. At the time of harvest and at the full moon, they observe certain feasts and ceremonies which it would seem were derived from some religious origin." [5]

The Navahos likewise addressed themselves chiefly to the Old Woman. "Etsanatlehi is their most honoured divinity. The name Estanatlehi signifies the woman who changes and rejuvenates, and it is said of her that she never remains in one state, but that she grows to be an old woman, and in the course of time, at will, she becomes a young girl again, and so passes through an endless cycle of lives, changing, but never dying." Mr. W. Matthews, by way of elucidation, points out that "in the light of this narrative we see her as none other than our own Mother Nature, the goddess of the changing year, with its youth of spring, its middle of summer, its senility of autumn, growing old to become young again." [6] The reader may form his own conclusion as to the likelihood of the hypothesis that, while the Old Woman of the Siouan tribes was the moon, that of the Navahos was a symbol of the sequence of the equinoxes.

The supreme divinities or sources of magical power were represented under identical mythological forms among all Algonkin, Iroquois, Siouan, and Athapascan tribes. The moon appears in

[1] Maximilian Prinz zu Wied-Neuwied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-Amerikas*, vol. ii, p. 150.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[3] J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i, pp. 242 sqq., 423.

[4] W. Bartram, "Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians," *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*, iii, Part i, p. 26.

[5] J. R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians* (*Bulletin of the Bureau of Ethnology, No. 73*), p. 78. Cf. J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, pp. 250, 252 (Dakota tribes).

[6] W. Matthews, "Some Deities and Demons of the Navajos," *The American Naturalist*, xx, pp. 844 sq.

the mythological conceptions just mentioned under female form, as the Old Woman, the Changing Woman, Aataentsic, the Eternal Woman. The moon-goddess has, however, in the myths of all those tribes, two sons. "The Woman," says David Cusick in his peculiar Indian English, "remained in a state of unlimited darkness, and she was overtaken by her travail, to which she is subject. While she was in the limits of her distress, one of the infants was moved by an evil opinion, and he determined to pass out under the side of his parent's arm, and the other infant in vain endeavoured to prevent his design. The woman was in a painful condition during the time of their disputes, and the infants entered the dark world by compulsion, and their parent expired in a few moments." [1]

[1] D. Cusick, *Sketch of the Ancient History of the Six Nations*, reprinted in W. M. Beauchamp, *The Iroquois Trail*, pp. 2 sq. Cf. Father Brébeuf, in *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. x, pp. 126 sqq.; *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, p. 201; J. F. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. i, p. 244; P. J. de Smet, *Oregon Missions*, p. 347; H. R. Schoolcraft, *Algic Researches*, vol. i, pp. 135 sqq.; C. G. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends of New England*, pp. 15, 106; S. T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, p. 339; E. R. Emerson, *Indian Myths*, pp. 246 sq.; A. J. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippeway Indians*, pp. 72 sqq.; W. J. Hoffmann, "The Mythology of the Menomini Indians," *The American Anthropologist*, 1890, pp. 243 sqq.; W. Matthews, *op. cit.*, pp. 844 sq.; W. E. Connelley, "Notes on the Folk-lore of the Wyandot," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xii, pp. 120 sq.; A. F. Chamberlain, "Nanibozhu amongst the Otchipwe, Missisagas, and other Algonkian Tribes," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, iv, pp. 193 sqq.; J. O. Dorsey, "Nanibozhu in Siouan Mythology," *ibid.*, v. pp. 293 sqq. The Old Woman, Aataentsic, was generally referred to as the 'grandmother' of the two Manitus. The moon was commonly spoken of the 'grandmother.' In the versions of Father Brébeuf and Father Sagard Théodat, Aataentsic falls from heaven and gives birth to a daughter who is pregnant at the time of her birth, and gives birth in turn to the two Manitus. This seems to be manifestly but an aetiological attempt to justify the expression 'grandmother' applied to the Old Woman. In no other version do we hear of the nameless intermediate mother. In the Ottawa version given by Mr. A. G. Blackbird (*loc. cit.*) the mother of the twins "lives with her grandmother." In some versions the Old Woman gives birth to four sons (H. R. Schoolcraft, *Algic Researches, loc. cit.*; P. J. de Smet, *loc. cit.*); in another to three sons (W. Matthews, *loc. cit.*). The mother of the two gods is usually represented as falling from heaven into the primeval waters, and being received on the back of the tortoise—apparently a reference to the disappearance of the moon below the earth or in the waters during the interlunary period, when she dies and gives birth to the lunar crescent and the disc of the dark moon. The tortoise plays a conspicuous part in North American myth. In some versions the tortoise and the moon-goddess are one and the same (C. H. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 107), and according to the Mandans and Minnetaris the louder claps of thunder are due to the tortoise (Maxmilian, Prince Wied-Neuwied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-Amerikas*, vol. ii, p. 152). The tortoise is also the cause of floods (W. Müller, *Amerikanischen Urreligionen*, p. 122).

The two sons of the Moon-goddess, whom some of the early missionaries compared to Abel and Cain,[1] or to the Dioscuri,[2] are known by a variety of names in different tribes, but their myths are identical. Common appellations among the Huron tribes were Ioskeha and Tawiscara, that is, 'the White One,' and 'the Black One.'[3] In a Tuscarora version they are called Enigorio and Enigohahetgea, or 'the Beautiful manitu,' and 'the Ugly manitu.'[4] Among the Navahos, the one is known as 'the Slayer' (Nagaynezgani), and the other as the 'Controller of Water' (Thobadjischeni). The reflection of the two gods may be seen in the water of the San Juan River.[5] The Dark Manitu is commonly represented as a toad, or bull-frog, which contains all the moon-waters. The White Manitu, who is horned, bursts the toad and thereby causes the waters to flood the earth.[6] The Dark Manitu is also called Chakekenapok, 'the Flint,' and in the contest with the White Manitu is broken into a number of pieces, and his members are scattered over the land, which they fertilise, giving rise to fruit-bearing trees.[7] The Dark Manitu was also commonly represented as a

[1] *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. x, p. 129.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. vi, p. 160

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. x, p. 128 (Father Brébeuf's Relation). The interpretation of the names is given by Dr. D. Brinton (*Myths of the New World*, p. 170).

[4] D. Cusick, *Sketches of the Ancient History of the Six Nations*, reproduced in W. M. Beauchamp, *The Iroquois Trail*, p. 2. Cusick interpreted the names as 'the Good Mind' and 'the Bad Mind'; but that moral reading is shown by Dr. Brinton to be erroneous, and the one given in the text to be the correct translation (*op. cit.*, p. 63).

[5] W. Matthews, "Some Deities and Demons of the Navajos," *The American Naturalist*, xx, pp. 846 sq. Mr. Matthews, who bases his interpretations upon the supposed conceptions of "our Aryan forefathers," that is to say, of Professor Max Müller, remarks ingenuously that "this part of the myth doubtless refers to some natural phenomenon observable at this point, but I know not what it is, for I have never visited Thoyeti." But it is not absolutely necessary to go to the San Juan River to see the moon reflected in the water.

[6] P. Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians*, p. 33. Cf. C. G. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 118; D. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 171; J. W. Powell, "Sketch of the Mythology of the North American Indians," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 25; Mrs. Eastman mentions Unk-to-be, as the 'god of waters' among the Dakota (M. Eastman, *Dahcotah; Life and Legends of the Sioux*, pp. 160 sq.). In Prince Wied's version of the Mandan myth the toad in the moon is the wife of the Old Woman's first son (Maxmilian zu Wied-Neuwied, *Reise in das Inerre Nord-Amerikas*, vol. ii, p. 150).

[7] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Algic Researches*, vol. ii, p. 214; Le Jeune, in *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. x, p. 130 (the Dark god is there Tawiscara, and flint stones bear the same name); P. J. de Smet, *Oregon Missions*, p. 347; A. G. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians*, p. 74; S. D. Peet, "Mythology of the Menominees," *The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, xxxi, p. 10. According to Mr. Hewitt, Tawiskara was "an imaginary man-being to whom was attributed the function of making

wolf, and called by the eastern Algonkins Malsum, the Wolf.[1] He, with his mother, ruled over the ghosts of the dead, and was the 'Lord of Death,' while his brother ruled over the living, and was therefore the 'Lord of Life.'[2] In some versions the antagonist whom the White Manitu is engaged in fighting to revenge his mother's death, is not his brother, but his father, which in the cycle of successive lunar changes amounts to the same thing. The White Manitu, Ioskeha, was indeed guilty of violating his own mother, in the form of a horned manitu.[3] He thus became her husband, and the father of himself and his twin brother. "They call this succession of one to the other 'achitescamtoneth,' meaning that they pass reciprocally to each other's places."[4] Ioskeha drives his father to the very edge of the world; but the Dark Manitu then turns round and says: "Hold, my son, you know my power, and that it is impossible to kill me."[5] The contest is doubtless analogous to that which Naqayezgami, among the Navahos, waged against 'Old Age.' He tried to destroy 'Old Age,' hoping, like the Polynesian Maui, to abolish death, but eventually was induced to spare him.[6] It is a characteristic of lunar gods that, although they are engaged in mortal combat, they are never killed, or their death is only temporary. In his contest with his brother, the Algonkin Manitu is killed and temporarily dies, but comes to life again after a while.[7] The god Ioskeha, "when he is old, becomes young again in a moment, and is transformed into a young man of twenty-five or thirty, and thus he never dies and remains immortal, although he is somewhat subject to corporal infirmities like ourselves."[8] He is, among the Mandan, at times

and controlling the activities and phenomena of winter. He was the Winter God, the Ice King, since his distinctive character is clearly defined in terms of the activities and phenomena of nature peculiar to this season" (J. N. B. Hewitt, art. "Tawiskaron," in *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. ii, p. 708). It is difficult to see how the fertilising of the earth and the production of fruit-trees are characteristic of the activities and phenomena of winter, and attributes of an Ice-King. It is in general misleading to accept 'departmental' deities at their face value; it is doubly dangerous to create them.

[1] C. G. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 15.

[2] *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. viii, p. 118; D. Cusick, *Sketch of the Ancient History of the Six Nations*, in W. M. Beauchamp, *The Iroquois Trail*, p. 5; S. D. Peet, "Mythology of the Menominees," *The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, xxxi, pp. 10 sq.

[3] Father Brébeuf, in *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. x, p. 134. The 'Old Woman,' Aataentsic, is sometimes regarded as the wife, instead of the mother, or 'grandmother,' of the great manitu (Le Jeune, in *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. vi, p. 172).

[4] Le Jeune, *ibid.*, vol. vi, p. 160.

[5] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Algic Researches*, vol. i, pp. 135 sqq.

[6] W. Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 848.

[7] C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England*, pp. 106 sq.

[8] G. Sagard Théodat, *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons*, p. 160.

a young child and at others an old man.[1] The Great Manitu was a serpent-god. The Chippewa represented him as brandishing a rattlesnake,[2] and the Algonkin as clothed in a garment of serpents.[3] The mythic great serpent, Chepitchcalm, was supposed to have horns on his head;[4] these appear to be the same as the magic horns of the Great Manitu which nothing could resist, and with which he transfixed the toad.[5]

Of the Great Manitu, under his various names and appellations, a multitude of stories and adventures are related in which he appears as a good-natured Indian, playing tricks and practical jokes. He is, in that form, a 'culture hero,' and teaches men all the arts they know, but above all the arts of magic and sorcery; he is the Chief of the Manitus, the Master of Medicine-men.[6] But the Great Manitu is at the same time not only the 'Grandfather' of mankind, and the creator of the world, but the ruler of human destinies. Every act and event of life is subject to his power and control. "They hold that without Ioskeha their kettles would not boil." The luck of the hunter and of the warrior, the fertility of the soil are subject to his will. "It is Ioskeha who gives them the wheat they eat, it is he who makes it grow and brings it to maturity. If they see their fields verdant in the spring, if they reap a good and abundant harvest, if their cabins are crammed with ears of corn, they owe it to Ioskeha."[7] The White Manitu is thus, among other things, a 'vegetation god.'

One of his most familiar forms is the totemic or pseudo-totemic one of the Great Hare or Rabbit, Michabo, Manibozho, Messou, or Atahocan. The mythical Hare plays the same conspicuous part in North American folklore as in Africa, and presents the same character as the 'culture heroes' with whom he is interchangeable in the stories. The Great Hare "seems half wizard, half a simpleton. He is full of pranks and wiles, but often at a loss for a meal."[8] Nevertheless "the Great Hare is the Chief

[1] Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-Amerikas*, vol. ii, p. 149.

[2] *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, p. 351.

[3] D. Cusick, *Sketch of the Ancient History of the Six Nations*, in W. M. Beauchamp, *The Iroquois Trail*, p. 7.

[4] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Algic Researches*, vol. i, p. 180. Michabo is represented as fighting the Great Serpent (*loc. cit.*, L. H. Morgan, *The League of the Iroquois*, p. 159); but the change of parts is common in North American, as in all mythologies (cf. D. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, pp. 63 sq.).

[5] See above, p. 731. Cf. C. G. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 239.

[6] C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England*, pp. 83 sqq., 94 sqq.

[7] Father Brébeuf, in *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. x, pp. 136 sqq.

[8] D. G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 162.

God" ;[1] he is the Great Manitu, the 'Great Spirit' of the Christianised version of North American Indian religion. In one form of the cosmological myth the Great Hare, instead of avenging his mother's death, eats her. "However, he did not touch the child which she still bore in her womb." The child, the dwarf Tchakabeck, in turn kills the Hare who ate his mother.[2] In a Menomini version the two brothers are the Rabbit (Manibush) and the Wolf (Mukwa) who, instead of always fighting, live together in concord and are devotedly affectionate towards one another. One day the Wolf, while crossing a frozen stream, got drowned. "Manibush mourned for him for four days. On the fifth day his brother appeared to him, or rather the shade of his brother, and said: 'My fate shall be the fate of all our friends. They will die, but after four days they will return again.'"[3] The Lenape, who regard themselves as descended from the Wolf, represent in their mysteries the resurrection of the god. One of their number is stripped and buried in a grave. The others, dressed as wolves, dance round the grave, and finally dig the dead man out and place a bow and arrow in his hands.[4]

One of the most familiar exploits of the Great Manitu bears a striking resemblance to that which is conspicuous in the myths of the Melanesian and Polynesian divinities; it is related how he snared the sun. According to one version, the Manitu having put on for the first time a beautiful fur-coat, the gift of his sister, the garment got scorched by the sun and completely spoiled. This so incensed the Manitu that, proceeding to the end of the earth, at the spot where the sun passed when he was setting, he caught the luminary in a snare, and the poor sun howled in great distress for help. The Manitu consented, however, to spare him. "For your cruelty I have punished you," he said, "now you may go."[5] The exploit is related in a slightly different form by the Hurons, who set it down to Tchakabeck, the mighty dwarf who accompanied by his sister, climbed to heaven by means of a tree which he caused to grow to the required height. Having landed in the heavenly kingdom and set his snares in order to procure a meal, he, when later he went to inspect them, found the sun caught in one of them.[6] The Ojibwa tell the adventure in reference to

[1] *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. xxxiv, p. 12; N. Perrot, *Mémoire sur les moeurs, coutumes et religion des sauvages de l'Amérique septentrionale*, p. 3.

[2] Le Jeune, in *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. xii, p. 32.

[3] S. D. Peet, "Mythology of the Menominees," *The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, xxxi, p. 10.

[4] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. v, p. 683.

[5] W. J. Hoffman, "The Mnenomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 239 sqq.

[6] *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. xii, p. 34.

Hiawatha, one of their names for the Great Manitu.[1] The Omaha relate the noosing of the sun as having been achieved by the Great Hare in vexation at finding that the sun had got up before him.[2] The contest and enmity between the Great Hare and the sun is the theme of various tales and myths. The Great Hare, or Rabbit, having got his back scorched and blistered by the heat of the sun, vowed vengeance on him and determined to kill him. He set off in pursuit armed with a magic ball. As a result of the long struggle which ensued, the sun fell down on the earth and set everything on fire. The Hare himself was burnt in the general conflagration so that his limbs and body were completely consumed and he was reduced, like some Melanesian gods we have come upon, to nothing but a head which rolled over the world from east to west.[3] His eyes struck against a rock, and such a flood of tears gushed out of them that a universal deluge resulted which extinguished the conflagration.[4] The Great Hare dwells with his 'grandmother,' the Moon;[5] he is the provider of all waters,[6] the master of the winds,[7] the brother of the snow.[8]

He has frequently been stated, even in the oldest documents, to be the sun.[9] But it is difficult to see how that can be. One of the old Jesuit missionaries who did not trouble himself about theories concerning the religion of the natives, beyond regarding it as an inspiration of the devil, says that the heathen Indians worshipped nothing except the Moon and the Wolf.[10] The men, at their religious festivals, danced the 'dance of the moon'; they danced all night, and at daybreak "fearing the daylight, they

[1] H. R. Schoolcraft, *The Myth of Hiawatha*, pp. 239 sqq.

[2] J. O. Dorsey, *The Ɂegiha Language* (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. vi), pp. 14 sq.

[3] The head-god, called 'Great Head,' recurs in Iroquois mythology. See S. M. Beauchamp, *The Iroquois Trail*, pp. 128 sq. The Bil-qula Indians of British Columbia likewise have a god who consists of a head only. He was begot by his dead father, and his mother gave birth to him a fortnight later (F. Boas, "Sagen der Indianer an der Nordwest-Küste Americas," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 1895, p. 190).

[4] J. W. Powell, "Sketch of the Mythology of the North American Indians," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 52 sqq.

[5] J. O. Dorsey, "Nanibozhu in Siouan Mythology," *The Journal of American Folk-Lore*, v, p. 293.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 134, 136.

[7] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. i, pp. 318 sq.; A. F. Chamberlain, "Nanibozhu amongst Algonkian Tribes," *The Journal of American Folk-Lore*, iv, pp. 206 sq.

[8] *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. li, pp. 33 sqq.

[9] *Ibid.*, vol. x, p. 132.

[10] *Ibid.* (Relation of 1671–72), vol. lvi, p. 113.

stop." [1] When a distinguished person was sick they danced to the moon to obtain his recovery.[2] The Déné tribes knew of no other supernatural power than the moon, of which they stood in great fear, and which they invoked for success in their hunting. Their only religious festival was their "Feast for the Renewal of the Moon," at which they sacrificed a reindeer to the moon, setting up a cross over its bones.[3]

The Great Manitu was the instructor in all magic arts and the initiator into 'secret societies.' The eastern Algonkins relate how a youth coming to Guloskap to obtain magic power, the Manitu "after he had by a merry trick covered him with filth and put him to great shame, took him to the river, and after washing him clean and combing his hair gave him a change of raiment and a hair string of exceeding great magic virtue, since when he had bound it on he became a Mikumwess, having all the power of the elfin-world. And also because he desired to excel in singing and music, the Master gave him a small pipe, and it was that which charmed all living beings, and then singing a song bade him join with him." [4] The great 'Medewiwin' society of the Ojibwa was founded by Minabozho, the Great Hare. The ceremonials were intended to protect the Indians from sickness and death. "Indian genesis and cosmogony and the ritual of initiation into the society of the 'Mide' constitute what is to them a religion ever more powerful and impressive than the Christian religion is to the average civilised man." [5]

The fundamental conceptions of cosmic religion were the same throughout North America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Among the tribes of California the two moon-gods were called Wiyot (Luiseños, Shoshones), and Chinegchinick or Waklaut, that is, the Frog. They had once lived on the earth and were the founders of the institutions of the Indians and of their religious associations, and had ascended into heaven in consequence of dissensions as to whether men should change their skins and live for ever, or should die. On the advice of the lizards it was decided that men should die. In consequence of the machinations and magic practices of the Frog and the lizards, Wiyot fell sick, but assured his people that he would never die. "While Wiyot was

[1] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. iv, pp. 463 sq.

[2] *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. lii, p. 201.

[3] E. Petitot, *Dictionnaire de la langue Déné-Dindjié*, p. 33; Id., "Les Déné-Dindjiés," *Congrès international des Américanistes*, Ire Session (Nancy, 1875), vol. i, p. 36.

[4] C. G. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 83.

[5] W. J. Hoffman, "The Midē'wiwin or 'Grand Medicine Society' of the Ojibwa," *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 166 sqq., 175, 151.

alive they called him Wiyot; now he has two names, Maita, the Moon, and Wiyot."[1] The opponent of Wiyot is also represented as the Cojote, who eats Wiyot when the latter is sick. The Cojote, who is equivalent to the Wolf of the eastern tribes, plays a prominent part in the stories of the Californian Indians, and is by no means represented as a purely maleficent being, but appears as a mischievous 'culture hero' closely resembling the Micmac Gluskap. Among the Wishosh Indians, Gatswokwire, the personage corresponding to the Cojote, was called upon by women in labour. He was the fertilising moon-god and is represented as causing women to fall pregnant. He could make people young again by sneezing; and he himself, like the Menomini Wolf, was drowned and came to life again. The god of generation and resurrection is thus the dark god. It was the bright god, Gudatrigakwitl, who said: "I want people to live so that an old man may be a boy again, over and over again."[2] The Indians of California thus associated their lives with the moon, and danced to it to keep it in health, considering that their existence depended upon its recovery and resurrection.[3] Among the Apaches, again, we come upon the same fundamental myth as among the Algonkin of Canada. The supreme being is one of twins who were conceived by their mother through a ray of moonlight. He is engaged in a combat with his brother, who is the Frog that sucks in everything.[4]

With the Pueblo Indians, myths represented in elaborate dramatic rituals have become so complex and overburdened with detail that it is no easy matter to discern the leading ideas. But from the multitude of tribal divine beings emerge as of supreme rank the Goddess of Fertility, or 'Mother of Germs,' and her son the

[1] A. L. Kroeber, "The Myths of the Mission Indians of California," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xix, pp. 310 sqq.; Id., "Indian Myths of South Central California," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. iv, No. 4, p. 231; C. G. Du Bois, "Mythology of the Mission Indians," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xvii, p. 185.

[2] A. L. Kroeber, "Wishosh Myths," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xviii, pp. 95 sqq. For the corresponding myths of the northern Maidu Indians, see R. B. Dixon, "The Myths of the Maidu," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, xvii, Part ii, pp. 33 sqq.

[3] G. Boscana, in A. Robinson, *Life in California*, pp. 298 sq.

[4] J. Mooney, "The Jicarilla Genesis," *The American Anthropologist*, xi, pp. 201 sq. The myth is given in a confused way by Mr. Mooney's informant. One of the twins is supposed to be the result of his mother's fecundation by the sun and the other by the moon, and the bright twin is accordingly called the 'sun-boy.' But it is fairly evident that this is but a confused modification of the original myth in which both twins are the moon.

Serpent God. "Muyenwuth, the Goddess of Germs," says Mr. Fewkes, the highest authority on the mythology of these tribes, "is preeminently the divinity of the underworld, and has many remarkable similarities to the Nahuatl Micthantecudi or his female companion Mictlancihuatl. The name is very similar to that of the Moon. This was the ruler of the world of shades visited by Tiyo, the snake hero." [1] The only religious rites of the Seri Indians with which we are acquainted are the dances which they perform in the moonlight.[2]

It is probable that among some of the agricultural tribes with whom the yearly seasonal changes acquired a paramount importance, the chief Manitu came to be assimilated in a loose manner to the sun. It is also exceedingly likely that many of our reports are coloured by the European assumption that the heavenly body 'worshipped' by the Indians must be the sun, and by the ready assent almost invariably given by uncultured peoples to such suggestions. A Cheyenne Indian stated that the 'culture hero' of his tribe, Heammawihio, was both the sun and the moon.[3] He must obviously have been originally either the one or the other; and the reader can form his own conclusion as to which he is the more likely to have been. The myths from which our information is derived are, as in all uncultured societies, the surviving fragments of traditions which date from the infancy of the human race. "When it is borne in mind," observes Leland, "that the most ancient and mythic of these legends have been taken down from the trembling memories of old squaws who never understood their inner meaning, or from ordinary 'senaps' who had not thought of them since boyhood, it will be seen that the preservation of a mass of prose poems equal in bulk to the Kalevala or Heldebuch is indeed almost miraculous." [4] The only instance of a regular cult of the sun in North America is the sun-cult of the Natchez of the lower Mississippi; but this was of a definitely political character, and was directly connected with the claims to supremacy of a clan, the Sun-clan, which constituted the nearest approach to monarchical institutions found in North America, and was, it appears, imported from Central America.[5]

[1] J. W. Fewkes, "Tusayan Katcinas," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 259. Cf. Id., "The Snake Ceremonial at Walpi," *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, iv, p. 106 sqq.

[2] C. A. Papaken, *Reise, Errinerungen und Abenteuren aus den neuen Welt*, p. 99, cited by W. J. McGee, "The Seri Indians," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 101.

[3] G. B. Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, vol. ii, p. 89.

[4] C. G. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 13.

[5] D. G. Brinton, *The Myths of the New World*, p. 239.

Cosmic Religion in Central and South America.

The solar character imparted to the various deities of the ancient Mexicans was also the result of the claims of aristocratic ruling and priestly classes. It is the thinnest of veneers laid over traditions and beliefs which had reference to the moon as the source of all magical powers and fertility and as the progenitor of the human race. All the gods of the Mexican tribes have been recognised by scholars as being originally moon-gods. The great god Tezcatlipoca, who answered most closely to the European conception of a Supreme Being, and whom the missionaries recognised as the true god ignorantly worshipped by the heathens, and identified with Jesus Christ,[1] " was a sorcerer who roamed in the night, and certainly developed from the conception of the new, waxing moon." [2] Quetzal-coatl, the ' Bird-Serpent,' who is more conspicuous in Toltec and Aztec myth, has also been recognised as a moon-god. He was the inventor of the calendar. He was a white god who was overcome by the god of darkness, Tezcatlipoca. A magic draught caused him to become a child again when he was old.[3] " The moon," says Dr. Seler, " held a paramount position in the beliefs and conceptions as also in the cult of the ancient Mexican and Central American races." [4] On the other hand, the names ascribed to the sun show that, as is usual in primitive cosmologies, it was originally regarded as feminine and the wife of the moon-god.[5] The assimilation of the primitive gods to the sun was not by any means generally accepted by the people ; the Xaltoca continued to worship the moon as the supreme deity.[6]

The only other instance of a sun-cult on the American continent is that which was established by the Incas of Peru, who, like the

[1] C. A. Robelo, *Diccionario di mitologia Nahua*, p. 547.

[2] E. Seler, in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. viii, p. 614. Cf. C. A. Robelo, *op. cit.*, p. 546 ; A. Chavero, " Los dioses astronomicos de los antiguos Mexicanos," *Anales del Museo Nacional*, v, p. 367. The name Tezcatlipoca means " the dark mirror." He would seem to be the dark, not the new moon.

[3] B. de Sahagun, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, vol. i, p. 246 ; J. de Torquemada, *Veinte y unos libros rituales y monarquia indiana*, lib. vii, cap. 24 ; J. Roman y Zamora, *Republicas de Indias, idolatrias y gobierno en Mexico y Peru*, vol. i, p. 57 ; C. A. Robelo, *op. cit.*, p. 483 ; E. Seler, " Die Sage von Quetzalcouatl," *Verhandlungen des XVI internationales Amerikanisten-Kongresses*, pp. 129 sqq.

[4] E. Seler, " Einiges über die natürliche Grundlage mexikanischer Mythen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxix, p. 41.

[5] Id., " Die Sage von Quetzalcouatl," p. 140.

[6] B. de Sahagun, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 250.

Natchez, set up the sun-god, whom they claimed as their ancestor, as their dynastic deity. "They made the people believe and fear them, and hold them to be more than men, even worshipping them as gods," says Sarmiento; "thus they introduced the religion that suited them."[1] The cult was imposed, often by force of arms, upon the populations. The institution of the cult of the Sun is ascribed to the Inca Pachacuti. He is said to have demanded of the various conquered tribes an account of their local gods, whom, as they were described to him, he ridiculed. He, however, "gave them permission to continue to worship their gods, on condition that they should recognise the Sun as supreme god," and he compelled them to build temples of the Sun in their various districts.[2] That forcible reform met in general with either obstinate resistance or but nominal conformity. "Sun-worship, so-called, was by no means general, but limited to the Incas of Cuzco."[3] The ancient gods of the people, whose worship appears to have continued as the popular religion, had no reference to the official mythology, which seems to have been constructed 'en bloc.' "Throughout the whole of this country, of which the Incas have gained possession, as large as it is," says Santa Clara, "all the Indians that dwell therein worship as their chief deities two gods, whom they call Cons and Pachacama."[4] "It is said that they held the opinion that the god (Cons) has a son, who was very wicked, and contradicted his father in everything; for the father made men good, and the son made them bad; the father made mountains, and the son flattened them down and converted plains into mountains. In short, there was nothing good which the Lord's son did not spoil, wherefore the father cast him into the sea in order that he might die an evil death. But he never died."[5] The deity was in all likelihood the same as that which was worshipped at Tauca in Conchucos, where a large temple dedicated to him was the centre of worship throughout northern Peru, and was visited as a sort of native Mecca by people from all parts of the country. The god was there called Cati-quilla, or Apu-Cati-quilla, that is to say, Lord of the Moon. The temple of the too popular moon-god was completely destroyed by the Incas.[6]

[1] P. Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, p. 44.

[2] F. Bartolomeo de las Casas, *De las antiguas gentes del Peru*, pp. 57 sq., 61 sq. Cf. J. Roman y Zamora, *Republicas de Indias, idolatria y gobierno en Mexico y Peru*, vol. i, pp. 67 sq.

[3] A. F. Bandelier, *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, p. 150.

[4] P. Gutierrez de Santa Clara *Historia de las guerras civiles del Peru (1544–1548) y de otros sucesos de las Indias*, vol. ii, p. 486; cf., pp. 493 sq.

[5] J. Roman y Zamora, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 66. Cf. F. Bartolomeo de las Casas, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 sq.

[6] J. de Arriaga, *Extirpación de la idolatria del Piru*, pp. 23 sq.; Cristoval

They, however, established an association with the ancient deities by claiming the moon, Mama-quilla, as their mother, and by associating her cult with that of the sun-god in his temple of Cuzco.[1] The Indians of Peru still pray "to the great moon that it may give them strength."[2] In the southern Chilian provinces of the realm, in spite of Inca influence, "there is not a trace of sun-worship"; and "the strange circumstance has attracted attention that they bestowed more honour on the moon than on the sun." The ancient moon-deity, Anchimalguen, is even at the present day regarded with extreme awe by the Araucanians, and is said to appear to them at the hour of death.[3]

The Caribbean races of the Antilles, observes an old traveller, "esteem the moon more than the sun."[4] Their supreme deity is, like those of the North American Indians, a dual one, consisting of two gods, Icheiri, who is well-disposed, and Maboya, who is malevolent. Maboya is in the habit of eating the moon. When the moon is thus in danger, the Caribs are under the obligation of dancing all night, "without intermitting their exertions in consequence of any necessity whatsoever."[5]

The moon was beyond doubt the chief cosmic object of religious conceptions throughout South America. Jurupari is mentioned as the supreme being from Maranhão to the Andes and from the Amazon to the River Plate. That the serpent-god who was the cause of women's menstruation was the deity of the moon, is fairly manifest. In order to remove any doubt we are told that Jurupari was in the habit of swallowing the moon. In other words he was the dark-moon god of South American cosmology.[6] His

de Molina, *Fabulas y Ritos de los Incas*, vol. i, p. 26; Antonio de la Calancha, *Chronica moralizada den Orden de S. Augustin en el Peru*, p. 471; P. Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, pp. 165 sq.

[1] A. F. Bandelier, *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, p. 278.

[2] W. Smythe and F. Lowe, *Narrative of a Journey from Lima to Para*, p. 230.

[3] T. Guevara, *Historia de la civilización de Araucania*, vol. i, pp. 227, 302.

[4] De la Borde, *Voyage qui contient une relation exacte des Caraïbes*, p. 526.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 523, 526 sqq.; R. P. du Tertre, *Histoire générales des Antilles*, vol. ii, pp. 365, 371.

[6] A. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, pp. 500 sq. Cf. H. A. Coudreau, *La France équinoxiale*, vol. ii, pp. 184 sqq.; E. Stradelli, "Leggenda di Jurupari," *Bolletino della Società geografica italiana*, 1890, pp. 659 sqq., 798 sqq.; J. V. Couto de Magalhães, *O Selvagem*, p. 126; F. A. de Varnhagen, *Historia geral do Brasil*, vol. i, p. 124; Yves d'Evreux, *Voyage au nord du Brésil*, p. 307; J. B. Spix and C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Reise nach Brasiliens*, vol. iii, p. 1108. According to Coudreau the name Jurupari signifies "born from the mouth of a river." But the etymology given by Dr. Couto de Magalhães, according to whom the name means the "all-swallower," appears more probable.

counterpart, the bright and beneficent moon-god, was Tupan, or Tupanan, who was represented as horned.[1] In this instance the dreaded dark god, as is usual with non-agricultural peoples, occupied a more prominent place than the bright and beneficent god.[2] With the tradition of the former prominence of women in the cult of Jurupari, which is probably the foundation of the legend of the South American Amazons, is associated a sacred lake by which they were said to perform their rites on full-moon nights, and which was called the "Mirror of the Moon." From thence they derived certain highly valued amulets of green jade, called 'muiraquitan,' that is, 'frog-stones'; they were said to be given to the women at the 'Mirror of the Moon,' by the 'Mother of Frogs.'[3]

The fullest account which we possess of the mythological conceptions of South American forest tribes is due to Dr. Preuss, who has industriously collected the mythical stories of the Huitoto tribes of the Upper Amazon valley. They present the same type of myths as we have found throughout North America. The two divine personages are the sons of the Toad-woman,[4] who dies in giving birth to the moon-child, who issues from the dead body of his mother.[5] The father of the twins has been devoured by a serpent,[6] or, according to other versions, by a red jaguar;[7] and they fight to avenge their father's death.[8] The stories about the skin-sloughing chief, and the skin-sloughing moon have already been noted.[9] The lunar deity is sometimes represented as a child, sometimes as a corpse.[10] At times it is said to consist of a head only, or of a face,[11] which is liable to lose one of its eyes.[12] The moon is frequently represented by a tree,[13] or by a stone.[14] All fertility is regarded as being derived from the moon.[15] Similar conceptions are current among the Tupi and Guarani tribes, who sometimes refer to the two brothers by the names of the two main subdivisions of their race. They set out in search of a certain magic parrot which was required in order to obtain the hand of the maiden of Marica. Tupi, however, goes to sleep for three days, and is thereupon attacked by his

[1] J. B. Spix and C. F. Ph. von Martius, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 1257.
[2] Cf. *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 379.
[3] I. B. de Moura-Para, "Sur le progrès de l'Amazonie et sur les Indiens," *Verhandlungen des XVI internationales Amerikanisten-Kongress*, vol. i, pp. 553 sqq.
[4] K. T. Preuss, *Religion und Mythologie der Uitoto*, vol. i, pp. 51, 75.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 104, 108, 120.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 119.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 122.
[9] See above, pp. 642, 652.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 82, 120.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 73, 119.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 55.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 119.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

brother Guarani.[1] Among all Tupi-Guarani tribes the moon was regarded as the tribal ancestor, and their prayers and ceremonies were addressed directly to the luminary.[2] "On the first three or four nights of the new moon the Indians, both men and women, come out crying with discordant voices, and playing flutes, drums, rattles, all those musical instruments sounding quite out of tune and producing an incredible discord. The intention of this ceremony," says Father Guevara, "is to show their gratitude to the moon for its light, which favours their nocturnal marches in wartime."[3] It may, however, be doubted whether the good Father understood the significance of the rites which he witnessed. The French naturalist De Castelnau has given us a vivid description of the moon festivals of the Tocantin Indians, which bore a strong resemblance to the festivals celebrated by some of our own barbarian ancestors. During the preceding days the warriors of the surrounding districts gathered at the place of meeting, decked in their most magnificent apparel, their bodies being painted red and black and adorned with armlets and garters of parrot's feathers. Each carried his weapons. A great fire was lit and, as the full-moon rose, the warriors lined up on one side of the fire and began a solemn dance. On the other side corresponding rows of women, completely naked, also danced and chanted. A man painted scarlet danced vigorously between the two rows, jumping over the fire at intervals. He bore a rattle, which he waved over the women. As the moon rose to its full height, the dancing and chanting assumed greater vigour. Suddenly an old woman appeared, and with her arms uplifted uttered mysterious words in a harsh voice; slowly she walked three times round the fire and the groups of dancers, pronouncing her spells, then disappeared. A long line of people now advanced, each person holding one end of a hammock in which lay a new-born infant whose cries might be heard. The father and mother came to offer it to the moon. The dance continued without interruption all night; when a woman fell down exhausted she was picked up by her companions and resumed the dance. As soon as the moon sank beneath the horizon, the proceedings suddenly ended. In a moment the company was dispersed and all was silence.[4] Similar ceremonies are reported as being celebrated by the Uaupes in honour of Jurupari.[5]

[1] M. and S. Seljan, "Tupi und Guarani, ein theo-kosmogonische Indianer Legend," *Globus*, xlvii, pp. 160 sq.

[2] F. J. de Santa-Anna Néry, *Folk-lore Brésilien*, p. 252.

[3] J. Guevara, *Historia del Paraguay*, vol. ii, p. 160.

[4] F. de Castelnau, *Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud*, vol. ii, pp. 29 sqq.

[5] E. Stradelli, "L'Uaupes e gli Uaupes," *Bolletino della società geografica italiana*, ser. iii, iii, p. 449.

The religious conceptions of the Tapuja races and the various tribes of the Gran Chaco agreed in every respect with those of the Tupi tribes. The moon holds the chief place in the theology of the Botocudos, and is regarded as the power that determines their fate.[1] The only religious rites that have been observed among the Chiquitos are addressed to the moon, which they regard as their creator.[2] The Guaycurus worshipped the moon as their chief deity, and, like other tribes, performed special religious ceremonies at the new moon.[3] The Abipones worshipped mostly the moon, which, like the Tupis, they called their 'Grandfather.'[4] Among the Matacos, the cult of the heavenly bodies, which is specially observed by the women, has reference to the moon. "At the rising of the moon, the women come out of their huts, and, holding each other by the hands, dance rapidly round in a ring, jumping and crying out in honour of the silvery planet."[5]

The Coroados pay no attention to the sun, but only to the moon, whence, they consider, all good and evil proceed.[6] Among the western tribes of the Bakairi the moon is likewise the Lord and tribal ancestor. The chief deity of other tribes of the same region is said to be the night, and dies at dawn.[7]

The cosmic religion of the Patagonians is distinguished "by an absence of any trace of sun-worship, although the new moon is saluted, the respectful gestures being accompanied by low muttered words."[8] At the southern extremity of the American continent we come again upon myths essentially identical with those of the tribes of Canada. The beneficent spirit or culture-hero Ellal was cut out of the dead body of his mother, whom his father, the evil spirit, had killed. As her body was cut open all the waters of the world flowed from it. The evil god, who is known by various names, Keronkenken, Huendaunke, Maipe, Azhjehen, sought to devour Ellal, who, however, was protected by the Worm, and dwelt for a time in the latter's abode under the earth, until he grew strong enough to fight his father. Ellal married "the daughter of the sun," or more probably the sun

[1] F. Denis, *Brésil*, p. 221.

[2] J. P. Fernandez, *Relación historial de las misiones de los Indios que llaman Chiquitos*, p. 39.

[3] G. A. Colini, in G. Boggiani, *Viaggi di un artista nell' America meridionale. I Caduvei*, p. 298.

[4] F. Denis, *Brésil*, p. 221; M. Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones*, vol. i, p. 89.

[5] A. Pelleschi, *Eight Months on the Gran Chaco*, p. 88.

[6] J. B. Spix and C. F. Ph. Martius, *Travels in Brazil*, vol. ii, p. 243.

[7] K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens*, pp. 365 sqq., 371.

[8] G. C. Musters, *At Home with the Patagonians*, p. 179. Cf. Id., "On the Races of Patagonia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ii, p. 233.

herself.[1] According to Father Falkner the evil god, to whom most of the worship of the Patagonians is directed, is called 'the Wanderer.'[2]

Although few details are available concerning the religious conceptions of the Fuegians, there can be little doubt that they are similar to those of other South American peoples. The deity which presides over their 'kina' rites, which according to their tradition were at one time celebrated by the women, is 'the Lord of the women,' that is to say, the Moon. We are told that the Fuegians worship the moon, and dance all night in his light.[3] "We remarked," says an old traveller in Tierra de Fuego, "that the people have a great veneration for the moon; when it rises and they behold it, they make a kind of prostration, covering their eyes with their hands and making many gestures indicating great submission."[4]

Cosmic Religious Conceptions in Africa.

The cosmic religious conceptions of the primitive races of South Africa, the Bushmen and Hottentots, who for our present purpose may be regarded as identical, are strikingly similar to those of Oceania and America. They have reference to two opposed and contrasted beings, one of whom is regarded as on the whole well-disposed and the other as the source of all their misfortunes, though neither is purely good or purely bad. The former is variously known as Tsui-goab, or Tsuni-goam, or as Heitsi-eibib, and also as Khub or Khab, that is to say, the Lord, or the moon, the words for the two being practically identical. His opponent is called Gannam, that is, 'the Destroyer,' or Kaggan, which is the name of the Mantis insect. The reason why the latter is assimilated to the destroying god is that they are both credited with devouring everything, and each is accordingly spoken of as 'the all-devourer.'[5] There is in this instance no question about the identification of those deities with the moon. "The moon is identical with Tsui-goab

[1] R. Lista, *Los Indios Tehuelches*, pp. 16 sqq., 22 sqq., 32.

[2] T. Falkner, *A Description of Patagonia*, pp. 115 sq.

[3] A. Cojazzi, *Los Indios del Arquipelago Fueguino*, p. 24 sq.; C. Rabot, *La Terre de Feu*, p. 110; E. A. Holmberg, *Viaje al interior de Tierra de Fuego*, p. 58.

[4] M. G. Marcel, "Les Fuégiens à la fin du XVII[e] siècle d'après des documents français inédits," *Congrès international des Américanistes, Compte-rendu de la huitième session*, pp. 495 sq.

[5] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoi*, pp. 124, 127 sq., 130, 134; W. Schneider, *Die Religion der afrikanischen Naturvölker*, p. 51; W. H. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *The Mantis and his Friends*, pp. v sqq. Cf. P. Kolbe, *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, vol. i, pp. 416 sq.

as the 'Lord of Light and Life.'"[1] Gannam is also stated to be the moon. "They call the Lord Gounia," says Kolbe, "and they call the moon so, as their visible god."[2] Or, as Miss D. F. Bleek, who thinks that Kaggan, the Mantis, "is a sort of dream Bushman," prefers to put it, he "created the moon."[3] Gannam, or Kaggan's messenger is the Hare. Gannam is said to live on the one side, and Heitsi-eibib, or Tsuni-goam, on the other. Gannam, the "all-swallower," throws all Heitsi-eibib's people into a hole; but Heitsi-eibib, who is constantly fighting with him with varying fortunes, raises them again out of the hole.[4] Gannam also has the power of bringing people back to life.[5] "Heitsi-eibib died several times and came to life again." He assumes many different forms; sometimes he is large and handsome, at other times small and deformed.[6] One of his myths represents him as ravishing his mother periodically, and as becoming thereafter a little baby.[7] This, like the identical North American myth, probably means that he entered his mother's womb and was born again, and thus successfully achieved what the Polynesian Maui is said to have attempted.[8] "Of Tsui-Goab it is also said that, like the moon, he often dies and rises again."[9]

"The moon is considered to be a deity who promises men immortality."[10] The Bushmen beseech the moon to give them a new face, and pray to him, "that I may also resemble thee."[11] They call him the 'Great Chief,'[12] and 'Our Grandfather.'[13] The life of game animals is also regarded as depending upon the moon.[14]

All our accounts describe the moon-dances held by the Hottentot and Bushmen as their chief form of cult. Thus Kolbe reports that

[1] T. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

[2] P. Kolbe, *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, vol. i, p. 412. Cf. T. Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 125 sqq.

[3] D. F. Bleek, in W. H. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *The Mantis and his Friends*, Introduction, p. vi.

[4] T. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 70; cf. pp. 56, 61, 65 sq.

[5] D. F. Bleek, in W. H. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. vi.

[6] T. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 56. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[8] See above, pp. 657 sq. The worthy Theophilus Hahn, although recognising that the Hottentots identify their divine beings with the moon, thinks that this must be some "late" corruption, and is led by the above described attributes to the conclusion that "it will be now obvious that originally the words Gauna and Tsui-goa were intended for nothing else than to illustrate metaphorically the change of day and night," *op. cit.*, p. 126.

[9] T. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[11] W. H. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, p. 57.

[12] T. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 41; P. Kolbe, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 412.

[13] A. Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery*, vol. i, p. 167.

[14] W. H. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

" those dances and noises are religious honours and invocations to the moon. They assemble for the celebration of her worship at full and change constantly. No inclemency of the weather prevents them. And their behaviour at those times is indeed astonishing. They throw their bodies into a thousand different distortions, and make mouths and faces strangely ridiculous and horrid. Now they throw themselves flat on the ground, screaming out a strange unintelligible jargon. Then, jumping up on a sudden and stamping like mad (insomuch that they make the ground shake), they direct with open throats the following expressions, among others, to the moon : ' I salute you ; you are welcome. Grant us fodder for our cattle and milk in abundance.' These and other addresses to the moon they repeat over and over, accompanying them with dancing and clapping of hands." [1] " On the dying or disappearing of the moon, great anxiety prevails. One would almost believe that a great calamity has befallen a kraal, such is the disturbance on such occasions. I have seen the people moaning and crying as though suffering great pain. Those prepared for a hunting expedition, or already hunting in the field, will immediately return home, and postpone their undertaking." [2] Some of their rites were celebrated in caves, where " they offer some prayers. While doing this they have a very curious behaviour ; they turn their eyes towards the sky and one makes the sign of the cross over the other's forehead." [3] The exertions of the Bushmen were so violent during their religious dances that many dropped to the ground exhausted, covered with perspiration and with blood flowing from their nostrils. When a man thus fell down, the women danced backwards and forwards over his prostrate body, and placed upon it a cross made from two pieces of reed.[4] The voluntary or natural collapse of the dancers was perhaps regarded as a state of temporary death, and the measures taken by the women who danced over their bodies may have been intended to promote their resurrection.

What are spoken of as ' dances ' are for the most part, in Africa as elsewhere, not so much festive entertainments as religious ceremonies or ' mysteries ' ; the terms for ' dance ' and for religious worship or prayer are in fact, with all African peoples, one and the same.[5] On the Gold Coast the general appellation for a priest is ' dancer.' [6] Dancing constitutes everywhere one of the most

[1] P. Kolbe, *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, vol. i, p. 96.

[2] T. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

[3] W. Vogel, *Zehen-Jährig Ost-Indianische Reise-Beschreibung*, p. 67.

[4] T. Arbousset and F. Daumas, *Relation d'un voyage d'exploration au nord-est de la colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, pp. 487 sq. Cf. T. Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 38, 42, 62, 88 sq.

[5] J. T. Brown, *The Bantu of Central South Africa* (MS.).

[6] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, pp. 122 sq.

conspicuous and constant features of lunar cults, and is, of course, equally prominent in all primitive religious rituals. But the connection of dancing with primitive moon rites is a particularly close one. The Iroquois state that the moon-goddess, Aataentsic, who, like most lunar deities, was also the mistress of the world of the dead, compelled the ghosts of the departed to dance before her, and that "her pleasure consists in making them dance."[1] In fact such dancing was not merely entertaining to the moon-goddess, but was absolutely essential to her health; the dancers "dance for the sake of her health, when she is sick," that is to say, when she is on the wane or not fully grown.[2] The Indians of California state that their religious dances were "to please the moon and prevent her waning."[3] The Caribs during an eclipse considered it imperative to go on dancing without intermission, for no matter what necessities, until the recovery of the luminary.[4] That strenuous persistence is commonly regarded as necessary. Thus in the Congo, in the rites of the women's societies, which probably have reference to the moon, it is incumbent on the votaries to continue dancing after their strength is quite exhausted.[5] It is, I think, likely that there is more in those arduous dances than a mere spontaneous manifestation of emotion and exuberant animal spirits. The act of dancing is probably regarded as a necessary operation of sympathetic magic whereby the growth or revival of the moon, when it is new or eclipsed, is promoted. The Sakai consider that it is necessary to render assistance to the moon by means of powerful magical measures, in the interlunary days, in order to restore it to health; and that unless those steps be taken the moon cannot be restored to life.[6] Dancing, being the means usually adopted, is probably looked upon as the most effective method of treatment. In Melanesia the restorative effects of dancing are evidently regarded as universally applicable, for the moon-gods themselves are represented as reversing the process, and as bringing human beings to life, after having fashioned them in wood, by dancing to them.[7] The universal prevalence of dances in religious ritual probably owes its origin not so much, as is commonly supposed, to a natural emotional reaction, as to the

[1] J. B. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. i, p. 401; cf. p. 245.

[2] Father Brébeuf, in *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. x, p. 150.

[3] C. G. Du Bois, "Mythology of the Mission Indians," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xvii, p. 185.

[4] J. B. du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Antilles*, vol. ii, p. 371.

[5] R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 253.

[6] I. H. N. Evans, *Studies in Religion, Folk-lore and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula*, pp. 207 sq.; Id., "Some Sakai Beliefs and Customs," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, lviii, p. 191.

[7] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 158.

precedent established by the important effects ascribed to dancing as a magical procedure in primitive lunar rites. In the cults of primitive Greece dancing in the moonlight was continued, as with savages, to the point of exhaustion.[1] The priests who had charge of a young god, the Kouretes, Korybantes, or, as they were generally called in Rome, the Salic, or 'Jumping,' priests, had also for their chief function to dance and jump; no doubt they believed that they thereby assisted the growth of the divine infant, who, there is reason to believe, was originally no other than the young moon.[2] There appears to be conclusive evidence that the great Olympic games were originally instituted not for the worthy purpose of promoting physical culture and encouraging the practice of athletic exercises among the Greek youths, but for the even more important object of assisting the regular course and activity of the heavenly bodies.[3] In a similar manner the Diegueños of southern California were in the habit, when the new moon appeared, of running foot-races, hoping by that means to speed up the progress of the luminary.[4] The Hurons did the same thing, and when a chief was sick they held "games in honour of the moon."[5] In Rome the circus was under the special patronage of the goddess Luna.[6] The Pawnees say that the games of ball which were popular with the North American Indians, were first instituted by Manibush, the Rabbit or Great Hare, "in memory of" his brother the Wolf, that is to say, the dying moon.[7] The tossing about of balls was apparently thought to be an even more realistic and effective means of promoting the recovery of the luminary than dancing; and it is thus possible that our own games of ball, such as cricket and football, owe their origin in the first instance to magic practices intended to assist the recovery of the moon.

The Bushmen women, besides dancing over the prostrate form of the unconscious votary, placed upon it the sign of the cross. This was probably thought to be as efficacious as their dancing in promoting his resurrection. The cross played an important part in the religious or superstitious practices of the Bushmen and Hottentots. Women made a point of keeping a wooden cross over their bed, especially when they were expecting their confinement,

[1] Euripides, *Bakchai*, 137, 683.

[2] F. M. Cornford, "The Origin of the Olympic Games," in J. Harrison, *Themis*, pp. 238 sqq.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 212 sqq.

[4] C. G. Du Bois, "The Mythology of the Diegueños," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, xiv, p. 183.

[5] *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. lii, p. 201.

[6] Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*, ix.

[7] S. D. Peet, "Mythology of the Menominees," *The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, xxxi, p. 11.

as the symbol was thought to be of great assistance to them at such a time.[1] Since they had no other deities than the moon and its representatives, it seems probable that the cross was with them an emblem of that deity, which is everywhere regarded as helping women in labour. The sign of the cross is one of universal distribution; and it is not merely a simple ornamental device, but is almost invariably regarded as possessing a deep religious or magical significance. "The use of the cross as a religious symbol in pre-Christian times and among many non-Christian peoples may probably be regarded as almost universal, and in very many cases it was connected with some form of nature worship."[2] The form of nature worship with which the sign of the cross appears to be more especially connected is primitive cosmic lunar religion. The cross seems to be uniformly regarded as symbolic of infinite extension in all directions and, by analogy, of eternal life. Thus in Polynesia the moon is said to have formerly occupied all space, and to have ruled over the day as well as the night, by extending her four limbs in all directions. The decayed position which she now occupies, being confined to the realm of night, is said to be a consequence of her having folded her previously extended limbs.[3] So again the Luiseño Indians of California represent the Great Mother with her limbs extended in the form of a cross.[4] The sign of the cross is stated by the North American Indians to indicate the four points of the compass, or the four winds.[5] In Egyptian pictures extension in space is usually indicated by the extended arms of the personage, and the same pictorial convention is observed in archaic Greek icons of divinities. The primitive significance of the cross as an emblem of universal extension was familiar to the ancients. Plato, in a passage which appears to be a paraphrase of Pythagorean doctrines, describes the Creator as forming the soul of the world in the shape of a cross, "splitting the whole along its entire length into two parts and joining them together across one another like the letter X."[6] "What is the aspect of the cross," says St. Jerome, "but the form of the world in its four directions."[7]

[1] T. Arbousset and F. Daumas, *Relation d'un voyage d'exploration au nord-est de la colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, p. 489.

[2] T. Macall Fallow, art. "Cross," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. vii, p. 506.

[3] J. White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. i, p. 37.

[4] A. L. Kroeber, "The Myths of the Mission Indians of California," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xix, p. 312.

[5] D. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, pp. 96 sq.

[6] Plato, *Timaeus*, xii. Justin suggests that Plato must have derived the idea from Moses (Justin, *Apologia*, i. 60).

[7] Jerome, *Commentarius in Marcum*, xv, in Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, vol. xxx, col. 638.

The four-limbed cross schematically representing the outstretched limbs of the moon-goddess Hina was worn as an amulet by the Maori (Fig. 3). The statues of Easter Island are marked with the sign of the cross,[1] as also the sacred stones of eastern New Guinea.[2] The Algonkins in order to protect themselves against evil spirits marked the trees in the neighbourhood of their camps with the sign of the cross;[3] and the cross, pointing to the four winds appointed by the Great Hare, is prominent among both the Algonkin and the Siouan tribes.[4] The Athapascan tribes erected a cross when offering a sacrifice to the new moon.[5] In Central America the cross, which occupied there almost as conspicuous and important a place as in any Catholic Christian country, was, as in North America, associated with the four winds and with the rain.[6] It was also identified with the 'Tree of Life,' prominent in Central American myth and regarded, as amongst the Algonkins and in

FIG. 3.—Green-stone Maori amulet (J. White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*, vol. iii, facing p. 96).

western Asia, as identical with the deity of fertility and vegetation. In the temple of Palenque the cross is represented on one of the two monumental altar slabs as a pure Latin cross, while on the corresponding slab it is assimilated to the Tree and the deity with extended arms who is identified with it.[7] The god was hence often represented on the cross; and the sacred victims who impersonated him in the human sacrifices were crucified.[8] The cross was in Mexico specially associated with Quetzacoatl.[9] In New Granada it was customary to place crosses on the graves of the dead.[10] The

[1] O. Zoeckler, *The Cross of Christ*, p. 22.

[2] C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 550.

[3] C. G. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 249.

[4] F. W. Putnam, "Symbolism in Ancient American Art," *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, for the 44th Meeting*, p. 321; W. H. Holmes, "Art in Shell of the Ancient Americans," *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 282 sqq.; Id., art. "Cross," in *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. i, pp. 365 sqq. (with bibliography).

[5] E. Petitot, "Les Déné-Dindjiés," *Congrès international des Américanistes*, 1e Session, vol. i, p. 36.

[6] E. Seler, *Codex Borgia*, vol. i, p. 191.

[7] Id., *Codex Féjerváry-Mayer*, pp. 16, 18.

[8] D. G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 95.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 95 sq.

[10] L. F. de Piedrahita, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, p. 17. Concerning the cross in Central America, see further, A. Chavero, *Mejico a través de los siglos*, vol. i, p. 401; A. Quiroga, *La Cruz en America*

cross was by the Araucanians specially connected with the cult served by the moon-priestesses and employed in their rain-making ceremonies.[1] The cross figured prominently in the shrines of the Great Goddess in China,[2] and was a current cult-symbol in Tibet.[3]

The cross was widespread as a religious symbol and magic talisman among the Semites and throughout Western Asia. It commonly occurs as a symbol of the god in the ancient inscriptions of southern Arabia.[4] It is common in the oldest remains of Elamite and Sumerian art and pictography.[5] A cross was usually worn as a pendant by Assyrian monarchs and noblemen (Fig. 6).

The Egyptian looped cross, or 'ankh,' which was the symbol of life and resurrection and is held by deities to the nostrils of their votaries, imparting to them renewed life, has received varied interpretations, as a key, a Nilometer, a knot, an uterus and appendages.[6] It appears to be in accordance with the conventions of Egyptian, as also of Western Asiatic pictography, that the 'loop' which forms its upper limb should be simply the schematic representation of the head of the deity with outstretched arms, or the disc or egg of the moon as a surrogate. Innumerable figures constructed according to that scheme appear on Semitic monuments, and one at least on the pyramid of Men-kau-ra[7] (Fig. 4). The

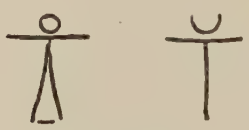

FIG. 4.—From the Pyramid of Men-kau-ra.

FIG. 5.—Pendant amulet from Tell-el-Amarna (P. E. Newberry and J. Garstang, *A Short History of Ancient Egypt*, facing p. 88).

sign of the moon-goddess Ishtar, or Aphrodite, is on the same principle a cross surmounted by the disc, ♀. The plain four-limbed cross was likewise an alternative of the 'ankh' among the Egyptians, and is found both as an amulet (Fig. 5) and in special association

A. Réville, *La religion du Mexique*, p. 91; J. Roman y Zamora, *Republicas de Indias, idolatria y gobierno en Mexico y Peru*, vol. i, pp. 58 sqq.; E. G. Squier, *The Serpent Symbol in America*, pp. 98 sqq.

[1] T. Guevara, "Folklore Araucano," *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, cxxvii, p. 562.

[2] W. H. Medhurst, *China, its State and Prospects*, p. 217.

[3] L. A. Waddell, *The Bhuddism of Thibet*, p. 389.

[4] A. Grohmann, "Göttersymbole und Symbolthiere in südarabische Denkmälen," *Denkschriften der kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.- historische Klasse*, xlix, pp. 46 sq.

[5] *Délégation en Perse*, vol. vi, pl. 91 sqq.; vol. xiii, pl. ii, viii, xli.

[6] E. A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. ii, pp. 364 sqq.

[7] O. Zoeclker, *The Cross of Christ*, p. 381. According to Macrobius (*Saturn* i. 20), the 'ankh' was the symbol of Osiris.

with the god Moon, hanging as a pendant from his neck (Fig. 7). A monumental cross is the central object in the shrine of the Kretan goddess,[1] and it takes the place of the crescent on the brow of the Ephesian Artemis.[2] The cross was in Western Asia usually

FIG. 6.—From a monolith stele of Samsi-Adad IV (A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, p. 99).

FIG. 7.—Aah, the god Moon, after R. V. Lanzone and E. A. Wallis Budge.

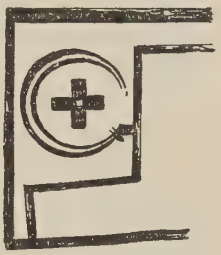

FIG. 8.—Vase fragment from the acropolis of Susa (*Délégation en Perse*, vol. xiii, p. 214, fig. 428).

associated with the lunar crescent, and was an alternative symbol of the moon (Figs. 8–12). Surmounted by the crescent, it was placed on the sacred stones of the moon-deity in Babylonia (Fig. 10). The cross and crescent appear again on Iberian coins (Fig. 11).

Demonstrations similar to those exhibited at the various phases of the moon by the Bushmen and Hottentots are general in most

FIG. 9.—The Crescent-Cross (W. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, p. 395). Cf. p. 248.

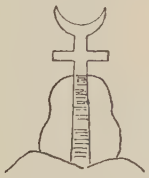

FIG. 10. — Babylonian Sacred Stone (J. Menant, *Pierres gravées de la Haute-Asie*, vol. i, p. 136).

FIG. 11.—Intaglio from Sardinia (G. d'Alviella, art. "Cross" in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iv, p. 326, after J. Menant).

parts of Africa. "All Africa dances at night," says an old writer.[3] Thus among the Ekoi, "though dancing is carried on during every hour of the day and all seasons of the year, it is by the light of the

[1] A. J. Evans, "Excavations at Knossos," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, ix, figs. 62, 63, pp. 91, 92, 94.

[2] J. Lipsius, *De cruce*, i. 8; G. F. Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker*, vol. ii, p. 176.

[3] Cited without reference by L. Frobenius, *Die Weltanschauung der Naturvölker*, p. 368.

full moon that the Ekoi most love to indulge in the pastime." But although dancing by moonlight may perhaps have come to be with some African peoples a pleasant pastime, it is exceedingly doubtful whether it was originally so regarded. At Oban, in the country of the Ekoi, there is a circle of unhewn stones similar to those met with in Melanesia and in New Guinea; the women and girls gather there at the new moon under the presidency of a priestess, and perform dances. 'Medicine' is distributed to all the women and young girls by the priestess. It is believed that unless those dances and rites are performed no woman could have a child. Men and boys are excluded, although they too dance and offer prayers to the moon.[1] Such rites take place most frequently at the new moon. "To the African generally," says the Rev. John Roscoe, "the new moon is always a time of rejoicing; it is watched for and hailed with songs and festivities."[2] The Bechuanas

FIG. 12.—Fragment of pottery from the acropolis of Susa (*Délégation en Perse*, vol. xiii, p. 40, fig. 135).

FIG. 13.—(*a*) Coin from Asido. (*b*) Coin from Turiregina (J. Zobel de Zangronitz, "Spanische Münzen und bisher unerklärten Aufschriften," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländische Gesellschaft*, xvii, plates iii and viii).

"watch most eagerly for the first glimpse of the new moon, and when they perceive the faint outline after the sun has set deep in the west, they utter a loud 'Kua!' and vociferate prayers to it."[3] At almost the opposite extremity of the continent, in Senegambia, the sun and stars are "very little regarded"; on the other hand, when the new moon appears, "they make very ridiculous gestures; they speak to it; they shake their limbs as though they would cast off their arms and legs. They then take a torch and place themselves in an attitude as if they would throw it at the moon."[4] Among the Bambara, as among the Ekoi, the women and girls meet every month at the new moon, and perform dances presided

[1] P. A. Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, pp. 294, 10, 22.

[2] J. Roscoe, *The Soul of Central Africa*, p. 62.

[3] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, p. 235.

[4] L. F. Römer, *Nachrichten von der Küste Guinea*, pp. 84 sq. Cf. Mungo Park, "Travels in the Interior of Africa," in Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, vol. xvi, p. 875.

over by a high-priestess. No man may be present at those rites, but at the great feast of the moon they come forward with offerings of herbs and flowers. The dances are performed to the accompaniment of sacred drums.[1] Such drums play an important part in the elaborate moon festivals of the eastern Bantu.[2] The negroes of Ashango say that the moon calls them her insects and devours them. "The moon, with them, is the emblem of time and death."[3] In Loango, "at the appearance of the new moon the people fall on their knees, or cry out, standing and clapping their hands, 'So may I renew my life as thou art renewed.'"[4]

The magic rites whereby that renewal and preservation of life are sought in initiation ceremonies and 'secret societies' are in accordance with those conceptions. Those rites are everywhere similar.[5] The Akikuyu boys, at their initiation ceremonies, pretend in a very realistic manner to go through that process of new birth to which the Hottentots, in their myths, ascribe the monthly rejuvenescence of their moon-god Heitsi-eibib. Every boy before circumcision "must be born again. The mother stands up with the boy crouching at her feet; she pretends to go through all the labour pains, and the boy on being reborn cries like a babe and is washed. He lives on milk for some days afterwards."[6] In Nyasaland, among the Bondei, the boys on presenting themselves for initiation are smitten with a sword, and fall down as dead; to render their immolation more realistic the blood and entrails of fowls are strewn over them.[7] In the Muhabo society of the Congo the candidate, after dropping as dead, is stripped naked, and cast into a grave, which is then covered up with foliage and some loose earth. A few maniocs are thrown in, but he is otherwise left there naked and without food or drink for three days, during which he is supposed to descend into the netherworld. On the third day he rises again from the grave, and the members of the society come to witness his resurrection. But the fast and exposure which he has to suffer are so severe that it not infrequently happens that when the grave is opened

[1] J. Henry, *L'âme d'un peuple africain*, pp. 95 sq.

[2] J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara, or Banyoro*, pp. 107 sqq.

[3] P. de Chaillu, *Journey to Ashango-Land*, pp. 237 sq.

[4] J. Merolla da Sorrento, "A Voyage to Congo," in Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, vol. xvi, p. 273.

[5] M. H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 531.

[6] J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, vol. x, p. 262, from a communication from Mr. A. C. Hollis. Cf. W. S. and K. Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People, the Akikuyu*, p. 152; C. W. Hobley, "Kikuyu Customs and Beliefs," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xl, p. 441.

[7] G. Dale, "An Account of the principal Customs and Habits of the Natives of the Bondei Country," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxv, p. 189.

its inmate is found to be in fact a corpse. In that case the grave is covered up permanently and it is given out that the spirit has detained his worshipper.[1] In the Kimbasi society of the lower Congo the 'vela,' or place of initiation, is called the 'death-chamber.' When a candidate joins the society it is given out that the spirit ('nkita') has killed him. He lies down on the ground with outstretched limbs, and the assistants remove his clothing and ornaments while the initiates sing the following chant: "The Spirit has killed him. Mystery of mysteries! Why shall the Nkita dead not die? The day of glory is at hand; sleep thou the sleep of death. The uninitiated do not sleep the sleep of death."[2] The procedure is similar in the Nkimba society of the lower Congo. Having drunk a sleeping potion, the candidate swoons in some public assemblage, and is carried away by the initiates to the secret grove. It is given out that he has died and gone to the spirit-world, from whence he is eventually recalled by the power of the fetich-priest.[3] The candidates for admission to the Ndembo, a widespread society of the Congo, above the cataract region, drop down as if dead in the public street or market-place, are covered with a pall and carried to the 'vela,' or sacred enclosure in the forest, where they are said "to decompose and decay until but one bone of each novice is left in charge of the doctor." After their resurrection has been effected they behave as if they had completely forgotten their former life, and had to learn everything anew.[4] Dr. Bastian thus describes the initiation rites as they existed in the Ambamba country. "The great fetich lives in the interior of the forest where nobody can see him. When he dies, the priests carefully collect his bones in order to bring them to life again, and feed them that he may be clothed anew in flesh and blood. But to speak of this is not good. Everyone in Ambamba must die once, and when the fetich-priest shakes his calabash against a village, all the men and youths whose hour has come fall in a deathlike trance, from which they arise after three days. But if the fetich loves a man he carries him away into the bush and buries him in the fetich house, often for many years. When he comes to life again, he begins to eat and drink as before, but his mind has gone, and he has to be taught and guided in every act like a child by the fetich-priest. . . . The

[1] R. P. Colle, *Les Baluba*, vol. ii, pp. 578 sqq.

[2] J. van Wing, *De geheime sekte van't Kimbasi*, pp. 49 sqq.

[3] E. J. Glave, *Sir Years of Adventure in Congo-Land*, p. 80.

[4] W. H. Bentley, *Pioneering in the Congo*, vol. i, pp. 285 sqq.; Id., *Dictionary and Grammar of the Congo Languages*, p. 506; Id., *Life on the Congo*, pp. 78 sq.; J. H. Weeks, "Notes on some Customs of the Lower Congo," *Folk-lore*, xx, pp. 189 sqq.; A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, vol. ii, p. 31; *Annales du Musée du Congo, Ethnographie et Anthropologie*, Series iii, vol. i, "Religion," p. 205; C. Meinhof, "Die Geheimsprachen Afrikas," *Globus*, lxvi, pp. 117 sq.

Ambamba native who has not gone through the ceremony of new birth is universally despised and is not admitted to the dances." [1] Or again, as the old Dutch geographer Dapper describes the rites in Quoja, the candidates, before entering the sacred bush, bid farewell to their mourning relatives, " for it is impressed on them that they must lose their life in order to gain it. So they dispose of their property, as if all were over with them." They are supposed to be roasted, and when they are restored to the world they behave like new-born babes.[2] The Susu of Senegambia have a secret society called the Semo. They " are fond of telling wonderful and horrid stories respecting this institution. They say, for instance, that when first initiated their throats are cut, and they continue dead for some time ; at length they are reanimated and initiated into the mysteries of the institution, and are enabled to ramble about with much more vigour than they possessed before." [3] The personage who represents the spirit, or, as he is called by Europeans, the devil, of the Poro society of Sierra Leone visits the villages in the evening blowing a reed flute in doleful fashion ; " the meaning of it being that he is presumed to be in pains before child-birth, for, when the boys go first into the Poro bush, the devil is supposed to be pregnant, and . . . when they come out of it, the devil is said to have given birth." [4]

The stories which we have already had occasion to note testify that life and the hope of resurrection are in the mind of most African peoples directly associated with the moon. In the religious associations, or secret societies the same ideas constitute the essential conception of the process of initiation. It would, of course, be difficult to imagine that while those notions are in the one case indissolubly connected with the power of resurrection ascribed to the moon, they have a different origin in the other. And in fact in some of those stories the power of resurrection and the origin of death are expressly associated with the ritual observed in secret societies. I mentioned a tale current in the Congo which describes how the rejuvenation of the first woman by changing her skin was inopportunely interrupted by the first man's other wife, this intrusion upon the sacred mystery being the cause whereby death was introduced into the world.[5] A variant of the same story runs as follows. The first man and his two wives lived happily together

[1] A. Bastian, *Ein Besuch in San Salvador*, pp. 82 sq.

[2] O. Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique*, pp. 268 sq.

[3] T. J. Alldridge, *The Sherbro and its Hinterland*, p. 130.

[4] T. Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone*, vol. i, p. 139. Cf. J. Matthews, *A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone*, pp. 82 sqq. ; J. B. L. Durand, *Voyage au Sénégal*, pp. 183 sq.

[5] See above, p. 646.

with their children. One day, however, the elder wife fell into a deadly lethargy or swoon. The man carried the inanimate body of his wife into the recesses of the forest, and erected there a building which was secured by ten doors. He charged his son to prevent his step-mother from following him or endeavouring to find out where he was and what he was doing. After he had finished his task and laid the inanimate woman in the forest building, he departed for a while to hunt. Meanwhile the second wife was consumed with curiosity to find out what her husband and her co-wife were doing. On the third day, after asking the boy to fetch her some water, taking care to make holes in the calabash so that he might find it hard to fill it, she went into the bush, and discovering a trodden path, followed it until she reached the secret house, or ' vela.' She forced one after another the doors of the building. As she approached the last, she heard the voice of the first wife calling to her and imploring her not to enter, saying that if she did so the most disastrous results would follow. The woman, however, persisted and forced the last door. She then saw her co-wife standing in the middle of the room, radiant and beautiful, but in the same moment, both women fell down dead.[1] The death and resurrection of the woman are manifestly assimilated in this story to the mysteries of secret societies in the Congo and West Africa. These are invariably held in a special building, called ' vela,' in the depth of the forest ; the candidate is supposed to die and to be carried there, and after his seclusion to be resurrected ; but the intrusion of any uninitiated person is regarded as fatal to the process. We are further told that the man and his two wives, who figure in these stories, are no other than the moon and his two wives, the morning and the evening stars.[2]

The religious conceptions of the Bantu, which are similar in every part of the continent, are marked by a striking absence of mythology, and even of any distinct individualisation of divine personalities. The Bantu Africans have scarcely any stories about the gods, such as are current among the much ruder and more primitive Bushmen and abound in Melanesia and in Australia. That characteristic of Bantu religion appears to be chiefly due, not to any racial idiosyncrasy or native poverty of imagination, but to the great power acquired among the negroes by individual magic-workers whose dreaded faculties are connected with the magician's personal supernatural spirit embodied in some figure, or ' fetich.' To those immediately available sources of magic power, the Bantu naturally turns for supernatural assistance, and his superstitious fears are likewise associated with the powers to work evil with which he is

[1] R. P. Colle, *Les Baluba*, vol. ii, pp. 519 sqq.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 716.

constantly threatened at the hands of the innumerable fetiches that surround him. Those magical powers that are near at hand and whose influence is interwoven with all their daily life, have obliterated in the mind of the Bantu the importance of cosmic powers that are more remote. If the point be pressed, the native African will, however, generally recognise that the power of the fetich is ultimately derived from some higher and more general primary source of power, in much the same manner as the magic virtues, or 'mana,' of the sacred stones of the Melanesians are derived from the moon.[1] In fact among the Baluba tribes of the Congo, at the new moon, all the fetiches are taken out of their niches or sacred huts, and are presented to the moon.[2] It is apparently thought that their magic power will be invigorated by saturating them with moonlight. The decay and oblivion of cosmic deities owing to the closer and more pressing dangers and magic powers of local and individual fetiches are not unlike what obtains in the rural districts of Catholic countries in southern Europe, where the religious conceptions of the peasants centre round the local saint or madonna, whose miraculous powers the friars or priests preconise to the oblivion of the higher deity. The sentiment that the latter is too awful and inaccessible for direct appeal is, I think, as little ascribable to the Bantu as to the Italian peasant. The higher deity is simply overshadowed in either case, and rendered to a large extent superfluous by the closer and more immediate source of magic power.

All Bantu, however, recognise a supreme deity, and that belief found side by side with what is perhaps the most degraded type of fetichistic superstition has afforded great consolation to the missionary writers to whom we owe much of our information on the subject. The very neglect into which that supreme deity—which is "outside their ordinary religion," concerning which their ideas are "hazy," which is "dim, never invoked, and has no special cult"[3]—has fallen, owing to the growth of fetich-magic, imparts to it a generalised character, a "mystic formlessness which defies analysis."[4] That nebulous and undefined character of the Bantu supreme deity, and the absence of all mythology attaching to him manifestly facilitate his assimilation to the God of European religion, an identification readily accepted by both the missionaries and their converts. Notwithstanding their fetichism, the Bantu, Dr. Schneider claims, are not even polytheists,

[1] H. Bohner, *Im Lande des Fetisch*, p. 183.

[2] R. P. Colle, *Les Baluba*, vol. ii, p. 476.

[3] C. Gouldsbury and H. Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 83; A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 33; L. Cureau, *The Races of Central Africa*, p. 299. Cf. above, p. 511.

[4] C. Gouldsbury and H. Sheane, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

but are essentially monotheists ;[1] and Dr. Nassau, like many other missionaries, thinks that the god whom they know is in truth identical with Jehovah.[2] That identification is, I think, substantially justified. There are strong grounds for believing that Jehovah, or Yahweh, was originally regarded as a moon-god.

In spite of the dissociation of the supreme deity from mythological attributes, some of the numerous stories concerning the origin of death are directly associated with him as an alternative designation of the moon. Among the Herero, Njambi, or Mukuru, is the giver of immortality ;[3] he is also the personification of fate.[4] The tribes of northern Rhodesia also relate that Leza gave the first men the choice between mortality and immortality, but that they made the wrong choice. " Were Leza alone," they say, " we should never die of disease." Death from old age is spoken of by them as ' Leza's death.'[5] Leza, with dialectical variations such as Lez, Kabezya, Habezya, Wezia, and so forth, is one of the widespread names of the supreme god among the Bantu, and is current from Lake Tanganyika and the Zambesi to the lower Congo.[6] Those dialectical variations are, according to Father Colle, all connected with the root ' wez ' or ' kwez.'[7] ' Kwezi ' is in the Luba region of the Congo the ordinary term for the moon.[8] Among the Ashanti the generic term for all gods is ' Boshun ' ; it is the name for the moon.[9]

A partial exception to the general disintegration of religious belief and cult by the private practice of fetichism was presented by the kingdom of Dahomey, where cult and priesthood were closely associated with, and organised under a powerful sacred monarchy. The religion of Dahomey was in every respect identical with that of other Bantu peoples, and was characterised by the same substitution of fetich deities as immediate dispensers of magic power for the supreme deity whence they derived ; but the connection between the two was less completely obliterated, and religious conceptions preserved a more systematised form. " The Dahoman religion," says Mr. Skertchly, " consists of two parts totally distinct from each other ; first the belief in a supreme being, and secondly

[1] W. Schneider, *Die Religion der Afrikanischen Naturvölker*, pp. 10 sqq.
[2] R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 38.
[3] J. Irle, *Die Herero*, p. 73.
[4] P. Meinhof, in *Allgemeiner Missions-Zeitschrift*, 1889, p. 394.
[5] C. Gouldsbury and H. Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 81.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 80 ; E. W. Smith and A. H. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, pp. 198 sqq. ; R. P. Colle, *Les Baluba*, vol. ii, p. 629.
[7] R. P. Colle, *loc. cit.*
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 715.
[9] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 217.

the belief in a whole host of minor deities. The supreme being is called Mau, and is vested with unlimited authority over every being, both spiritual and carnal. He is supposed to be of so high a nature as to care very little for the circumstances of men, and his attention is only directed to them by some special invocation. He resides in a wonderful dwelling above the sky, and commits the care of earthly affairs to a race of beings, such as leopards, snakes, locusts, or crocodiles, or also to inanimate objects such as stones, rags, or cowries, leaves of certain trees, and in short anything and everything. This deity is said to be the same as the God of civilisation." [1] The supreme god, Mau, is thus the primal source of the magic power of the fetiches which represent him. Foremost amongst these are the king's fetich who, with the aid of the king's wives, provides for the supply of water and rain, and the sacred snake which is supposed to be immortal, and around which most of Dahomian cult centred. "Mau," we are further told, "is the moon fetich." [2] The most numerous class of Dahomian priestesses are the priestesses of Mau, and bear as their emblem two black beads and a white shell. At the new moon they run shouting like maenads through the streets, and are then said to be "seeking the moon." [3]

The vaguer appellations by which the dim supreme god is commonly referred to among Bantu tribes correspond in their indefiniteness to the nebulous character of that faded deity. Unkulu, Mulungu, Mnungo, Unkulukulu, and allied terms have the meaning of 'the Old one,' 'the Ancient.' [4] So obsolete has the god become that among the Zulus, who have the most unmodified form of the name, it is generally held that, although Unkulukulu was originally the founder and creator of the people, he died long ago, and no longer

[1] J. A. Skertchly, *Dahomey as it is*, p. 461.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 473. Mau is common as supreme god to all Ewe tribes (H. Zöller, *Kamerun*, vol. i, p. 185). In his account of Mau (Mawu), Sir A. B. Ellis makes no reference to the moon, and he interprets the supreme god of the Ewe tribes on the basis of the supposition that his name "is derived from 'wu' (to stretch over, or overshadow), and the god himself is," he thinks, "no other than the indwelling spirit of the firmament, the deified canopy of the heavens" (A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 31). To one entirely ignorant of African languages, like myself, the derivation of 'Mau' from 'wu' appears to be a very flimsy philological foundation for an interpretation of the nature of the Ewe god, and I should require a good deal of evidence before being able to accept a savage god as being "the deified canopy of the heavens." As regards philological derivation, it appears that the word 'ma,' which Sir A. B. Ellis himself gives as meaning "to divide, share, 'me,' to divide in two" (*op. cit.*, p. 254), seems to present a closer affinity to 'mau' than 'wu.'

[3] P. Bouche, *Sept ans en Afrique occidentale. La Côte des Esclaves et le Dahomey*, p. 129.

[4] H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 449.

exists.[1] Unkulukulu is the same as the Lizard of the myths about the origin of death.[2] The terms Njambi, Nzambi, Anyambi, etc., are not clearly accounted for, but would seem to have reference in a general way, like the Siouan Waka, to the magic character of the forgotten god.[3] The Bambala of the Congo call the supreme god Zambi, and when asked what he is, they say he is the sun. "The people from whom they acquired their knowledge of Kakongo," say Messrs. Torday and Joyce, "in speaking of Zambi must have pointed to the sky, and the Bambala, seeing nothing there but the sun, naturally formed the erroneous conclusion that the sun was meant. At any rate, there is not the very slightest trace of sun-worship."[4] Among some of the eastern Bantu and Hamitic peoples the terms used in reference to the god signify 'the sky.'[5] Among the Swahili, Luganda, Kitavenda, Moshi, Shagga the name given to the vague and otiose supreme being, 'Jua,' 'Ruwa,' 'Njuba,' and so forth, means the sun.[6] These appellations do not correspond to any cosmological conceptions attached to the vague deity, and there is no indication in any part of Africa at the present day of any solar cult or cosmology. Speaking of the solar name used by the Shagga tribes, Raum observes: "It is possible, nay probable, that the Shagga's idea of god is the effect of foreign influence. To perceive God in the sun or in the vault of heaven does not appear to be a genuine Bantu belief."[7] The remark of Dr. Schneider, that "the cult of the moon has preceded the worship of the sun and sky,"[8] would therefore seem not to be quite applicable to Africa, since primitive cosmic religion has nowhere on that continent been transformed into solar cults or more advanced religious systems. On the other hand, the statement of Frobenius, that "the greater part of Africa is in the stage of

[1] H. Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu*, p. 1.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[3] E. Holub, *Sieben Jahre in Südafrika*, vol. ii, p. 337; L. Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 74; R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 35; G. C. Claridge, *Wild Bush Tribes of Central Africa*, p. 268; J. H. Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bushongo*, p. 276; C. Overbergh and E. de Jongh, *Les Bangala*, pp. 278 sq.; P. Pogge, *Im Reich des Muato Jamvo*, p. 236; R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 13; G. Bentley, *Pioneering in the Congo*, vol. ii, p. 280.

[4] E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, "Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Mbala," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv, p. 418.

[5] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples*, pp. 31, 37; C. C. Long, *Central Africa*, p. 64; H. H. Johnston, "The Peoples of Eastern Equatorial Africa," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xv, p. 12; H. Salt, *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, p. 41. Cf. above, p. 508.

[6] H. H. Johnston, *loc. cit.*

[7] J. Raum, "Die Religion der Landschaft, Moschi am Kilimandjaro," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiv, p. 193.

[8] W. Schneider, *Die Religion der afrikanischen Naturvölker*, p. 59.

moon-worship," [1] is only partially true, for while savage Africa has nowhere passed from that stage on to more complex religious systems, primitive cosmic cult has with the people of Africa broken down for the most part into fetichism and survives only in the fragmentary detritus of its products.

The Cosmic Religion of Ancient Egypt.

In one notable instance, however, a regular solar cult arose in Africa, and those conceptions which constitute the source of African religious belief and of the rites by which, in African religious associations, the renewal of life and immortality are sought, became associated with the sun. The religion of ancient Egypt, where that development took place, and as it presents itself to us in extant documents, is anything but a primitive religion. Nowhere, except perhaps in India, have religious ideas been subjected to more elaborate reinterpretation and systematisation at the hands of theologians than in the colleges of the Egyptian priesthood; and, indeed, Christian dogmatic theology itself, which developed largely on the very soil of Egypt, owed in a considerable measure to the theological conceptions elaborated during centuries by the Egyptian priests the most characteristic formulations of its doctrines. Yet the religion of ancient Egypt derived directly from the conceptions which survive in savage Africa,[2] and forty centuries of theological development have not so completely obliterated the primitive outline of its features that it may not be readily and clearly discerned. A glance at some of the aspects of Egyptian religion, though nothing could take us farther from primitive and uncultured human society, will therefore not be inappropriate in considering the form of those conceptions in Africa, and may throw some light on their interpretation.

In the profusion of documents from which we derive our information concerning the religion of the ancient Egyptians, the sun-god, Rā (or Re) to whose worship the temples whose vast ruins strew the plains of Karnak and Luxor were dedicated, stands at the head of the national pantheon. All other gods are represented as limbs, or emanations, of the supreme solar divinity, the creator and governor of the universe and of the afterworld. All the conceptions of Egyptian religion, such as those relating to the judgment and resurrection of the dead, which played so paramount a part in the sentiments and hopes of the ancient Egyptians, were

[1] L. Frobenius, *Die Weltanschauung der Naturvölker*, p. 368.

[2] "Egyptian religion was of African rather than Asiatic origin, as many have supposed" (E. A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, pp. xiv sq.).

in like manner associated with Rā. The divine kings of Egypt were styled ' sons of Rā,' and were regarded as the living representatives of the sun-god, who was supposed to beget the rulers of Egypt from the royal princesses and queens, " the wives," as they were called, " of Rā."

We happen in this instance, however, to possess direct information as to the manner in which that position of the sun-god became established in Egypt. From the papyrus known as the Westcar Papyrus, now in Berlin, it appears that it was not until the fall of the old Memphitic kingdom, about 3500 B.C., that Rā, the sun-god, acquired the position which he occupies in the official documents of the New and Middle Kingdoms. User-ka-f, the founder of the Vth Dynasty, was a priest of Rā at Heliopolis, and was the first to assume the title of ' Son of Rā,' which Egyptian kings have since used, and which was added to the title of ' Horus ' by which earlier kings were known. Before the Vth Dynasty, " no Egyptian king claims descent from Rā. The Vth Dynasty is marked by its priestly character from the first. Its origin appears to have been a reassertion of the Heliopolitan element, which may have had a Mesopotamian origin, and which took the form of a usurpation by the priests of Rā in the Delta, who then established the claim to divine descent from Rā, which has been maintained by all the later kings of the land." [1] " Whereas under the older kings Horus had been the supreme deity of Egypt, if supreme deity there was, with the accession of User-ka-f, the first king of the Vth Dynasty, the sun-god Rā advances to the first place, which, in conjunction later with the Theban deity Amen, he holds ever afterwards, Horus becoming in some aspects identified with him. Each king of the dynasty built for himself a special sanctuary of the sun-god, the central feature of which was a great single obelisk, and the priesthoods of the sun-temples were given to specially honoured nobles." [2] " The productions of the time show much falling off from the splendid style of previous reigns." [3] " The cult of the sun-god," says Sir A. E. Wallis Budge, " was introduced into Egypt by the priests of Heliopolis under the Vth Dynasty, when they assumed the rule of the country and began to nominate their favourite warriors to the throne of Egypt. The astute theologians, either by force or persuasion, succeeded in making the official classes and priesthood believe that all the indigenous great gods were forms of Rā, and so secured his supremacy." [4] The priesthood which thus

[1] W. M. Flinders Petrie, *A History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 69, 85.
[2] H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 129 sq.
[3] W. M. Flinders Petrie, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 85.
[4] E. A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, p. xv; Id., *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i, pp. 328 sq.; P. E. Newberry and J. Sarstang, *A Short History of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 45 sq.; A. Wiedemann,

usurped both temporal and religious power "displayed great ingenuity and tact in absorbing into their form of religion all the older cults of Egypt, together with their magical rites and ceremonies. Apparently they did not attempt to abolish the old, indigenous gods; on the contrary, they allowed their cults to be continued, provided that the local priesthoods would make their gods subordinate to Rā. Thus Osiris and Isis, and their companion gods, were absorbed into the great company of the gods of Heliopolis, and the theological system of the priests of Osiris was mixed with that of the priests of Rā." [1] These had their original seat in the city of Annu, the On of the Bible, which came to be known as Pa-Rā, the "city of Rā," or in Greek, Heliopolis. But Rā was not even the local god of Heliopolis; nor was he, for that matter, the god of any city or nome in either Lower or Upper Egypt. All Egyptian deities were associated with particular towns, where they had their native temple; but nowhere is any local cult of Rā known to have existed in Egypt. "The worship of Rā, the sun, as an isolated, almost monotheistically conceived native deity is, in Egypt, found at Heliopolis only." [2] Rā is in fact never worshipped anywhere in his own name alone, but always in combination with the name of the local god, or of some other god.[3]

At Thebes, when it became the capital of the New Empire, Rā was worshipped as Amen-Rā, and was more completely fused with the local deity of the city than with any other god. But it does not appear that Amen had originally the slightest connection with the sun or with solar cult. His name, 'the Hidden,' or 'Obscure,' [4] would seem to be about the last designation that might suggest itself as appropriate for a sun-god. His representation as a frog,[5] an animal that was held particularly sacred at Thebes, is as little suggestive of solar attributes. Amen was the horned god, familiar to the Greeks as the horned Ammon, and is addressed as "strong in thy two horns." [6] Much closer and more ancient than his official association with Rā was the identification of Amen with Min, probably a dialectical variation of the same name,

Ägyptische Geschichte, vol. i, p 45.; A. H. Sayce, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 88 sq.; H. R. Hall, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. i, pp. 284 sq.; T. E. Peet, *ibid*, p. 330.

[1] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 333.

[2] A. Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte*, vol. i, pp. 44 sq.

[3] H. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte*, vol. i, p. 29; R. V. Lanzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, p. 30.

[4] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, xv; R. V. Lanzone, *op. cit.*, p. 25; H. Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ägypter*, p. 680.

[5] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. ii, pp. 2, 378; Id., *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, p. 280.

[6] E. Grébaut, "Hymne à Ammon-Ra," *Revue archéologique*, 1873, vol. i, p. 386.

from whom he is scarcely distinguishable.[1] Amen-Min is "the Fiery Bull, Lord of the New Moon, who becomes the Full Moon; who shines in the night at the beginning of each month."[2] Amen had accordingly various forms corresponding to his different ages, Amen the Child, and Amen the Old.[3]

At Heliopolis, Rā, who had no native home there any more than in any other spot in Egypt, was in the theology of his priests associated in the same manner with the local gods and with those of the royal dynasties which his priesthood eventually supplanted. Thus Tum (Atum, Temu) the local god of Heliopolis, was described in the system of the priests as a personification of the setting sun. "I am Khepera in the morning, Rā at noonday, Tum in the evening," states an oft-cited formula in a Turin papyrus.[4] But Tum himself was a multiform god, who had his rising as well as his setting.[5] He is represented in his infant form as a child with the moon on his head.[6] At Pi-Tum, the Pithom of the Bible, Tum was worshipped in the form of a python serpent;[7] he is also represented as a lizard.[8]

Ptah, the great god of Memphis—'the Home of the Soul of Ptah,' 'He-Ka-Ptah,' which the Greeks transliterated 'Aigyptos'—was in Heliopolitan theology accordingly regarded, as later the Theban Amen, as identical with Rā, or as his father.[9] Ptah is referred to as the "Lord of thirty years," and kings of Egypt celebrated their jubilee after having reigned the years of Ptah, when, at the 'Sed' festival, they renewed their skin by clothing themselves with the hide of a sacrificed animal.[10] He was, in fact, like the moon-deity of Cochin-China, never more than thirty. He was also a two-headed god,[11] "of multitudinous forms."[12] At times he was "Ptah of the Beautiful Face";[13] at other times 'Ptah-patek,' that is, 'Ptah the embryo,' and was represented as an ill-

[1] E. Grébaut, *loc. cit.*; H. Brugsch, *op. cit.*, p. 685; P. Pierret, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie égyptienne*, p. 344; A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 127; A. Erman, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, pp. 19, 59.

[2] H. Brugsch, *op. cit.*, p. 675.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 164 sq., 513; cf. p. 683.

[4] W. Pleyte and F. Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, p. 178.

[5] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 382. Tum is indeed sometimes described as "the father of the rising sun" (R. V. Lanzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, p. 1241).

[6] H. Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ägypter*, pp. 373 sq.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 288 sq.

[8] T. E. Peet, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. i, p. 330.

[9] R. V. Lanzone, *op. cit.*, pp. 238, 452.

[10] H. Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ägypter*, p. 509; H. R. Hall, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. i, p. 286.

[11] P. Pierret, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie égyptienne*, p. 460.

[12] Hymn to Ptah-Tanem, in E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 510.

[13] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 101.

favoured, deformed, and lame dwarf,[1] thus resembling the Melanesian and Polynesian embryo gods Qat and Maui-Tiki. It is significant that the dwarf form of Ptah, while it abounds under the Old Empire, disappears almost completely under the New Empire.[2] Ptah is described as the creator of the egg of the moon, to which is sometimes added the egg of the sun.[3] The former is a common symbol of the moon, the latter a most uncommon symbol of the sun. It seems probable that Ptah was originally the moon-egg itself. Of the Great Egg it was said: "It groweth, I grow; it liveth, I live."[4]

Horus, the royal god of the early Egyptian dynasties, whose colossal image still watches, as the Sphinx, over their tombs at Ghizeh,[5] was accordingly assigned an honourable place as the god of the rising sun in the solar mythology of Heliopolis. Like some of the Melanesian and American gods we have noted, he was sometimes regarded as consisting of a head, or face only. His name, Her, means 'Face.'[6] Horus was also subject to continual change; he was called "the Lord of Transformations."[7] He was also spoken of as "the old man who becomes young again," or "who becomes a child."[8] One of his forms was 'Her-pa-krat,' or 'Her, the germ,' whom the Greeks called Harpokrates, and which, like Ptah and the Polynesian Maui, represented a child, or foetus.[9] He then grew into 'Horus the elder,' Her-ur, and was then the same as Osiris; "Osiris was the father of Horus, who in due course grew into Osiris, and produced a young Horus to take his place, becoming thus the father of his father."[11] Like the Hottentot god Heitsi-eibib, Horus periodically ravished his own mother and became her husband.[11] Horus is represented as

[1] Herodotus, iii. 37; R. V. Lanzone, *op. cit.*, pp. 243 sq.; W. Pleyte, *Chapîtres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts*, p. 166; J. Parrot, "Sur l'origine de l'une des formes du dieu Ptah," *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, ii, pp. 129 sqq., 132; W. Pleyte, *La religion des Pré-Israélites; recherches sur le dieu Seth*, p. 178.

[2] A. Mariette, *Abydos*, p. 21.

[3] P. Pierret, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie égyptienne*, p. 459; A. E. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, p. 501.

[4] *The Book of the Dead*, chap. lix.

[5] R. V. Lanzone, *op. cit.*, p. 580; H. Brugsch, "Der Traum Königs Thutmes IV bei der Sphinx," *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, 1876, pp. 89 sqq.

[6] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 466. Sir E. A. Wallis Budge considers this to be a popular etymology. But we may confine ourselves to the fact that 'Her,' the name of the god, does mean 'face,' and that most of his myth has reference to what happens to his 'face.'

[7] R. Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch*, cxxxv.

[8] R. V. Lanzone, *op. cit.*, p. 585. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 608.

[10] E. A. Wallis Budge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 123; H. Brugsch, *Die Religion und Mythologie der alten Ägypter*, p. 613.

[11] P. Pierret, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie égyptienne*, p. 290.

being born out of the lotus; he was "He of the Lotus," and the phrase was regarded as equivalent to "He who renews himself and becomes young again." The feast of Nahab-ka, "He of the Lotus, who becomes young again," was celebrated on the last day of the month, when the old moon was dead; it was the feast that "is brought at the new moon." The Pharaohs, who impersonated Horus and were crowned on the day of the new moon, celebrated the Nahab-ka feast on their eponymous day; the gods granted them, according to a Luxor inscription, "to commence happily the year, and to become young again in the feast of Nahab-ka."[1] This was the occasion on which the 'sed' ceremony was also performed, when the Pharaoh put on a new skin.[2]

Horus was throughout his existence engaged in a fight with his brother Set, the dark god represented by a red hippopotamus, who had cut the father of Horus into pieces. Horus, in turn, cut Set into pieces. At the festival of Horus at Edfu, the figure of a red hippopotamus was cut into pieces.[3] Eusebius saw the traditional representations of the fight. "In the temple of Apollionopolis," he says, "there was a sacred symbol of a man with the head of a hawk (the usual animal representation of Horus) striking Typhon (Set) as a hippopotamus. This allegory was a representation of the double light of the moon."[4] Horus and Set thus formed an indissoluble pair, and were regarded as heavenly twins;[5] sacrifices were offered to both simultaneously.[6] They sailed the heavens in the same boat. The double deity was sometimes pictured as having two heads, that of Horus and that of Set, on the same body.[7] They were referred to as "the Two Men."[8] They, however, periodically lost their human form in the course of their combat, becoming indiscernible; "they spent three nights and three days in this state," until released again by Isis.[9] Set not only fought

[1] E. de Rougé, "Note sur l'usage de régler certaines fêtes en Égypte par la nouvelle lune," *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, vol. xxiv, pp. 368 sq.

[2] A. Moret, *Mystères égyptiens*, pp. 16, 63 sqq.

[3] E. Naville, *Textes relatifs au mythe d'Horus recueillis dans le temple d'Edfou*, pp. 6 sq.

[4] Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*, iii. 12.

[5] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 241.

[6] F. Chabas, *Le Calendrier des jours fastes et néfastes de l'année égyptienne* (IVth Sallier Papyrus), p. 31.

[7] E. A. Wallis Budge, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 475, vol. ii, p. 243; W. Pleyte, *La Religion des Pré-Israélites; recherches sur le dieu Seth*, p. 107; R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, p. 234, pl. iv, p. 2.

[8] E. A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, p. 64.

[9] F. Chabas, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 sq. Chabas says that they changed from human form into 'bears,' but the reading of the latter word is doubtful and might mean 'hippopotami' ( ).

Horus, but also threw filth in his face, thus producing the spots that may be seen thereon.[1]

The face of Horus had, naturally, two eyes; and the 'two eyes of Horus,' , play a conspicuous part in all the language and symbolism referring to him. He was commonly called 'Her-mer-ti,' 'Horus of the Two Eyes.'[2] The eyes of Horus were, in fact, like those of the Moon-god of the Huitoto, subject to vicissitudes. In the fight with Set, the latter struck, or bit off and swallowed, the right eye of Horus,[3] so that Horus after that misadventure had only one eye, the left one. The left eye of Horus, or 'utchat,' , was one of the most common emblems of the god and of the moon.[4] The waxing moon appears in Egypt on the right side of the lunar disc, so that it constitutes the left side of the Face-god, the right side, or his right eye being eaten by Set, who, to be quite explicit, " is the name given to the shadow of the earth cast upon the waning moon."[5] In the oldest Egyptian religious text we possess, the right eye of Horus is called " the eye of Horus which is covered by the hand of Set."[6] In its partial obliteration it is spoken of as " a little eye of Horus."[7] Ultimately the Face-god has no eyes left at all; he is then called 'Her-khent-an-maati,' the 'Blind,' or 'Dark Horus.'[8] Set, however, who is sometimes represented as the serpent Apep, is ultimately compelled, like other " all-swallowers," to disgorge everything he has swallowed, and to regurgitate the right eye of Horus.[9]

At Panoplis (Apu, the modern Ahkmim, in Upper Egypt) the introduction of Heliopolitan theology appears to have been

[1] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 475; *Book of the Dead*, chap. xii.

[2] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 467; E. Grébaut, " Des deux yeux du disque solaire," *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, i, pp. 70 sqq.

[3] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, lv; E. A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, p. 62; H. Junker, *Die Onuris legende*, p. 137.

[4] R. V. Lanzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, p. 86.

[5] Plutarch, *op. cit.*, xliv.

[6] H. Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ägypter*, p. 453, after the Pyramid Text of Unas.

[7] P. Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 36, after Pyramid Text, 61.

[8] A. Lefébure, " Le mythe osirien," *Études égyptologiques*, iii, pp. 63 sq.; C. W. Goodwin, " On the Word Kamen," *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, xi (1873), pp. 17 sq. Horus, on the other hand, tears off the testicles of Set. The dark moon is in fact spoken of as 'castrated' (cf. below, p. 772).

[9] E. A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, p. 65.

successfully resisted. Horus was there worshipped as the moon, without ambiguities, and was regarded as identical with Min, which appears to have been an alternative name for the moon ; the temple of Horus was called ' the House of the Moon.' [1] Her-Min, was one of the oldest and most widely worshipped of Egyptian deities, and the great agricultural festivals, at which the Pharaoh sacrificed to the god, were celebrated all over Egypt under his auspices.[2] It seems superfluous to remark that " the moon was originally represented by Horus." [3] An invocation addressed to Horus thus enumerates his attributes : " The Old Child is thy name ; Son of the Egg is thy name ; Evening is thy name ; Darkness is thy name ; The Circulating One is thy name ; Moon is thy name." [4]

The gods of various names who were identified or associated with Rā, that is, all the gods of ancient Egypt, are extremely alike. They are not departmental gods characterised by special attributes and functions, but are manifestly local forms or names of closely similar, or identical deities embodying the same conceptions. Hence the ease with which they are assimilated to one another, often by the mere stringing of their names together. The process by which, in the theology of the priests of Heliopolis, they were represented as aspects of one another, and therefore of Rā, had abundant precedents in the manner in which they were already recognised as being all practically equivalent. Thus, under the Memphitic Empire, Ptah, the local god of Memphis, was completely identified with Osiris ; they were worshipped in one and the same temple ; the sacred bull Apis was regarded indifferently as an incarnation of Osiris or of Ptah.[5] Each Egyptian high god is, in the language of his special cult, the sole creator of the universe ; each is self-begotten, ' unique,' the only one ; each is the ' father of all the gods.' Each is in turn deformed and beautiful, an infant, an adult, and a corpse ; each is a ' dying god,' is periodically killed and born again. " Those mythological subtleties which may seem surprising," writes an eminent Egyptologist, " have their explanation in the fact that the perpetual succession of the phases of the sun are personified in those divine forms which reciprocally engender one another." [6] " The Egyptians," wrote another

[1] H. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte*, p. 11 ; A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 28. Cf. Plutarch, *op. cit.*, lvi.

[2] A. Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 127 ; P. E. Newburry and J. Garstang, *A Short History of Ancient Egypt*, p. 45 ; A. Moret, *Mystères égyptiens*, p. 8.

[3] E. Grébaut, " Des deux yeux du disque solaire," *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, i, p. 78.

[4] S. Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions from the British Museum and other Sources*, p. 118 ; R. V. Lanzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, p. 565.

[5] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i, pp. 146, 502 sq.

[6] P. Pierret, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie égyptienne*, p. 77.

distinguished scholar, "saw in the light of the day the image of human life, in night the emblem of death; in the setting of the sun they recognised the prototype of the term of terrestrial existence; in the rising of the luminary, the symbol and token of new birth." [1] There is, however, one serious objection to regarding that allegorical account of Egyptian cosmic conceptions as representing their original foundation: the sun does not die, nor does it come to life again, and no uncultured people, ancient or modern, is known to have ever supposed that it does. The sun is, on the contrary, contrasted by them with the moon on account of its unchanging and undying character. Among the numerous quaint myths and conceptions of uncivilised peoples, with which we are acquainted, there is not in the four quarters of the globe any instance suggesting that it ever entered the head of an unsophisticated human being to regard the setting of the sun, or of the moon, or of any other celestial body, as equivalent to its dying, or its rising as suggesting its rebirth. Some peoples are in doubt whether it is a new sun that rises each day, but they say nothing about its dying; it is only during an eclipse that the sun is ever thought to die.[2] The moon dies, not because it sets, but because it dwindles and disappears entirely for three or four days; and the rationalistic Zulus have grown sceptical concerning their ancient doctrines because they have discovered that by careful observation the dark moon may be perceived even during the interlunary days. "It was formerly said that the moon dies," they state, "but it is not so." [3] Primitive conceptions may be crude and puerile as compared with the subtle spiritual similitudes of philosophical theologies, but they have never engendered such a strange monstrosity as the phases of a waxing and waning sun. It was reserved for the ingenuity of more advanced interpreters of cosmic phenomena, and for the meditations of the learned to give birth to such an astronomical curiosity.

"Among certain Oriental nations," Sir A. E. Wallis Budge remarks incidentally, "the worship of the moon always preceded that of the sun, and there is reason for thinking that several of the oldest gods of Egypt were forms of the moon in her various phases. In the theological system which the priests of Heliopolis succeeded in imposing upon the country some of these were preserved either by identification with the gods of the new scheme or by adoption, and comparatively fixed attributes were assigned to them. At a

[1] T. Devéria, *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens qui sont conservés au Musée du Louvre*, pp. 17 sq. Cf. R. V. Lanzone, *op. cit.*, pp. 452 sq.; P. Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*, p. 30.

[2] E.g., P. Jones, *History of the Ojebways*, p. 84; J. G. Müller, *Geschichte der amerikanischen Urreligionen*, p. 255: E. W. Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 431.

[3] H. Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu*, p. 399.

still later period, when the cult of Amen and Amen-Rā was common throughout the country, a further selection from the old gods was made, and some gods had positions apportioned to them in the company of the gods of Amen-Rā at Thebes. The priesthood of that city showed great astuteness in making Khensu, one of the most ancient forms of the Moon-god, to be the son of Amen-Rā." [1] One may, however, doubt whether the Theban Khensu, or Khons, owed either his selection or his relationship to Amen, the obscure god, to the astuteness of the priests. It appears more probable that even their power was unequal to dislodge or adequately disguise the local deity which was indissolubly associated with the obscure frog-god, Amen, in the same manner as Horus—who was regarded as identical with Khensu—was not to be separated from Osiris. Khensu, or Khons, 'the Wanderer,' thus stood, under the Theban empire, for the representative moon-god, and was generally called simply the moon, Aah.[2] On the pylon of his temple at Karnak the inscription runs: "Khons, of Thebes, Lord of Truth and First in the Holy Places, is the Moon, the Night; is the Full Moon, that expands as the Left Eye, that continually becomes an Old Man when he pleases, and rejuvenates himself as a Child when he pleases. He is conceived in the interlunar days, and is born on the second day, and on the fifteenth day becomes an old man. When he is young he is the Fiery Bull, and in his extreme old age is the castrated Steer. When night and the light of the increasing moon is his, he causes the bulls to procreate, and impregnates the women, and causes the egg to grow in their womb." [3] Khons, termed Lord of all the Gods,[4] was regarded as identical with Thoth [5] and with Horus.[6] From the multitude of the figures of the Moon-god "it appears that his cult was extremely widespread throughout Egypt." [7] Indeed, while we come upon everywhere in Egypt an enormous profusion of moon emblems and figures of professed and acknowledged moon-gods, of the sun, or emblems of the sun-god, scarcely a trace is to be found in the personal religion and cult of ancient Egypt.

The cosmological interpretation of ancient Egyptian cult and belief in terms of solar similitudes by the priestly theologians of the Middle and New Kingdoms has been referred to with editorial admiration by learned Egyptologists as both sublime and 'ingenious'

[1] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 34.

[2] R. V. Lovisato, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 sqq.; P. Pierret, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie égyptienne*, pp. 1 sq.

[3] H. Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter*, pp. 360 sq.

[4] R. V. Lovisato, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[5] A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 124; H. Brugsch, *op. cit.*, p. 359; P. Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*, pp. 205 sqq.

[6] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 36.

[7] R. V. Lovisato, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

or 'subtle.' But it is hard to find in the crude jumble on incongruities and the tissue of self-contradictions presented by those artificial deformations of primitive conceptions anything but a manifestation of phenomenal intellectual clumsiness. Analogous as the rising and setting sun and its struggle against darkness may be, in a general way, to the monthly death and resurrection of the moon and the combat between its dark and luminous portions, the translation of the one into the other as accomplished with utter recklessness by the priestly interpreters, results in a through and through misfit. So 'ingenious' were the cosmological similitudes represented in the system of the official theology, that in order to make any sense out of the central theme of the eating of Horus by Set and of Set by Horus, writers who are persuaded that those themes had their origin in so-called 'sun-worship' are driven to suppose that the contest between the two gods must have reference to an eclipse of the sun.[1] An archaic cosmological system having as its foundation so rare a phenomenon as a solar eclipse is indeed an interesting hypothesis. Similarly, the 'two eyes of Horus,' in order to be translated into the 'two eyes of Rā,' are by Egyptologists said to be the sun and the moon.[2] Those arbitrary mistranslations are of no more account in regard to the significance and origin of Egyptian religion than are the reports of the most inexperienced traveller concerning the religious conceptions of a savage tribe in the midst of which he happens to be cast. "The confusion and contradictions which appear in the religious texts written under the XXth and following dynasties," observes Sir A. E. Wallis Budge, "prove beyond all doubt that the knowledge of the early dynastic religion of Egypt possessed by the priests in general after, let us say 1200 B.C., was extremely vague and uncertain. The result of this was to create in their religion a confusion which is practically unbounded. . . . Such being the case, the information they could impart is almost useless of itself for historical investigations. It seems to me that the existence of the cult of Rā does not affect the enquiry into the indigenous religion of Egypt in any way." [3]

A remarkable, but not unparalleled, fact which that interesting

[1] A. Lefébure, *Le mythe osirien*, p. 60; A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 11, 79 sq. Cf. Plutarch, *op. cit.*, xliv.

[2] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 467. "Properly speaking," observes Professor Boylan, "sun and moon are the eyes of Heaven, not of the sun-god" (P. Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*, p. 70). But where is the god 'Heaven' in Egyptian mythology, or where is any allusion to such a god to be found? We have indeed a god 'Face' to whom the two eyes belong; but there is not a word that can enable the face of Horus to be construed into the face of Heaven.

[3] E. A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, pp. viii sq., xv sq., 22.

enquiry discloses is that in spite of all that a powerful and astute priesthood, wielding both temporal and spiritual power, could do during close on twenty centuries, their solar theological system never succeeded in displacing the old primitive cults in the hearts and thoughts of the people. The monuments of the cult of Rā consist of turgid official documents; but in the popular religion, in the personal religious manifestations into which private monuments and funeral literature afford us an insight, Rā has little or no place. Professor Wiedemann, whose reading of Egyptian religion confines itself more blindly perhaps than that of any other exponent to the uncritical acceptance of it as 'sun worship' and 'solar myths,'[1] complains that there is an utter lack of documents or monuments throwing light upon the development of that worship and of those myths.[2] "The bulk of the people clung to their ancient cult of the Moon, and to their sacred beasts and birds, and worshipped the spirits that dwelt in them, wholly undisturbed by the spread of the foreign and official cult of the Sun-god."[3] "Although the priests of Rā under the Early Empire, and the priests of Amen-Rā under the Middle and New Empires, were supported by all the power and authority of the greatest kings and queens who ever sat upon the throne of Egypt in their proclamation of a heaven which was of a far more spiritual character than that of Osiris, they never succeeded in obliterating the belief in Osiris from the minds of the great bulk of the population in Egypt. The material side of the Egyptian character refused to be weaned. . . . The result of all this was to create a perpetual contest between the two great priesthoods of Egypt, namely those of Rā and Osiris. In the end the doctrine of Osiris prevailed and the attributes of the sun-god were ascribed to him. In considering the struggle which went on between the followers of Rā and Osiris it is difficult not to think that there was some strong reason for the resistance which the priests of Rā met with from the Egyptians generally, and it seems as if the doctrine of Rā contained something which was entirely foreign to the ideas of the people."[4]

It has been suggested, as some of the passages which I have quoted indicate, that the reason for the sharp opposition and struggle between the popular and the official theology of Egypt was that the priests of Rā at Heliopolis were Asiatic foreigners and the cult of Rā an imported alien cult. But with all deference to the high authorities who express that view and with every sense of my own incompetence, I think the hypothesis both highly improbable and needless. Western Asia, where cosmological conceptions

[1] See A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, passim.
[2] Id., *Ägyptische Geschichte*, vol. i, p. 45.
[3] E. A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, p. xv.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 334.

preserved conspicuously to the last their primitive lunar character and were never supplanted by a solar religion, would seem to be about the last place whence one might imagine a solar cult to have been exported. The ground upon which Sir E. A. Wallis Budge thinks it necessary to have recourse to that desperate hypothesis to account for the failure of the people of Egypt to assimilate and adopt the theology of the priestly kings of Heliopolis and Thebes, is that "it could not have been sun-worship which they disliked, for they had been sun-worshippers from time immemorial."[1] But for that statement there appears to exist no sufficient evidence. We possess no Egyptian religious documents older than the Pyramid Texts which were drawn up under the Vth and VIth Dynasties by the priesthood of Heliopolis; and by all canons of evidence their unsupported testimony on behalf of their own dogma cannot, except as regards the indications afforded by the older material which they employed, be regarded as valid ground for any conclusion in this respect. Horus and the Horus gods, as well as other gods interpreted by Heliopolitan theology as sun-gods, occupied from earliest times a high place in Egyptian religion. Horus was represented as a hawk, and it has been supposed by some Egyptologists that the hawk must necessarily be an emblem of the sun. "It is a characteristic sign of all solar deities," says Professor Wiedemann, "that they are hawk-headed, many being supposed, according to Egyptian belief, to be incarnate in hawks; when any god is so represented his solar nature may be confidently assumed. We have no information as to how the hawk came to be associated with the sun."[2] But further on the same authority states: "Khunsu is in the first place a lunar deity. . . . He was figured as a hawk-headed god."[3] The hawk was the totem animal of the royal dynasties who first unified the Egyptian people and cults, and as such was naturally identified with the chief cosmic god in the same manner as the eagle-hawk is by some Australian tribes identified with the cosmic deity. It would manifestly be the policy of the priests of Rā to spare no pains to impart a solar character to the royal totem-bird. It is needless to add anything to the facts which I have already mentioned as regards the original character of Horus; nor can I see that there is any valid ground for drawing a distinction between the Horus of Edfu and the Horus of Memphis.[4]

[1] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 335. Sir E. A. Wallis Budge appears in his later writings to have somewhat modified his views, chiefly in consequence of having undertaken a course of reading in African anthropology, a study which ought to be regarded as an indispensable preliminary qualification for any student of Egyptological science.

[2] A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 25 sq.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 124.

[4] It is recognised by Professor Junke that the identification of Horus at Edfu with Rā is a late one, and that the two are even there entirely distinct

It is, I think, entirely unnecessary to seek in the hypothesis of unknown foreign intruders usurping for twenty centuries the throne and altars of Egypt the explanation of the inadaptability of priestly solar theology to Egyptian popular religious sentiment and conceptions. We come upon the same phenomenon everywhere; and foreign solar worshippers would have to be postulated in Persia, in Polynesia, in Peru, in Mexico no less than in Egypt. But nowhere can a home for such sun-worshipping intruders be found that presents a primitive solar religion unpreceded by lunar cult. All solar religion is, in fact, evidence of antecedent lunar religion; for there is, it would seem, no example of solar worship arising except as a reinterpretation of decaying lunar cults, and there exists no evidence of any process by which magical and religious significances and conceptions have become attached in the first instance to the sun as a source of supernatural power. Wherever solar mythologies are found, they bear in the inconsistencies and incongruities which characterise them the clear indications of the clumsy adaptation of primitive lunar attributes by which they have been produced. To ambitious priests anxious, as were all the priesthoods attached to the shrines of Egyptian gods, to proclaim the supremacy of their particular divinity, no expedient could be more obvious, when once the self-existent god no longer needed any support from the conceptions primitively attached to the moon, whence his attributes had in the first instance been derived, than to declare that he was as superior to other moon-gods as the sun is superior in brilliancy and invariable strength to the pale and inconstant moon. The struggle between the two moon-gods has but to be interpreted as a contest between light and darkness in which, unlike the bright moon-god, the unconquered sun is always victorious. Such a transferred interpretation has taken place wherever lunar religion has survived into stages of social development in which ambitious priesthoods and monarchs have played a part. Solar religions are invariably the artificial products of such priesthoods and sacred monarchies; they are never the spontaneous and natural outcome of the development of the religious ideas of a people.

The actual and vital religious conceptions of the ancient Egyptians centred not around Rā or any other solar god, but round Osiris. There is nothing to indicate that Osiris differed in his original nature and character from any other Egyptian high god. He was regarded as the special god of the resurrection; but almost every other Egyptian god was, like him, a periodically waxing and waning god, a dying and resurrecting god, and a bestower of

and separate (H. Junke, "Die Onurislegende," *Denkschrifter der Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, lxi, pp. 23 sq.). Some of the most pronounced and unambiguous identifications of Horus with the moon come from Edfu.

eternal life. Thoth is in some texts the actual giver of immortality.[1] Horus, who, however, is identical with Osiris, likewise resurrects the dead by anointing them with his ointment.[2] Ptah and Seker, who was identified with him, are represented by mummies, are called 'the coffined one,' and are manifestly 'gods of the dead' of the same character as Osiris.[3] Anubis was a god of the dead, and so is Upuaut, the wolf-god of Upper Egypt, who was called 'the opener of the ways.'[4]

Khepera, the beetle god, is the very emblem of the resurrection. The sacred beetle, or scarab, which rolls its ball of eggs and dung, whence presently it is born again in a new generation, is regarded in many parts of Africa as the symbol of the resurrection.[5] In the Congo the sacred beetle is the symbol of the moon and eternal renewal.[6] "The scarab," says the Egyptian priest Horapollo, "is a creature self-produced, being unconceived by a female; for the propagation of it is unique, after this manner. When the male is desirous of procreating, he takes dung of an ox and shapes it into

FIG. 14.—Khepera, from C. R Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch*, plate ix.

a spherical form like the world; he then rolls it with his hinder parts from east to west, himself looking towards the east. Then, having dug a hole, the scarab deposits this ball in the earth for the space of twenty-eight days, for in so many days the moon passes through the twelve signs of the zodiac. By thus remaining under the moon, the race of scarabs is endued with life; and upon the nine and twentieth day after, having opened the ball, it casts it in water, for it is aware that upon this day the conjunction of the moon and sun takes place, as well as the generation of the world. From this ball thus opened is the scarab issued. Every scarab has thirty toes, corresponding to the thirty days of the month during which the moon performs his course. The second species is that which is horned and bull-formed, and is consecrated to the moon."[7]

[1] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 412.
[2] R. V. Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia egizia*, p. 563.
[3] E. A. Wallis Budge, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 506.
[4] H. R. Hall, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. i, pp. 272 sq.
[5] E. A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, p. 278.
[6] R. P. Colle, *Les Baluba*, vol. ii, pp. 466, 531, 535, 578.
[7] Horapollo Nilous, *Hieroglyphics*, pp. 20 sqq.

Khepera is represented as a beetle with wings outstretched in the form of a lunar crescent (Fig. 14). He was "the Lord of Transformations," and "established the mysteries which produce transformation." [1] The dead are said to "live with the life of Khepera." [2]

There is not, in fact, a single high god in the Egyptian pantheon, with, of course, the exception of Rā, who is not a god of the dead and fitted by his characteristics and attributes to play the part of god of the Resurrection. The belief that resurrection after death could be obtained through the magical operation of a supernatural power was associated among the ancient Egyptians, as among all other African peoples, and all primitive peoples in every part of the world, with the resurrecting moon. "The dead were often thought of as identified with the moon." In a Pyramid text the dead king is said to be the brother of the moon.[3] Seti I is addressed in an Abydos inscription: "Thou shalt renew thy youth; thou shalt flourish again like the Moon-Thoth when he is a child." [4] In the ritual papyrus on the embalming of the dead, the deceased is assured that he will "renew his life like the moon." [5] And again, in a Denderah inscription the deceased, assimilated to Osiris, is said to "renew his form like the moon." [6]

The singling out of Osiris as the representative of genuine Egyptian religion in opposition to the artificial priest-made theology of Rā, was, to all appearances, due to historical circumstances rather than to any special significance in the character or attributes of the god. Osiris, as a form of the adult Horus, had been the special resurrecting god of the great earlier dynasties under which the Egyptian people and their cults were first unified.

Osiris was, like every other Egyptian god, identified in Heliopolitan theology with Rā; he was "the soul of Rā, his own body." [7] But that association was even more flimsy and nominal than other similar identifications with Rā of the most overtly recognised moon-gods Sud or Khons.[8] The identity of Osiris with the moon was, apart from the whole of his attributes and mythology, as explicit as in regard to any known Egyptian moon-god. His very name appears to mean 'the Lord of the Moon.' [9] Countless inscribed

[1] R. V. Lanzone, *op. cit.*, pp. 929 sq.
[2] E. A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. ii, p. 353.
[3] P. Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*, p. 138.
[4] A. Mariette, *Abydos*, i, 51a.
[5] R. V. Lanzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, p. 85.
[6] A. Mariette, *Dendéra*, p. 277.
[7] F. Chabas, "Un hymne à Osiris," *Revue archéologique*, lxii (1857), p. 68.
[8] H. Burgsch, *op. cit.*, p. 361.
[9] The most ancient and simple form of the name is that represented by the two ideograms picturing a 'seat,' or 'throne,' and an eye, . Meaning-

figures represent and name 'Osiris, the Moon'; there does not, on the other hand, exist a single figure representing Osiris as the sun.[1] The moon was termed the "abode of Osiris."[2]

The literary documents are no less explicit. Thus, for example, in the Book of the Dead, Osiris is addressed in the following terms: "O thou who shinest forth from the moon, thou who givest light from the moon, let us come forth in thy train."[3] Or again, the deceased in the character of Osiris is made to say: "I am the same Osiris that dwells in Amentet; I am the Moon, who dwells among the gods."[4] Or again in a hymn to Osiris, he is addressed thus: "Homage unto thee, Osiris, Lord of Eternity, King of the gods, Osiris of the manifold names, of the holy transformations. Thou causest thy soul to be raised up again. The celestial ocean draweth its waters from thee. Thou sendest forth the north wind at eventide. Thy heart reneweth its youth. The stars in the celestial

less interpretations, such as 'the seat-maker,' have been given of those hieroglyphics. If I might presume, not being an Egyptologist, to suggest a reading, I would submit the following considerations. The sign of the 'throne,' 𓉔, does not commonly occur in ordinary hieroglyphics, but it is found in some words having the meaning of 'domain,' 'residence,' apparently as a determinative connoting lordship, or ownership (see E. Lefébure, "Le Mythe Osirien," *Études égyptologiques*, vol. iii, p. 136). It is usually understood to be equivalent to the sign of the 'crook,' 𓎛, and the latter is in fact used in the very name of Osiris as an alternative for the 'throne' (E. Lefébure, "Sur différents mots et noms égyptiens," *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, vol. xxxv, p. 148. Cf. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, li: *"Οσιριν ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ σκήπτρῳ γράφουσιν*; E. A. Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary*, p. cxxxi). The 'crook' means 'Lord,' and it is fairly obvious that the 'throne,' in archaic Egypt a prerogative of the ruler, has the same meaning. The 'eye' is in Egyptian symbolism the constant emblem of the moon. That, in the name of Osiris, it has the ordinary meaning of 'moon,' appears to be conclusively shown by the fact that in late dynastic times the sun-disc, was sometimes deliberately substituted for the moon-eye, 𓉔𓁹 (E. A. Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, p. 24). The meaning of the combination would thus be 'the Lord of the Moon.' As to its vocalisation, the moon in Egyptian, as in Coptic, is 'aah.' 'Lord' is 'ser' (E. A. Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary*, p. 679). The name 𓉔𓂋 would thus read 'Aah-ser,' which is practically identical with the tentative transcription 'As-ar' given by most authorities, and with the name of Osiris (E. A. Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. ii, pp. 113 sq.).

[1] A. Mariette, *Catalogue du musée de Boulaq*, p. 103; G. Maspéro, *Guide du visiteur au musée de Boulaq*, p. 171; E. de Rougé, *Notices sommaires des monuments du musée du Louvre*, p. 117; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iv, pl. 59c; E. Lefébure, "Le lièvre dans la mythologie," *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, vol. xxxv, p. 485; R. V. Lovisato, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, p. 88.

[2] Plutarch, *op. cit.*, xli, xliii; H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum aegyptiacarum*, pp. 30, 271; E. A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. ii, p. 250.

[3] *The Book of the Dead*, chap. lxv.

[4] *Ibid.*, chap. viii; *Papyrus of Ani*, p. 119.

heights obey thee; the imperishable stars are under thy supervision. Thou rollest up into the horizon, and settest light over darkness; thou art the companion of the stars." [1] In the 'Lamentations' of Isis and Nephthys, which were appointed to be recited "in every seat of Osiris during his festival," Isis, who was represented in the ceremonies by a young priestess, addresses the dead Osiris, saying: "Thoth placeth thy soul in the boat Ma-at, in the name of Moon, which is thy name. I came to see thy beauty in the eye of the Moon; thou conquerest the heavens by thy august majesty as Lord of the fifteenth day. As a child thou comest unto us each month, and we do not cease to contemplate thee." [2]

Osiris was represented in his myth as having reigned or lived twenty-eight years; which, like Ptah's life of thirty years and the age of other deities in America or in Cochin-China, is obviously a translation of the moon-god's life of a month into terms of years.[3] The body of Osiris was supposed to have been cut up by Set into fourteen pieces, one for each day of the waning moon,[4] and his image at Denderah was made up of fourteen pieces.[5]

The most common and ancient conventional representation of Osiris pictures him as enthroned at the top of a flight of steps; and the prescriptive feature of the ubiquitous shrines of the god led to his being commonly spoken of as 'the god on the steps.' [6] The same convention is observed in representations of the moon. Thus we commonly see the lunar crescent surmounted by the left moon-eye, resting on the top of a flight of fourteen steps (Figs. 16, 17). In one of the oldest Egyptian pictorial documents which we possess, the mace-head of the pre-dynastic king Nar-mer, a god, or a king assimilated to a god, is represented seated on a throne at the top of a flight of steps. The steps are nine in number, and thus correspond to the days of the ancient Egyptian week, of which there were three in the lunar month. The correspondence is emphasised by two sets of three crescent-moons between which the people who pay homage to 'the god on the steps' are enclosed (Fig. 18). The same number of steps leads up to the figure of the enthroned Osiris in later representations. It was an Egyptian convention to represent not only the various phases of the moon by separate gods, but to associate each day of every phase with a special deity; thus the fourteen steps leading to the full growth of the moon are occupied, in pictorial representations, each by a

[1] F. Chabas, "Un hymne à Osiris," *Revue archéologique*, 1857, pp. 68 sqq.
[2] J. de Horrack, *Les Lamentations d'Isis et de Nephthys*, pp. 8 sq.
[3] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, xlii.
[4] *Ibid., loc. cit.*
[5] H. Brugsch, "Das Osiris-Mysterium von Tentyra," *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, xix, pp. 89 sq.
[6] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 117.

FIG. 15.—From a tablet of Semti (Ist Dynasty), British Museum, Third Egyptian Room, Table-case L, No. 124.

FIG. 16.—The moon on fourteen steps (R. V. Lanzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, plate 39).

FIG 17.—The moon and the gods of the fourteen steps (E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 321).

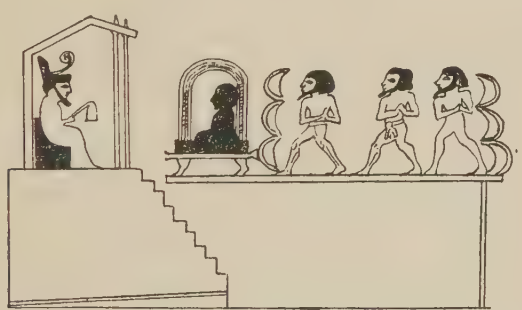

FIG. 18.—From the mace-head of Nārmer (J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, Part i, plate XXVIB).

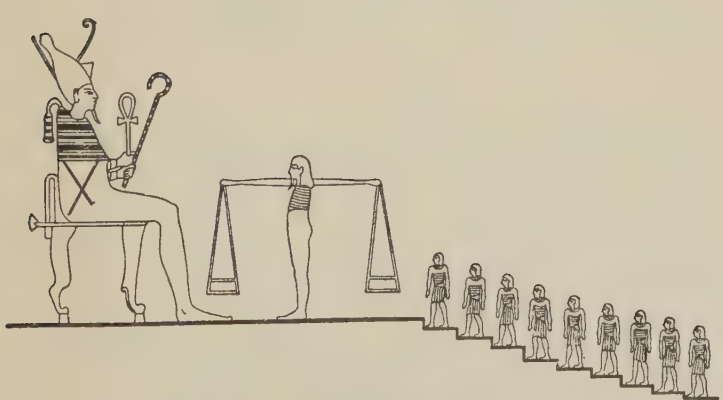

FIG. 19.—'The Ennead,' from the 'Book of Gates,' British Museum.

divinity. The nine steps of each lunar phase formed a series of nine divinities, or 'Ennead' (Fig. 19).

In his mysteries at Denderah, the funeral rites of Osiris lasted nine days, from the 21st of the month of Khoiak, when his figure was taken out of its mould, until the last day of the month, when he was buried; the death ceremonies of the god were thus celebrated during the nine days of the waning moon.[1] Similarly, the Nandi in East Africa celebrate mourning rites during the duration of the last phase of the moon.[2] The figure of the god which was moulded afresh on each performance of the ritual was itself no other than a lunar crescent. "On the nineteenth night," says Plutarch, "they go down to the sea; the priests and wardrobe attendants bear forth the holy shrine with the golden caskets, wherein they pour drinking water. Thereupon those present raise a cry that Osiris has been found. With the water they kneed fertile soil, spices, and precious gums, and out of this they make a figure in the shape of a lunar crescent. This they dress and adorn."[3] The coffin of Osiris was itself in the shape of a crescent.[4]

One of the most popular alternative appellations of Osiris was Un-nefer, "his commonest title."[5] 'Nefer,' the ordinary laudatory epithet applied to all gods, means 'good,' 'beautiful,' 'great.' 'Un' means 'hare.' Osiris the Great Hare was associated with the Hare-goddess Unt, and had a special temple under that name in Un, the Hare City in the fifteenth nome. The universal association of the hare with the moon was as familiar to the ancient Egyptians as to all other African people. Osiris the Moon-hare is represented at Karnak seated in the moon.[6]

The bull Apis, which was "the life of Osiris, the Lord of heaven, with his horns on his head,"[7] "symbolised the moon."[8] Its mark was the lunar crescent on its flank;[9] it was begotten "by a ray of generative light which appeared from the moon, and rested upon the cow his mother."[10]

It is wholly improbable and unscientific in the light of our knowledge of primitive cosmic religious conceptions to suppose

[1] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 27; V. Lortet, "Les fêtes d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak," *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, iii, p. 53.

[2] A. Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 71.

[3] Plutarch, *op. cit.*, xxxix. [4] *Ibid.*, xlii.

[5] A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 211. Cf. E. A. Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 114.

[6] E. Leféb ure, "Le lièvre dans la mythologie," *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, vol. xxxv, pp. 479 sqq. For the representation of Osiris as the Moon-hare at Karnak, see R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iv, pl. xxxi.

[7] A. Mariette, *Le Sérapéon de Memphis*, pp. 125 sq.

[8] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 351.

[9] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii. 72. [10] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, xliii.

that the lunar attributes of Osiris or of any other Egyptian god were adventitiously superadded to his original character; there is no evidence for such an hypothesis, and there is a great deal of evidence that entirely excludes it. The cult of Osiris was the most conservative form of Egyptian religion and successfully withstood the persistent efforts to merge it into the official cult of Rā. The attributes of Osiris did not change materially from the earliest dynastic ages to Ptolemaic times, and preserved to the last their archaic character. His lunar attributes are the same in the oldest texts which we possess as in the latest.[1] Those attributes are not partial and incidental aspects of the conception of the god and his cult, but constitute the whole of his characters and of the fundamental conceptions of his ritual. If those lunar attributes be removed, there is nothing left. If it be supposed that a primitive deity arising from quite other, or from more generalised and abstract conceptions, was subsequently assimilated to the moon, and that the traditional attributes and notions associated with the moon were, as an afterthought, assigned to him, we should be compelled to ascribe the same evolution from abstract to concrete ideas, from philosophy and theology to magic, to the similar cosmic conceptions of the Hottentots and the Bushmen, of the Melanesian, Australian and South American aborigines. Universal ethnological experience teaches that the development of human thought takes place in the reverse direction.[2]

[1] E. A. Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, p. 388.

[2] It has been suggested that Osiris was originally a river-god and symbolised the annual rising and falling of the Nile (H. Brugsch, *Die Religion und Mythologie der alten Ägypter*, pp. 638 sqq.; E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. ii, pp. 123 sq.; cf. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, xxxii). But, as we are expressly informed, the Egyptians "regard the rise of the Nile as being regulated in accordance with the light of the moon"; and with their predilection for expressing their conceptions in numerical symbolisms, they supposed that "the maximum rise measured at Elephantine twenty-eight cubits in accordance with the monthly cycle of the moon; that at Mendes and Choin, where the rise is least, it measured six cubits, answering to the number of days that the moon is half its size; and that the average rise at Memphis was normally fourteen cubits, answering to the period of time taken by the moon to reach its full" (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, xliii). Like every moon-god that we know of in the four quarters of the globe, Osiris governed all waters, and the Egyptians "considered not only the Nile, but all simple humours whatsoever as flowing from Osiris" (Plutarch, *op. cit.*, xxxiii). Osiris is represented in an Edfu text as "spewing forth" the Nile, just as the countless moon-deities which we have noted send forth rivers, lakes and floods, and the Nile is expressly called the "outflow of Osiris" (P. Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 17). Sir James Frazer thinks that Osiris was originally a personification of vegetation. But the growth of vegetation and the fertility of fields, as well as that of animals and human beings, are universally attributed to the moon, and all moon-deities are 'vegetation-gods.' The same functions were assigned to the moon-god, Min, and it

Solar cosmogonies, since they do not owe their origin to conceptions specially connected with the sun, but are merely reinterpretations of those primitively connected with the magic powers of the moon, have but a slender connection, which is readily severed, with cosmological ideas at all. Hence they are particularly apt to assume vaguer, more generalised, and abstract forms. In the theological system of the priests of Rā, as in most, if not all, solar mythologies and cults, the sun was in itself of very little direct account and significance. It was not the object of the superstitious awe, or even reverence or worship, with which primitive man regards the moon as the source of all magic power. It served but as a theme for similitudes and theogonies. It was a mere symbol; the sun was not the god, but the visible emblem of the god. The translation of primitive lunar myths into terms of solar symbolism, the latter being pure symbolism with no foundation in actual belief, broadens out into a more general interpretation of the contest between the two moon-gods as a conflict between light and darkness. Nor is it bound down even to that generalised cosmological conception. Being of no vital significance, and destitute of any association with primitive magical theories or superstitious fears, that similitude almost inevitably assumes an even more abstract form, as the contest, namely, between Good and Evil. The dark god who endeavours to eat the bright god, and against whom the latter is perpetually contending, becomes blacker and blacker in a spiritual sense, and comes to be looked upon as the eternal Enemy, the very embodiment of evil. Set is, in the priestly recension of the Book of the Dead, "an abomination unto Horus."[1] Rā, taking the place of Horus, was represented as bruising the head of the enemy, in the form of the serpent, under his heel, and as, in the attitude of St. George, transfixing the Evil One with his spear.[2] But primitive lunar deities, although distinguished as on the whole favourable or unfavourable, have no absolute moral attributes; the dark god is not wholly evil, nor is the bright god wholly good. The 'unfavourable' and more dangerous god is, as we have frequently had occasion to note, the more important to conciliate, and propitiatory rites and flattering epithets are accordingly bestowed upon him chiefly, thus sometimes leading, as with the Hindu Siva, to his acquiring a reformed and august character.

was with the latter rather than with Osiris that agricultural rites were particularly associated. Some consider that Osiris "was nothing more than a personification of dead Kingship" (T. E. Peet, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. i, p. 333). But Egyptian kings, the representatives of Horus-Osiris, who were crowned at the new moon, and renewed their life after thirty years, appear to have been just as much personifications of the moon.

[1] E. A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, p. 63.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

The god Set appears in the Pyramid Texts and in the Book of the Dead as one of the Great Gods to whom all honour and worship are directed. He, being as much as his brothers Horus and Osiris, a moon-god, was, like them, a god of the resurrection, had power to bestow eternal life, and was one of the chief helpers of mortals who sought to obtain it.[1] He was pronounced the "supreme god," the "Lord of Heaven and Earth."[2] His temples abounded in every part of Lower and Upper Egypt,[3] and he had his shrine in Memphis.[4] As late as the XVIIIth and IXth Dynasties kings are represented as receiving life and holiness from the hallowing hands of Set.[5] The great Rameses II was proud of being protected by Set. His father Seti was devoted to the worship of his patron deity, and a scene in his temple represents the Pharaoh being crowned by Set. His successor Menephtah is always represented as receiving the emblems of life and purity from Horus and Set.[6] The ancient Egyptians, even when at the height of their culture, were in fact, in the language of the missionaries, engaged, like many uncultured African peoples, in 'devil-worship.' It was not until the relatively late times of the XXIInd or XXVth Dynasty that theological influence succeeded in weaning them from the primitive cult, and that Set was definitely recognised as the spirit of evil. His temples were abolished, his images destroyed, his figures and his name in the sacred pictures were hammered out.[7] He came to be represented as the devourer of souls, and prayers were offered by the pious that they might go to the home of Horus and be saved from Set and his evil daemons.[8]

In like manner the cosmological attributes of all the other gods associated with the sun-god tended to become overshadowed and ultimately obliterated by the departmental functions assigned to them, and those functions themselves became more and more abstract and generalised. Thus, the god Thoth came to be regarded as the Creative Word, the demiurge, or Logos, of later mysticism.[9] He was the author of all sacred scriptures, the Holy Spirit under whose inspiration they had been set down, and who had indeed written them "with his own fingers." Needless to observe, there was nothing of all this in the character and

[1] A. E. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 216; W. Pleyte, *La religion des Pré-Israélites; recherches sur le dieu Seth*, p. 93; A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 221; R. O. Faulkner, "The God Setekh in the Pyramid Texts," *Ancient Egypt*, 1925, Part i, pp. 5 sqq.

[2] W. Pleyte, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[3] A. Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

[4] A. Mariette, "Lettre sur les fouilles de Tanis," *Revue archéologique*, 1862, p. 303.

[5] W. Pleyte, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 95 sq., 107.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

[9] See above, vol. i, p. 5.

attributes of the primitive deity which was used as a medium for those abstractions. "It would be wrong to see here any deep metaphysic. . . . Apart from Re, Thoth is himself a creator, a primitive god, not a creative Logos sprung from another deity. But like most other Egyptian gods, he comes to be forced into the system of Heliopolitan speculation; he has to come to terms, as it were, with solar theology, and then he becomes the first-born of Re."[1] Far from having any subordinate demiurgic function, Thoth was "self-created, to whom none has given birth,"[2] "the great god, the lord of heaven, the king of the gods, the maker of eternity and creator of everlastingness."[3] By those attributes Thoth was nowise distinguished from any of the other Egyptian high gods, who, like all primitive high gods, were gods of the moon. "Thoth is the moon."[4] There is as regards Thoth no possibility of ambiguity concerning the overt identification, and it has not been disputed. "Thoth," says De Rougé, "is identical with the god Moon. Thot-Moon has sometimes the form of an infant with slender body; this is probably the moon in its first quarter. More often he is an adult clad in the 'shenti'; and bears then in his hand the eye of Horus, the symbol of the full moon."[5] He is also represented with two heads, or with two faces, the left face and the right, "which are intended presumably to represent the periods of the waxing and waning moon. In some scenes we have Aah-Tehuti represented in the form of a disk resting between the horns of the crescent moon and placed upon a pedestal in a boat. . . . In the narrowest sense Aah-Tehuti symbolises the new moon, and this is only natural, for, as is well known, all calculations made by the moon in the East from time immemorial have been based upon the first appearance of the new moon in the sky. But generally speaking Thot as the Moon-god represents the moon during the whole month."[6]

The local deities of Egyptian nomes, who were assigned various positions and functions in the 'pantheon' of the solar theology, were in fact, one and all, but local names or forms of the primitive moon-god, either in his bright or in his dark aspect, and consequently had all the same attributes of growth and transformation, periodical

[1] P. Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*, pp. 112 sq.
[2] R. V. Lanzone, *op. cit.*, p. 1265.
[3] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 412.
[4] P. Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*, p. 84.
[5] E. de Rougé, in P. Pierret, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie égyptienne*, pp. 546 sq.
[6] E. A. Wallis Budge, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 412 sq. Cf. P. Roylan, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 sqq. and *passim*; R. V. Lanzone, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 107, 1266, 1268; A. H. Sayce, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, p. 130; A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 225.

death and resurrection, as creators of the universe, controllers of fertility, and lords of the underworld and of the dead. Like all primitive cosmic deities in uncultured societies, they were usually associated from primitive times with some local totem animal or with some pseudo-totem of significance in their cult or in lunar symbolism. Thoth, whose name is usually understood to mean 'the ibis,'[1] is most commonly represented as ibis-headed, the ibis being the local totem of the ibis-nome in the Delta. He was also an ape. The 'cynocephalus,' or baboon, was one of the most ancient forms of the moon-god Thoth, and hence occupies a prominent place in Egyptian pictography, more especially in connection with the resurrection of the dead. Whether the baboon was also a local totem of the district in which the moon-god was worshipped under the name of Thoth, or whether it had some ritual or symbolic association with the lunar cult, its identification with Thoth was accounted for on the latter view. The notions which the ancient Egyptians entertained concerning the baboon are mentioned by Horapollo,[2] who is thus rendered by Dalla Porta. "The beast cynocephalus rejoiceth at the coming of the moon, for then he stands up, lifting his fore-feet toward heaven, and with a royal ensign upon his head. And he hath such sympathy with the moon, that when she meets the sun, as betwixt the old and new moon, so that she gives no light, the male, or he-cynocephalus, never looks up, nor eats anything, as bewailing the losse of the moon. And the female, as malcontent as he, all that while pisseth blood. For which causes these beasts are nourished and kept in hallowed places, that by them the times of the moones meeting with the sun may certainly be known."[3] Among the Bechuana, the baboon, who, like Thoth, is regarded as very learned doctor and magician, is likewise associated with the moon, and the tabus on the first day of the new moon are said to be observed on account of the curse of the baboon.[4]

The evolution of religious ideas may, thus, be followed in Egypt from primitive lunar and magical conceptions intermingled with totemism, which are identical with those of the Bushmen and Hottentots, to the most transcendental and abstruse metaphysical abstractions of theosophical and theological thought. Incidentally it may be noted that the history of religious development in ancient Egypt affords a tangible chronological measure of the antiquity of those conceptions of which we gather at the present day the

[1] Professor Boylan, however, throws doubt on the generally accepted reading of the name (*op. cit.*, pp. 1 sqq.).

[2] Horapollo Nilous, *Hieroglyphics*, ed. A. T. Cory, pp. 31 sqq.

[3] G. B. Dalla Porta, *Natural Magick*, p. 13.

[4] J. T. Brown, *The Bantu of Central South Africa* (MS.).

vague surviving echoes from the lips of uncultured savages. Some four thousand years before the Christian era those conceptions were already, in the valley of the Nile, so ancient that their primitive significance had become sufficiently enfeebled to permit of wholly new constructions being placed upon them. The indications as regards the primitive cosmic religious conceptions of humanity which are presented by the confused tales of Bushmen and other uncultured races thus represent an oral tradition which is more than six thousand years old, and in all probability many times more ancient.

Yet in Egypt those crude savage conceptions have passed by almost imperceptible gradations into the most exalted concepts of mystical theology. The latter are the term of the process of religious evolution; the common error of interpreters has been to mistake them for its germ, and to set the pyramid of religious development upon its apex. "The Egyptian was never a profound theologian, and in primitive times his religion was largely a mixture of magic and materialism. Modern investigators of the Egyptian religion read into the texts ideas and meanings which were, and still are, wholly foreign to the African mind."[1] Primitive man is neither a philosophical theologian nor a subtle deviser of allegories; he does not deal in abstractions, but in concrete conceptions and purposes. Material objects and phenomena are not to him symbols of general ideas, but sources and instruments of practical power and direct action; they do not derive those powers which he attributes to them from the conclusions of philosophical speculation, but from the consecrated forms of established tradition dating from the dawn of humanity. It is only when his belief in the direct and immediate operation of those magical forces has become shaken, or has, in its more primitive forms, faded away, that the objects which were once their source become symbols of a more generalised and diffuse conception of the powers that rule human destiny. The language that was at one time descriptive becomes then symbolic, the conceptions which were once material and concrete become mystical. Primitive thought is never, and can never be, mystical, because mysticism presupposes images and ideas the primary significance of which has passed away, and upon which new interpretations, new and vaguer meanings, are imposed. In the cosmopolitan population of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt the primitive moon-gods of the African kingdom became blended with the speculations and abstractions of Neo-Platonism. Hellenising Jews, Judaising Hellenes contemplated the obscured and confuse traditions that had floated down more than forty centuries in the light of current versions of more recent Greek and Talmudic thought.

[1] E. A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, p. 22.

" The most sublimated spiritualism enters here into the strangest union with a crass superstition. A mythology of ideas was created out of the sensuous mythology by the conversion of concrete forms into speculative and moral ideas." [1] The lore of the sacred writings of " thrice-great Thoth " [2] merged into the theosophy of Hermes Trismegistus and the symbolic system of Gnosticism, which, in Christian Egypt, furnished the warp and woof of the doctrinal forms of Christian dogma.

[1] A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. i, pp. 230, 231.

[2] For the epithet in Egyptian texts, see H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, iv. 760 ; J. Dümichen, *Geographische Inschriften*, iii. 57 ; A. Mariette, *Dendéra*, i. 10, ii. 37a, iii. 72a, iv. 33, 74, 89 ; P. Roylan, *op. cit.*, pp. 118, 182.

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